

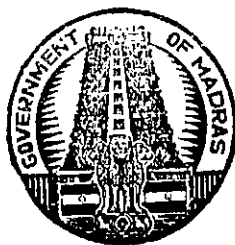
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“നിങ്ങൾ ചത്തും കൊന്നും അടക്കിക്കൊൾകൂ.”

CHERAMAN PERUMAL'S SWORD GIVEN TO THE ZAMORIN WITH THE ADVICE TO DIE AND KILL AND ANNEX
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MALABAR

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1995

WILLIAM LOGAN, M.C.S.

*Collector and Magistrate of the District, and
Fellow of the University of Madras*

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

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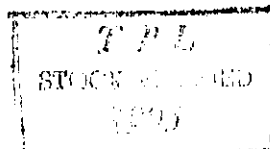
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PREFATORY NOTE

The Malabar Manual was first published in the year 1887 and reprinted in 1906. The demand for the publication was however so great that all the copies were soon sold out. In the year 1948, in view of the importance of the book, the Government, ordered that it should be reprinted. The work of reprinting was however delayed, to some extent, owing to the pressure of work in the Government Press. While reprinting the spelling of the place names have, in some cases, been modernized.

EGMORE,
17th September 1951.

B. S. BALIGA,
Curator, Madras Record Office.



ERRATA.

- PAGE
- vi .. *Delete* " be " after " will " in the last line.
 - 137 .. No page number.
 - 245 .. The heading should be " Early History from other sources ".
 - 247 .. " Earl " should be " Early ".
 - 289 .. " Historys " should be " History ".
 - 445 .. " A45 " should be " 445 ".
 - 470 .. " Malbar " should be " Malabar ".
 - 528 .. " 52 " should be " 528 ".
 - 639 .. No page number.
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PREFACE TO VOLUME I

The feeling uppermost in my mind as I lay aside my pen is, though it may seem paradoxical to say so, that I could wish that I were just taking it up to begin ! Not, however, be it understood, that I could wish that I were just about to commence this present work afresh, but that (it having been completed by some one else) I were starting to follow my inclination in wandering along some of the many fascinating vistas of knowledge which have been disclosed in the course of its preparation.

Many things I would no doubt find wherein my knowledge was defective, and many more still in which fuller investigation would throw new, and perhaps altogether different, light on what seems plain enough now.

The knowledge obtained in compiling these volumes and the Volume of Treaties,* etc., which preceded them, has in short brought me to the stage in which discrimination becomes practicable, and I could wish that I were taking up my pen now to pursue the inquiry further in many directions.

How far my readers may agree with me on this point I know not, but I shall consider that I have failed in one main object if I do not succeed in arousing a feeling of interest on many points whereon I have necessarily touched but briefly in this present work.

I would more especially call attention to the central point of interest, as I look at it, in any descriptive and historical account of the Malayali race—the position, namely, which was occupied for centuries on centuries by the Nayar caste in the civil and military organization of the province,—a position so unique and so lasting that but for *foreign* intervention there seems no reason why it should not have continued to endure for centuries on centuries to come. Their functions in the body politic have been tersely

* A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and other papers of importance relating to British Affairs in Malabar. Edited with notes by W. Logan, Madras Civil Service, Calicut, 1879.

described in their own traditions as “*the eye*,” “*the hand*” and “*the order*” and to the present day we find them spread throughout the length and breadth of the land, but no longer—I could almost say, alas!—“preventing the rights (of all classes) from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse.”

This bulwark against the tyranny and oppression of their own rulers secured for the country a high state of happiness and peace, and if *foreign* peoples and *foreign* influences had not intervened it might, with almost literal truth, have been said of the Malayalis that “happy is the people who have no history.”

To understand Malabar and the Malayalis aright it is above all things necessary therefore that this central fact—this distribution of authority,—this “Parliament” as it was called so long ago as 28th May 1746 by one who was settled in the country and watching its working—this chastiser of the unwarrantable acts of Ministers of State—this all-powerful influence tending always to the maintenance of customary observances—should be firmly grasped by the mind

Progress in the modern sense it is true was impossible under such a system, but what after all has been the goal of all modern legislation, but, as Bentham’s great dictum puts it,—“the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number.” To any one who chooses to study the history of the Malayalis it will become apparent that the race had advanced far towards the attainment of this modern aim, and this too, and it is all the more remarkable on that account, was the state of affairs among a people whom I have described in the text as “*a Hindu community of the purest and most characteristic type.*”

I regret much that more cannot be made at present of the early history of the people. Such sources of information as were accessible to a very hard-worked District Officer have been freely utilized, but the results are not very satisfactory. Moreover, it ought never to be forgotten that facts, which bulk largely in the histories of European races, are not to be expected here. Violent ebullitions of the popular will be

directed towards the removal of tyrants, and great upheavals of classes are not to be looked for in Malabar. A people who throughout a thousand and more years have been looking longingly back to an event like the departure of Cheraman Perumal for Mecca, and whose rulers even now assume the sword or sceptre on the understanding that they merely hold it "until the Uncle who has gone to Mecca returns," must be a people whose history presents few landmarks or stepping stones, so to speak,—a people whose history was almost completed on the day when that wonderful civil constitution was organized which endured unimpaired through so many centuries. The Malayali race has produced no historians simply because there was little or no history in one sense to record.

But the field is in another sense a fertile one, and I have already in the text acknowledged my great indebtedness to Dr. Gündert for having in his admirable Malayalam Dictionary gathered in a rich harvest of knowledge on a vast variety of topics treated of in this work. I believe that if one were to search the length and breadth of the Peninsula it would be found difficult to select another Province in which research is likely to yield a more abundant store of highly interesting and important information. To do the subject full justice however that harvest should be reaped, that store should be accumulated, by a native of the soil.

In regard to the period when foreign peoples and foreign influences began to make their mark in Malayali history, the late Dr. Burnell told me that he had for years been collecting in his library every work bearing on the Portuguese period with a view to preparing an exhaustive account of their doings. To this end he had been picking up volumes in almost every country on the continent and in almost every European tongue. It is a thousand pities that he was unable to complete the work: whether he ever made a commencement of it I know not. The short account given in this work makes no pretensions to being exhaustive, and as regards accuracy I have done the best with the materials I found ready to hand.

Pyrard's work, which is just appearing in London under the auspices of the Hakluyt Society, did not come under

my notice until the text was in print, else I would not have failed to borrow from its picturesque pages some especially interesting sketches of native society on the coast in the early years of the seventeenth century.

In regard to the later periods of foreign influence and intervention, I have drawn nearly all my information from the district records. The earliest of these, in my office at Calicut, go back to the seventeenth century, and from the year 1725 an almost unbroken series of very ponderous manuscript volumes records, in the most minute detail, the doings of the Honorable East India Company's Factories on the coast down to the time (1792) when the Honorable Company's "merchants" and "writers" laid aside day-book and ledger and assumed the sword and sceptre of the land.

Subsequently to 1792 also, the records of my office contain nearly everything that is required to furnish an account of the province down to the present day.

These portions of the history of the district have accordingly been treated as fully as the nature of the present work seemed to require. Advantage has also been taken to supplement the district records from standard works. But the number of the latter is extremely limited, for although he was born in the district at Anjengo—Orme does not appear to have done anything towards elucidating its history—And Wilks concerns himself chiefly with the Mysorean conquests, and scarcely touches on Malabar topics except when re-counting the exploits of Hyder Ali, or describing the atrocities of Tippu Sultan. Full advantage has been taken of his graphic and picturesque historical sketches. Finally Dr. Day's "Land of the Permauls," founded to a considerable extent in regard to Dutch affairs on information derived from my office records, has been laid under liberal contribution.

In conclusion I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to Mr. Rhodes Morgan for his interesting sketches of the Forests and Fauna of the District, to Messrs. O. Cannan, ex-Deputy Collector, and Kunju Menon, Subordinate Judge, for very valuable notes on many subjects, to the gentlemen who have contributed the local descriptive notes embodied in

Appendix XXI, and to many other native friends too numerous to mention here. Mr. Jacques, of the Collector's office, has been indefatigable in the preparation of the index.

One important source of information has, I regret, been neglected, more from lack of special knowledge than from anything else. I refer to the archaeology of the district. The Director-General, Dr. Burgess, C.I.E., has lately been here on tour and from the fact that some of the existing Malayali temples probably date back in his opinion so far as the eighth century A.D., some important information will almost certainly be derived from this source. In one particular Dr. Burgess has also, from a cursory examination of the Muhammadan tombstones at Pantalayini Kollam (page 195), been able to set me right. He thinks that, apart from what may be engraved on the stones, not one of them can, from the character of the writing, be of an earlier date than the fourteenth century A.D. The inscription to be found at page 195 was read for me by a learned Arab gentleman, who took much pains in the way of paper tracings of the letters and figures, and spent much time in endeavouring to secure accuracy in the reading. It is quite possible that the tombstone was erected at a later date to commemorate the traditionary burial place of one of the early Arabian pioneers on the coast.

EAST HILL, CALICUT,

7th January 1887.

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MALABAR



CHAPTER I

THE DISTRICT.

SECTION A.—ITS LIMITS AND PHYSICAL FEATURES.

The name by which the district is known to Europeans is not in general use in the district itself, except among foreigners and English-speaking natives. The ordinary name is *Malayalam*, or, in its shorter form, *Malayam* (=the hill country). The word Malabar is therefore probably, in part at least, of foreign origin; the first two syllables are almost certainly the ordinary Dravidian word *mala* (=hill, mountain) and *bar*¹ is probably the Arabic word *barr* (=continent), or the Persian *bar* (=country). From the time (A.D. 522–547) of Cosmas Indicopleustes down to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D., the word “Male” was applied to the coast by Arab navigators, and the seafaring population, who flocked thither subsequently for pepper and other spices, called it *Malibar*, *Manibar*, *Mulibar*, *Munibar*, *Malibar*. The early European travellers followed suit, and hence come the other forms in which the name has been written *Melibar* (Marco Polo), *Minibar*, *Milibar*, *Minubar*, *Melibarin*, *Malabria*, etc. Malabar may therefore be taken to mean the hilly or mountainous country, a name well suited to its physical characteristics.

Malayalam is not, however, the only indigenous name for the district. The natives love to call it *Keralam*, and this and other names will be found treated of in the historical chapter.

The district is very widely scattered and consists of the following parts :—

(a) *Malabar proper* extending from north to south along the coast, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles, and lying between N. Lat. 10° 15' and 12° 18' and E. Long. 75° 14' and 76° 56'.

The boundaries of Malabar proper are north, South Kanara district; east, Coorg, Mysore, Nilgiris, Coimbatore; south, the Native State of Cochin; west, the Arabian Sea.

(b) A group of nineteen isolated bits of territory lying scattered, fifteen of them in the territories of the Native State of Cochin

¹ “*Bar* signifies a coast in the language of the country,” p. 10 (a) of Renaudot's translation of the “Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Muhammadan travellers in the ninth century A.D.”—London, 1733.

and four¹ in those of Travancore, but all of them on or near the coast line between about N. Lat. $9^{\circ} 36'$ and $10^{\circ} 10'$ and E. Long. $76^{\circ} 14'$ and $76^{\circ} 25'$. These isolated bits of territory form the taluk of *British Cochin*.

(c) Two other detached bits of land imbedded in Travancore territory and also on the coast line, namely :—

Tangasseri,¹ N. Lat. $8^{\circ} 54'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 38'$, and

Anjengo, N. Lat. $8^{\circ} 40'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 49'$.

(d) Four inhabited and ten uninhabited islands of the *Laccadive* group. The positions of the inhabited islands are notified below :—

Agatti, N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 50'$, E. Long. $72^{\circ} 9'$, with four uninhabited islands, viz., (1) Parali, (2) Bangara, (3) Tinnakara, and (4) Kalpitti ;

Kavaratti, N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 31'$, E. Long. $72^{\circ} 35'$, with three uninhabited islands, viz., (1) Pitti, (2) Valiyakara, and (3) Cheriya-kara, the two latter islets forming together the Seuhelipar reef, thirty-seven miles south-west of the main island. Pitti, on the other hand, lies fifteen miles north-west of the main island ;

Androth, N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 47'$, E. Long. $73^{\circ} 40'$, and

Kalpeni, N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 6'$, E. Long. $73^{\circ} 35'$, with three uninhabited islands, viz., (1) Cheriya, (2) Thilakka, and (3) Pitti.

(e) The solitary island of *Minicoy* (*Menakayat*) lying between the 8° and 9° ship channels. Its position is N. Lat. $8^{\circ} 18'$, E. Long. $73^{\circ} 1'$. Attached to it is the small islet of Viringilli, used for quarantine purposes by the islanders.

The Malabar Collector's charge therefore lies scattered over four degrees of latitude and over more than four degrees of longitude. It embraces an area of six thousand and two square miles with something more to be added for the islands and out-lying parts, and, as may be easily imagined, it presents a vast variety in the conditions of its many parts. On the ghat range some of the mountain peaks rise to very nearly eight thousand feet with bright frosty nights in the cold season, and at the opposite extreme may be placed the radiant lagoons, the perpetual summer, and the coral reefs of the Laccadive Islands.

The coast line of *Malabar proper* trends from about north-north-west to south-south-east, and, at a distance inland from the coast of about twenty increasing as it goes southward to about fifty miles, rise the western shoulders of the great Mysore and Nilgiri plateaus and the Western Ghats. The lowest points in the ridge of the Mysore plateau approximate invariably to about three thousand feet, while in the ridge of the Nilgiri plateau it would be difficult to find a point under six thousand feet.

¹ Since this was sent to press, an agreement has been arrived at with the Travancore Government to transfer Tangasseri and the four bits of territory belonging to the Cochin Taluk to Travancore in part exchange for the site of the Periyar dam designed to turn for irrigation purposes a portion of the waters of the Periyar (great river) across the ghats into the Madurai district. The agreement has not yet been carried out.

The mountain line does not, however, present an even aspect when viewed from a distance on the west. It seems to approach and then to recede from the coast, and the reason of this is at once apparent to a traveller from the south who skirts the mountain bases and passes buttress after buttress thrown far out into the plains.

They form a magnificent array in *echelon* of mountain heights, with their front facing southwards and with their loftiest peaks like grenadier companies protecting the right of the line. The district does not rise above this mountain barrier except at two points. The Wynad taluk, which lies above the ghats, is simply a portion of the great Mysore plateau. Behind the ridge of ghats forming the southern slopes of the Nilgiri range there also lie two forest-clad valleys—the Silent Valley and the Attapadi Valley—which likewise pertain to Malabar.

One of the most striking features in the country is the great Palghāt gap, a complete opening some twenty miles across in this great backbone of the peninsula. Here, by whatever great natural agency the break occurred, the mountains appear thrown back and heaped up, as if some overwhelming deluge had burst through, sweeping them to left and right. On either hand tower the giant Nilgiris and Anamalas, over-topping the chain of ghats by several thousand feet, while through the gap the south-west winds bring pleasant moist air and grateful showers to the thirsty plains of Coimbatore, and roads and railway link the Carnatic to Kērala. Through this the thousand streams of the higher mountains find their way to the sea, and the produce of the eastern and western provinces is exchanged. The unique character—as a point of physical geography—of this gap in an otherwise unbroken wall of high mountains, six hundred miles long, is only equalled by its great economic value to the countries lying on either hand of it.

Stretching westward from the long spurs, extensive ravines, dense forests and tangled jungles of the ghat mountains lie gentler slopes, rolling downs and gradually widening valleys closely cultivated, and nearer the sea-board the low laterite tablelands end abruptly in cliffs and give place to rice plains and coconut-fringed backwaters.

Numerous rivers have hollowed out for themselves long valleys to the coast, where, backed up by the littoral currents, they discharge into the line of backwaters. These backwaters and the streams which flow into them and the canals which connect them afford a cheap means of communication to the inhabitants, and the rivers, backwaters and canals are crowded with boats conveying produce to market and huge unwieldy rafts of timber being slowly poled down stream to the timber depots.

The coast line, trending, as already said, from about north-north-west to south-south-east through a length of nearly one hundred and fifty miles, bears evidence throughout its length to a slow but steady encroachment of the sea upon the land. The prevailing littoral current is from north to south. It is one branch of the mighty

ocean current which sweeps across from Madagascar and the east African coast and impinges on the Malabar coast at a point a little to the north of the northernmost part of the Malabar district where it apparently divides into two branches, one going northwards and the other, and perhaps the main branch, flowing southwards down the coast. Its action is to be seen in the long sand-spits stretching from the north across the mouths of the rivers,—sand which in the wash of the waves travels slowly but most persistently from north to south—and in denuded headlands where the primeval rocks jut up and form barriers to the encroachment of the waves, which sweeping round the obstructions gradually hollow out bays to the southward of them.

The sea-board may be considered pretty open except to the north, where stand the island, hill, and wind-swept ruined fort of Mount Deli (eight hundred and fifty-five feet), a bold eminence of laterite and gneiss, and a conspicuous and well known landmark to mariners. Further south and as far as Calicut the coast line is fringed alternately by low cliffs and long reaches of sand. Beyond Calicut to the southward the shore is one long unbroken stretch of sand.

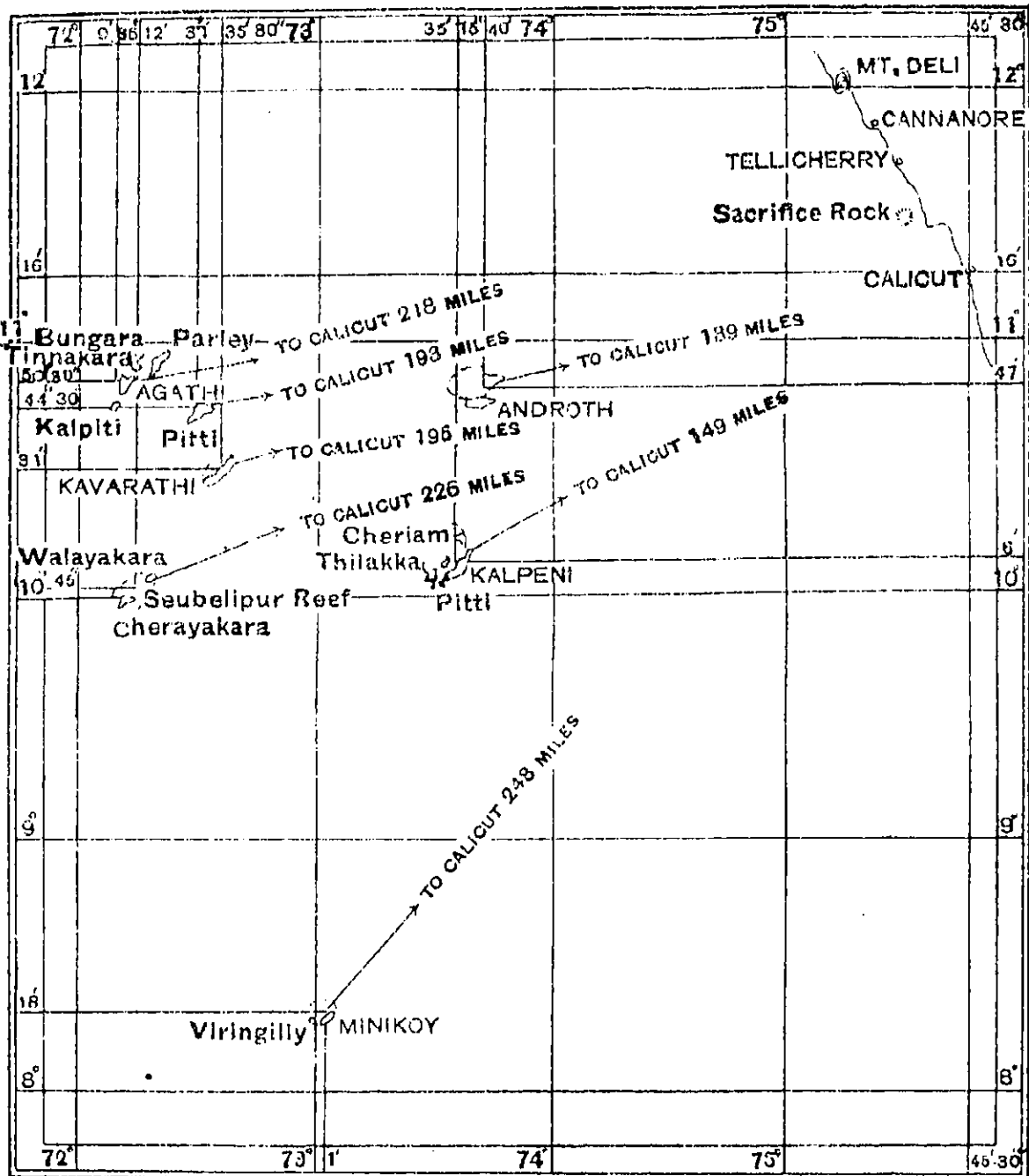
The littoral currents, though persistent in their action, are nowhere strong, and hence deep water close in shore is nowhere to be found and there are no natural harbours suited for modern tonnage. The bottom of the ocean shelves very gradually, and so uniformly that experienced mariners have no difficulty in telling their distance from land at any point of the coast by the number of fathoms they find on sounding with the lead.

The coast does, however, afford some refuge to small craft with shallow draughts of water enabling them to cross the bars of some of the backwater outlets, and where the backwater is extensive and the scour on the bar is great (as at Cochin) comparatively large vessels do enter the estuaries and load and discharge in smooth water.

The *Laccadive Islands* and *Minicoy* are islands composed for the most part of coral sand, and limestone formed from it. The highest point of any of the islands is probably not more than thirty feet above sea-level. The islands are small and as a rule long and narrow, and within a few yards of the shore the bottom sinks abruptly beyond the reach of any ordinary sounding tackle.

In form the islands generally lie north and south in a crescent-moon shape with a more or less ample lagoon enclosed by a coral reef on the western and north-western sides. These lagoons are shallow as a rule, and on a calm, clear day the dazzling whiteness of the coral sand at bottom, the rainbow-coloured tints and diversified shapes of the living coral rocks, the intensely brilliant colours—cobalt, green, yellow and crimson—of the fish which dart out and in among them, and the exquisitely buoyant crystal clearness of the water on which he is floating, strike the visitor with surprise and leave indelibly impressed on his mind a picture of radiant beauty such as few spots on earth can produce.

A CHART
SHOWING THE
LACCADIVE ISLANDS
ATTACHED TO THE
MALABAR DISTRICT



(Signed) W. LOGAN,

9 Nov. 82.

The islands themselves, however, are intrinsically uninteresting and are usually covered from end to end and down to within a few yards of sea-level with a dense mass of vegetation, consisting of cocoanut trees and a few bread-fruit and lime trees in the cultivated parts, and elsewhere a dense mass of impenetrable scrub and screw-pine (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) with here and there a few cocoanut trees towering above it.

SECTION B.—MOUNTAINS.

The mountains forming the Western Ghats, frequently in former days called the Sukhein¹ mountains, range from three thousand to five thousand feet above sea-level on the Coorg and Wynad slopes, with one or two peaks, to be noticed presently, ranging over six thousand and up to nearly eight thousand feet. But on the Nilgiri-Kunda face the average height springs up to over six thousand feet. It falls again to about four thousand feet and lower on the southern Nilgiri slopes, and again rises to a high altitude in the Vadimalas (northern hills), fringing the northern edge of the Palghat gap. On the south edge of the gap the Tenmalas (southern hills), outliers of the lofty Anamala mountains, commence with an elevation of four thousand to five thousand feet above sea-level. Dwarfed into insignificance compared with the ghat mountains in the background there also occur dotted about on the plain country several hills of considerable elevation.

The following are among the most noteworthy peaks of the Western Ghats :—

Veidal Mala.—N. Lat. $12^{\circ} 10'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 36'$. A long, level, grassy mountain, standing almost at right angles to the ghats and ending precipitously on its western face, supposed to be haunted by demon who displays a wonderful ruby stone at night-time to lure men to their destruction. The people have a tradition that a mighty robber, *Veidal Kumar*, used at one time to frequent this hill, and there is certainly near the western end the foundation of what must have been a large house. His neighbours in the low country finally combined against him, and, having won by treachery one of the passes to the hill, took his house and put its inmates to the sword, except one woman whose descendants can still be pointed out. At certain seasons of the year—April, May and October—thunderstorms of terrific violence rage on the western summit of this mountain. Height above sea-level about 4,500 feet.

Bramagiri Peak.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 56'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 4'$. On the edge of an elevated miniature plateau of beautiful grass and shola land, the greater portion of which lies in Coorg. Height 5,276 feet.

Banasur or Balasur Peak.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 42'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 58'$. An isolated cone-shaped forest-clad hill towering high above the line of ghats. Height 6,762 feet.

¹ Probably a corruption of *Sahyan* or *Sahyachalam* — the mighty hills — the Western Ghats.

Naduvarum Peak.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 44'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 51'$. An important Great Trigonometrical Survey station. Height 4,557 feet.

Tanotemala.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 32'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 2'$. Overhanging the *Tamarasseri* pass into Wynad. Height 5,095 feet.

Elambiler Peak.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 31'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 9'$. A precipitous needle-shaped hill in the very heart of the best coffee-producing district in Wynad. Height 6,806 feet.

Velleru Mala.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 27'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 12'$. A massive hill in the same famous coffee-producing district. Height 7,364 feet.

Vavulmala (Camel Hill) or *Camel's Hump*. N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 26'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 11'$. The highest peak in the Wynad, and a most conspicuous landmark from all points on the coast and from far out at sea, covered to the very top with virgin forest. Height 7,677 feet.

Nilgiri Peak.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 23'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 32'$, and

Mukurti Peak.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 22'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 36'$. Height 8,380 feet. Both on the Nilgiri-Malabar boundary.

Anginda Peak.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 11'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 31'$. Also on the edge (southern) of the Nilgiri plateau. Height 7,828 feet.

Karimala.—N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 56'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 43'$. The highest point on the mountains to the north of the Palghat gap. Height 6,556 feet.

South-west of it, and forming the extreme point of that range is—

Kalladikod Peak.—N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 54'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 39'$. Perhaps the stormiest peak in all Malabar, so much so that the native proverb is, "If *Kalladikodan* grows angry (or black) will not the *Karuga* river be swollen." Its height has not been accurately ascertained, but it is close upon or over 4,000 feet.

The following hills lie dotted here and there over the plain country :—

Elimala or *Mount Deli*.—N. Lat. $12^{\circ} 2'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 16'$. A conspicuous isolated hill on the sea-shore, well known as a landmark for mariners since the earliest times. Vasco da Gama's pilots foretold that the first land to be sighted would be "a great mountain¹ which is on the coast of India in the kingdom of Cannanore, which the people of the country in their language call the Mountain Delielly, and they call it of the rat, and they call it Mount Dely, because in this mountain there were so many rats that they never could make a village there." *Eli* certainly means a rat, but the name of the hill is written with the cerebro-palatal¹. The legend which Correa obtained was like that which conferred on it likewise the sounding title of *sapta-shaila* or seven hills, because *elu* means in Malayalam seven, and *elu mala* means the seven hills, of which *sapta-shaila* is the Sanskrit equivalent. Now, as a matter of fact, there are not seven peaks to this hill, just as probably the rats were no worse there than they were anywhere else on the

¹ Stanley's "Three voyages of Vasco da Gama and his Vicereignty from the Lendas in India of Gaspar Correa, &c."—Hakluzt Soc., London, 1869, p. 145.

coast. But *eli*¹ is clearly identical with Marco Polo's "Kingdom² of Eli" and Ibn Batuta's Hili, and as the *Eli Kōvilayam*, the second oldest of the palaces of the ancient line of *Kolattiri* Princes, lies at a very short distance from the northern slopes of the hill it is clear that the name of the hill was given to the palace, or that of the palace to the hill. Height 855 feet.

Chekunnu.—N. Lat. 11° 15', E. Long. 76° 9'. On the outskirts of the Camel Hump range. Height 1,975 feet.

Urotmala.—N. Lat. 11° 5', E. Long. 76° 4'. Overlooking the European military outpost of Malapuram. There is on its summit a small Hindu temple with an inscription of no great antiquity. Height 1,573 feet.

Pandalur.—N. Lat. 11° 3', E. Long. 76° 14'. Also overlooking the Malapuram outpost. It is covered for the most part with dense scrub jungle, but one or two coffee gardens have been opened with success on its northern slopes. At some distance from the summit and on the east face of the hill is a perennial spring of excellent water flowing from beneath an immense boulder of rock. The spring is supposed to be haunted, and, as a matter of fact, a solitary Mussulman Fakir used to inhabit a tiger's cave close to the spring. A magnificent panoramic view of mountain scenery is obtained from various points of this hill, but particularly from the highest point of it—a piled up cone of rocks reaching to a giddy level with the tops of the forest trees. Height about 2,000 feet.

Pranakod.—N. Lat. 10° 59', E. Long. 76° 21'. The summit of a small densely wooded range of hills which, with the range last mentioned, seems to form at this point the advanced guard of the Nilgiri Mountains. Height 1,792 feet.

Anangumala.—N. Lat. 10° 49', E. Long. 76° 27'. A long precipitous isolated rocky hill, a conspicuous landmark. There are one or two small coffee gardens on its slopes. Height 1,298 feet.

To the above list of mountain peaks and hills, most of which are stations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, may be added the following list of other survey stations of less elevation:—

Cannanore.—N. Lat. 11° 52', E. Long. 75° 25'. Height 51 feet.

Darmapattanam.—N. Lat. 11° 46', E. Long. 76° 31'. Height 112 feet.

Manantoddy.—N. Lat. 11° 48', E. Long. 76° 4'. Height 2,558 feet.

Purakad.—N. Lat. 11° 28', E. Long. 75° 43'. Height 260 feet.

Pukunnu.—N. Lat. 11° 14', E. Long. 75° 53'. Height 279 feet.

Kurnad.—N. Lat. 10° 47', E. Long. 76° 9'. Height 354 feet.

Kurachimala.—N. Lat. 10° 47', E. Long. 76° 41'. Height 479 feet.

¹ The conversion of *eli* into Deli was simple enough, for the early Portuguese would call it the "Monte D'eli."

² Yule's "Marco Polo," Chap. XXIV of Book III, Vol. II, pp. 374 to 377. London, 1874.

Palghat Fort.—N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 46'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 43'$. Height 349 feet.

The latitudes and longitudes given are those of the ordinary Indian Atlas Sheets, Nos. 43, 44, 61 and 62, and not the revised values found recently by the Great Trigonometrical Survey: the heights, however, are correct.

SECTION C.—RIVERS, BACKWATERS AND CANALS.

The river and backwater system of the district had much to do with the development of the country in the early days of foreign intervention, for these afforded the easiest and cheapest and almost the only means of communication in times when wheeled traffic and pack-bullock traffic were unknown. And accordingly it is found that the foreigners settled most thickly close to or on the rivers and selected sites for their factories so as to command as much as possible of these arteries of traffic.

The Portuguese (subsequently Dutch) factory at Cannanore, with its outwork on Mount Deli point, commanded the river navigation of the whole of the Kolattiri's northern domain. The English factory at Tellicherry, with its outworks on Darmapattanam island, secured to the Honorable Company the largest share of the trade in the excellent pepper produced in the Randattara Achanmars' territory, in the Kottayam Raja's domain, and in that of the Iruvalinad Nambiaris, tapped by the rivers converging at Dharma-pattanam. The French factory at the mouth of the Maho river did the same for the Kadattaned Raja's territory drained by that river. The Portuguese, the English, the French, and the Danes had factories in the Zamorin's territory at Calicut, whither was conveyed by water the produce of the territories of the Zamorin, and of his more or less dependent chieftains, the Payurmala Nayars, the Kurumbranad Rajas, the Tamarasseri branch of the Kottayam family, the Parappanad Rajas, and the Puluwayi Nayars.

At Ponnani the water communication was defective because inconstant, so it was not much sought after as a factory site; whereas Chetwai, at the mouth of a widespread river and backwater system, was in much request by Portuguese and Dutch and subsequently by the English, and was often hotly contended for. Cochin, where the Portuguese and subsequently the Dutch formed large settlements, owed its importance no less to its unsurpassed water communications with the interior as to its deep bar and landlocked harbour for the ships of small draught of water then in vogue. Again from Tangasseri the Dutch could command the large expanse of navigable rivers there finding outlet to the sea. And finally the English at Anjengo settled on an inhospitable sandspit with the ocean on one side of it and a navigable river on the other, just because of the advantages which this river and neighbouring creeks afforded for bringing the produce of the country to their Company's mart.

These were the great emporia of foreign trade, but at the head of the tidal portion of each river, and at favourable sites on its banks, the pioneers of the great foreign companies had their trade-outposts and warehouses, and at all such places sprang up settlements of the classes (chiefly Muhammadans) who carried on the trade of the country. Such settlements still exist, but with the opening up of roads, canals and railway, and the centralizing influence of trade, their glory has largely passed away from them.

The following are the chief rivers, backwaters, canals, etc., in the district, and the latitudes and longitudes are taken from the Indian Atlas Sheets Nos. 44, 61 and 62, and are those of the river mouths where they empty themselves into the ocean, or, in the case of rivers flowing eastward, those of the places where they finally leave the district :—

The *Nilesvaram* River.—N. Lat. $12^{\circ} 4'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 14'$. This river, which is about forty-seven miles in length, lies for the most part in the district of South Canara. It drains, however, what is still a *Malayalam* country, and what was formerly the most northern portion of the kingdom of the *Kolattiris*. Country craft of small burthen can enter its mouth for a short distance.

The *Elimala* or Mount Deli River.—N. Lat. $12^{\circ} 2'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 18'$. The course of this stream is only about thirty miles in length. It rises in the ghat mountains and loses itself in a number of creeks to the east and north-east of the mount. One or more of these join the waters of the *Nilesvaram* river, and the chief one flows south and enters the sea in the angle of the bay formed immediately to the south of and under the very shadow of the mount itself. These creeks being tidal, therefore convert the mount peninsula into an island. The sluggish water of these brackish creeks is extremely favourable to the crocodile tribe, which here at times attain prodigious dimensions, and with increasing weight they gain an appetite for the flesh of men and animals which makes it extremely dangerous for fishermen, and agriculturists too, to pursue their callings in such haunts. A crocodile fifteen feet in length is far more than a match for the strongest buffalo. The prodigious length of his ponderous jaws, armed with sharp-pointed interlocking teeth, give the reptile a hold of his victim which enables him to make full use of the enormous dead weight of his ungainly carcass as well as of his immense muscular power. So much are these reptiles feared, that people in boats even are sometimes not exempt from danger, and dwellers by the water-side generally have guns loaded to take advantage of their enemies. Sometimes the whole country-side turns out to drag them from their lairs by nets of strong meshed rope.

The *Sultan's Canal*.—N. Lat. $12^{\circ} 2'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 18'$. This is an artificial work (about two miles in length), undertaken and executed in 1766 by *Ali Raja*, the husband of the *Bibi* of Cannanore, when managing the *Kolattiri* domains for *Haidar Ali*. It connects the Mount Deli river with the backwater formed at the mouth of the

Taliparamba and Valarpattanam rivers, and thus gives uninterrupted water communication at all seasons. Formerly boats going to or from the north had to go out to sea at this point.

The *Taliparamba* River.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 57'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 22'$. The main branch of this river is navigable at all seasons for boats as far as the lower slopes of the ghat mountains. After passing Taliparamba the main branch is joined by one from the east, and the two together spread out into an extensive sheet of water, the haunt in certain seasons of large flocks of aquatic birds. Bending slightly to the north and passing under the guns of an old ruined fort of the Kolattiri's, the united streams then suddenly turn at *Palangudi* (ancient bazaar) due south and run in a course parallel to the sea till they meet the stronger current of the Valarpattanam river, united to which they force for themselves a passage to the sea through the sand shoals thrown up by the littoral currents. A large tract of fertile garden land has been formed by the continuous action of the littoral currents damming up the mouth of this river. Its length from source to mouth is about fifty-one miles.

The *Valarpattanam* River.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 57'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 22'$. Though the length of this river is less than that of several others in Malabar proper, it perhaps discharges more water into the sea than any of them. It has three large branches, one of which joins the tidal part of the main stream and is itself navigable for boats almost to the foot of the ghat mountains. Near the head of the navigable portion of this branch lies one of those pioneer settlements of trading foreigners (Muhammadans) already alluded to, and it is in this out-of-the-way place that, local tradition says, was founded one of the nine original Muhammadan mosques. The tradition is, that this place, the "*Surrakundapuram*" of the Indian Atlas, was in former days the chief emporium of trade with the fertile lands of Coorg and the sandal forests of Mysore, and that this is the place to which Ibn Batuta travelled from *Hili* (*Elimala*), and about the exact locality of which there has been some speculation. It is just about one day's journey, by water all the way, from Mount Deli. On the main branch of the river the head of the navigable portion is likewise marked by a pioneer settlement of foreign traders (Muhammadans) located in the village of *Irukur* (*Erroocur* of the Atlas). The trade route to Mysore and Coorg in more recent times lay through this village, and it was through this village that one of the columns of the force despatched against Coorg in 1834 laid its route. Further up stream, at Irritti, and just below the junction of its other two main branches, the existing trade route *via* the Perambadi ghat crosses the river by a lofty bridge of masonry piers and abutments with a superstructure of wood about to be replaced by iron lattice girders. Beyond this bridge the sources of the river lie in the ghat mountains and in primeval forest, much of which is still inhabited only by wild beasts. The lengths of these two main branches above Irritti bridge are respectively about thirty-two and twenty-eight miles, and the whole length of the stream may be taken to be about seventy-four miles. At the

village of Valarpattanam near its mouth there is a well preserved fort on a lofty cliff on the south bank of the river completely dominating the stream, and further west on an island in the backwater was yet another fort called Madakkara. The former belonged to the Kolattiri, and was evidently planned for him by European engineers; the latter was one of the outworks built by the Honorable Company's factors at the English settlement of Tellicherry to protect the Company's trade on those rivers. Country craft of considerable size enter the river and lie off the village of Valarpattanam.

The *Anjarakandi River*.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 47'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 32'$. This river rises in the heavy forest land on the western face of the Wynad ghat slopes, and after a course of about forty miles divides into two branches and thus forms the island of Darmapattanam at its junction with the sea. It is navigable for boats at all seasons to a place called *Venkat* some distance above Anjarakandi. At *Venkat* the Honorable English Company had a trading outpost in the very heart of the finest pepper-producing country in Malabar. And at Anjarakandi the Honorable Company started an experimental garden for the growth of various exotics. The command of the traffic on this river was considered so important that Darmapattanam island at its mouth, acquired by the Honorable Company in 1734–35, was heavily fortified and garrisoned from the Tellicherry factory, and it was even proposed to give up the Tellicherry factory altogether and to build a new one on Darmapattanam island.

The *Tellicherry River*.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 46'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 33'$. This is an insignificant stream navigable for boats to a distance of only about three or three and a half miles, and in length altogether its course is about fourteen miles. Small country craft do, however, enter its mouth and lie above the bridge which spans it. It was of importance as affording protection to the English factory at Tellicherry on the northern and eastern landward sides, and the natural protection it afforded was further strengthened by small fortified outworks at various points of vantage. It was frequently called the Kodoli river from the fort of that name, commanding the bay at its mouth. At a short distance above Tellicherry it still forms the boundary of the French *aldee* of Pandakal, a detached outlying portion of the French settlement at Maho.

The *Mahe River*.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 43'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 36'$. This stream rises in the heavy forests of the Wynad ghats, and after a course of about thirty-four miles falls into the sea at the French settlement of Maho, of the main portion of which it forms the northern and eastern boundary for a distance of about two miles. It is navigable for country craft of a small size for a distance of about half a mile and for boats as far as Parakadavu some twelve miles farther up stream.

The *Kottu River*.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 34'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 39'$. It is so named from a fort (kotta) commanding the entrance to the sea. It was notorious in former days as a haunt of pirates, one of whom Kottakkal Kunyali Marakkar, made his name famous. It drains a heavy mass of virgin forest on the western slopes of the Wynad

ghats, and, the rainfall being excessively heavy in those parts, the river discharges for its length, only some forty-six miles, more than the usual quantity of water for rivers of its size. It is navigable at all seasons for boats as far as Kuttiyadi, which lies closely adjacent to the chain of ghats, and from this point a pack-bullock road runs up the mountains into North Wynad. The water communication on this river is linked on the one hand on the north by —

the *Vadakkara Canal*.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 36'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 38'$ —partly natural and partly artificial, to the thriving trading town of Vadakkara, and on the south by another canal made in 1843 and called—

the *Payoli Canal*.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 31'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 43'$ —length about one mile, to the extensive natural backwater communication of—

the *Agalapula*, which means literally broad river. This broad river or backwater receives no stream of any importance, indeed nearly all the drainage from the ghats at this point is intercepted by the main stream and tributaries of the *Kotta* river, so that for a distance of about sixteen miles (N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 31'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 43'$, to N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 22'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 48'$) this backwater runs in a course parallel to the sea until it meets the *Ellattur* river close to the mouth of that stream. The importance of this natural water communication can hardly be overrated. It would seem as if the *Kotta* river had at one time found its way to the sea by this outlet instead of by the channel now in use, and indeed even now the water-level in the *Kotta* river sometimes rises so high as to threaten to breach through the narrow isthmus separating it from the *Agalapula*, the water-level of which rises of course much less rapidly in floods. This difference of level in floods necessitates the maintenance of a water-lock at the entrance to the *Payoli* canal from the *Kotta* river.

The *Ellattur* River.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 22'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 48'$ —is in length about thirty-two miles, but it is a shallow stream, and, except near its mouth, is not suited for boat traffic. It is connected with the *Kallai* river and backwaters and with the *Beypore* river beyond by—

the *Conolly* Canal, which, taking advantage of the natural facilities already existing, loops together the drainage areas of the three streams above mentioned. The canal was constructed under the orders of Mr. Conolly, the Collector of Malabar, and was completed in the year 1848. It consists of a cut about three miles in length through several low ridges intervening between the *Ellattur* river and the *Kallai* river; the deepest cutting is about thirty feet through laterite rock, and the width which is irregular, is in the narrowest portions about twelve feet. The depth of water in the cutting at low tide is only a few inches. Imperfect as it is, the facilities it affords to traffic are largely utilized, and it is likely to be ere long much improved in the carrying out of an extensive scheme proposed so long ago as in 1822 by Special Commissioner Mr. Graeme for affording inland water communication from Travancore northwards,

The *Kallai* river.—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 14'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 51'$. The stream, which, in the monsoon months only, forces a way for itself into the sea through the sand shoals thrown up by the littoral currents on the beach at Calicut, is a very insignificant one, and attains a length of about fourteen miles only. Connected with it, however, are several pretty extensive back-waters, and these again are looped on to the Beypore river by a narrow creek.

The *Beypore* river. N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 9'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 52'$ —drains a very extensive tract of the Wynad ghats and Nilgiri mountains. This is the only stream in Malabar which brings any considerable portion of its waters from above the crest of the ghat mountain ridge. Its two main branches rise respectively one in the Kunda mountains on the Nilgiri plateau and the other on the lower ranges of south-east Wynad. The one, called the Gold river, passes over the ridge of ghats in a long succession of rocky cataracts lying a short distance south of the Karkur pass. The other, called the Chola river, leaps down from the crest of the Wynad hills in a magnificent cataract close to a footpath known as the Choladi pass. The two streams, after receiving many large feeders, unite in the midst of the Nilambur Government teak plantations, and then flow on, receiving several important feeders from north and south, to their outlet into the sea at Beypore, the old terminus of the Madras Railway south-west line, a total distance in the case of the main branch of about ninety-six miles. This river discharges a very large volume of water in the monsoon seasons, and the scour on the bar is thus sufficient to maintain a depth of about six feet at low tide which enables country craft to enter and lie about half a mile up-stream opposite the custom house and railway terminus. Even in the height of the dry season also boats of light draught can ascend the stream as far as Mambat under the very shadow of the lofty Camel Hump range. There as usual (and also at Arikod) are to be found colonies of Muhammadan traders settled for ages. The sands of this, and indeed of all the streams descending from the ghat mountains in Malabar, have from the earliest times been known to be auriferous, and even now some of the lower classes of the population try to eke out a precarious livelihood by washing the sands after each annual flood.

The *Kadalundi* river—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 8'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 53'$ —is united to the Beypore river by a creek, and thus is formed the island of Chaliyam, on which was placed the old terminus of the Madras Railway south-west line. The Kadalundi river comes from the western slopes of the Nilgiri mountains and of the Silent Valley range, and its main branch is seventy-five miles in length. The country through which it passes is on a higher level than the valley of the Beypore river, and hence the boat traffic on this stream is very limited except during the annual flood season when boats can get up-stream as far as Malappuram and even further, but in the dry season boat traffic is confined to a few miles near the mouth of the river. An unsuccessful attempt, continued down to 1857, was made by several Collectors to connect by a canal the Kadalundi

river with the back-waters and creeks of the Ponnani river. A cutting was made, and for a day or two in the height of the monsoon, when the country is flooded, boats can pass with some difficulty from the one river to the other, but at other seasons this is impracticable. A great natural obstacle to the successful construction of this canal was that at a short depth below the surface, a bed of unctuous clay or mud was found, which oozing into the canal filled it up sufficiently to prevent the passage of boats. This liquid mud seems to be of the same character with that which, forced upwards from the bottom of the sea by submarine volcanic action or by subterraneous pressure of water from the large inland back-waters, forms the mud banks or mud bays in which at one or two places on the coast (notably at Narakal and Alleppey) ships can ride in safety and load and discharge cargo throughout the monsoon season. The same difficulty was experienced at Calicut in making a short canal from the Kallai river to the main bazaar.

The *Ponnani* river.—N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 48'$, E. Long. $75^{\circ} 59'$. This is the longest of the rivers which discharge into the Arabian Ocean in Malabar proper. The main stream is about one hundred and fifty-six miles long, and the lengths of its three chief tributaries before they join the main stream are respectively about sixty, fifty and forty-six miles. But the volume of water discharged from the large area drained by this river and its tributaries is probably not so great and is certainly not so constant as that discharged either by the Valarpattanam river or by the Beypore river. The reason of this is that the main stream comes from the arid plains of Coimbatore, and its drainage area in the mountains under the influence of the south-west monsoon is comparatively small. This tract, too, lies further inland than the mountain ranges to the north of them. The south-west line of the Madras Railway strikes the course of this river at the Palghat gap and runs along close to the stream till within a mile or two of the coast. The bed of the stream in the lower reaches is generally sandy, and the water is shallow, but in the rains loaded boats do ascend the stream for considerable distances. There is never, however, except during the rains, a current at its mouth sufficiently strong to maintain a deep and wide channel through the sand drifts carried by the littoral currents. The bar is therefore always considerably impeded by shoals, and at times when the first monsoon floods come down the river the water is backed up and floods the surrounding country till the rush of water has cleared away these sand shoals. Dangerous deep currents are thus formed, and the river-side portion of Ponnani town which stands at its mouth is always in more or less danger from erosion, and in fact the town is only preserved by groynes, for the proper maintenance of which a special voluntary cess is paid by the mercantile community. This river near its mouth is connected on the north by a navigable creek with the railway system at Tirur railway station, and on the south by—

the *Ponnani* canal with the back-waters of Velliyankod, which again communicate with those further south, and boat traffic

is by these means possible from the railway at Tirur down to Trivandrum, the capital of the Travancore State, a distance of over two hundred miles. But the water communication is only practicable at all seasons at present for small boats, and a scheme is under consideration for improving it. Among the most urgent requirements is the widening and deepening of the cut—about two miles in length—connecting the Ponnani river with the Velliyankod back-water. The cut is at present only about fifteen feet wide, and the water in it is only a few inches deep at low tide.

The *Velliyankod* back-water.—N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 44'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 0'$. No stream of any importance joins this system of lagoons and back-waters, and the opening to the sea is maintained by the force with which the tide ebbs and flows. It is united with—

the *Charakkad* back-water by creeks which, together with the latter, extend from N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 44'$ to $10^{\circ} 32'$ and from E. Long. $76^{\circ} 1'$ to $76^{\circ} 6'$, a distance in all of about fifteen miles. In all this distance no stream of any size flows into or out of the back-water; indeed two ridges running parallel to the coast line seem to shut off drainage both from east and west. This hollow is filled with fresh-water in the rains, and two rude embankments of wattle and mud are made at the end of the rains to keep in the fresh and to prevent the influx of salt-water, which would otherwise destroy the heavy rice-crops raised within the enclosure. The passage of boats is maintained by sliding them with extra help over the obstacles on the unctuous mud of which the embankments are formed. At its southern extremity the back-water joins—

the *Chetwai* river.—N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 31'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 6'$. The mouth of this river and about six miles of its course lie entirely in British territory, and for about two miles more it forms the boundary between British territory and the Native State of Cochin. At the end of this eight miles the river widens out into a lake, partly natural and partly artificial.

The *Trichur* or *Ennamakkal* lake—N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 25'$ to $10^{\circ} 35'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 10'$ to $76^{\circ} 16'$ —as it is called, is of considerable size, about twenty-five square miles, and of great value, and deserves notice, if only for the singular struggle of human industry against the forces of nature which the cultivation of its bed demands. From the subsidence of the floods of one year to the commencement of the following rains the space of time is barely sufficient for the garnering of a crop. At the close of the rains the water in the lake, which is protected from tidal influences by a masonry dam at Ennamakkal, is drained off by ceaseless labour day and night with Persian wheels aided not unfrequently now-a-days by patent pumps driven by portable steam-engines, whose fires glow weirdly across the waste of waters on dark nights while the incessant throb and rattle of the engines and machinery strive hard to dispel any illusions. Every foot of ground that can be thus reclaimed is protected by fences of wattle and mud and is planted up with well-grown rice seedlings. Spaces are left between the fields, and into these channels the water

drawn from the fields is poured, so that boats have to be employed for visiting the different fields, the dry beds of which lie some three or four feet below the level of the water in the canals. In the dry weather the lake presents a magnificent level green expanse of the most luxuriant growing rice, the pleasant effect of which to the eye is heightened by contrast with the snowy plumage of the innumerable cranes and other aquatic birds which here revel in a continual feast. With the early thunder harbingers of the south-west monsoon in April re-commences the struggle with the slowly but steadily rising flood. Numberless Persian wheels bristle in their bamboo frameworks for the contest with the threatening floods, and as the season advances thousands of the population, many of them good caste Nayar women, are perched high above the scene on these machines continuing the day and night struggle with the rising floods for the preservation of their ripening crops. The bulwarks of the fields are frequently breached and the unripened crop drowned. Often a large area has to be reaped by simply heading the stalks from boats; but, as a rule, an enormously rich crop rewards this remarkable industry. A small portion only of this lake lies in British territory. The major portion belongs to the Cochin State, and, as already observed, a masonry dam at Ennamakkal is necessary to maintain the level of the fresh-water in the lake and to keep out the salt-water. The original dam seems to have been formed some time during the eighteenth century by (it is said) the united efforts of the Zamorin and Cochin Rajas. They erected an embankment of hewn stone above two hundred feet long across the back-water at Ennamakkal. In 1802 Assistant Collector Mr. Drummond, under an erroneous expectation of benefiting the neighbouring lands, caused the dam to be partially destroyed; but the consequence was that a large area of land fell out of cultivation owing to the influx of salt-water. Various attempts were made, especially in 1823 and 1842, to reconstruct the dam on the original plan. A project for a new dam lower down the river at Chetwai was proposed, and between 1855 and 1858 preparations for constructing this work were undertaken. The idea was abandoned, however, after Rs. 35,000 had been spent on it, and since then the original dam has been annually patched up at the joint cost of the British and Cochin Governments.

The last stream to find its way into the sea in British territory is—

The *Cochin* river—N. Lat. $9^{\circ} 38'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 18'$. It can hardly be called a river, for it is rather the tidal opening of an immense system of back-waters in which numerous large rivers from the ghát mountains lose themselves. These back-waters extend far away north into Cochin territory and far away south into Travancore and afford an admirable means of conveying the produce of this immense tract to its market at Cochin. The rush of water across the bar is so great as to maintain a depth on it of about twelve feet of water, which enables ships of a considerable size to

come into harbour and load in smooth water. The depth is, however, insufficient for the large trading steamers employed in the coast traffic, and many of the sailing ships even which convey the produce to foreign countries are unable to cross the bar when loaded. These sometimes take in a portion of their cargo inside, and then go outside to the roadstead to complete their lading. Many proposals have from time to time been mooted for improving the Cochin river harbour, and a steam dredge was sent out from England to deepen the bar. It was found to be unsuited for working in the rough water which always more or less prevails on the bar, and it was also found that the depth of water in the channel inside the bar was unsuited for the merchant steamers of the present day. A proposal to make a close harbour has also been set aside on the ground of expense. The trade of Cochin, considerable as it is, could not afford to pay the interest on the large sum required for this purpose.

Besides the above rivers which flow into the Arabian Sea in Malabar, there are three of the large tributaries of the Kaveri river which deserve mention as having their sources in Malabar. These are—

The *Kabbani* River—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 52'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 16'$ —which has its sources in Wynad, and which at times, owing to excessive rainfall on the ghat mountains, rolls down a very heavy flood to its parent stream. It and its tributaries drain nearly the whole of North and South Wynad, but their beds are too rocky and too shallow to permit of any traffic on them beyond the floating of timber.

The *Rampur* River—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 46'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 28'$ —resembles the Kabbani, into which it eventually flows after draining a large portion of South-East Wynad.

The *Bavani* River—N. Lat. $11^{\circ} 12'$, E. Long. $76^{\circ} 48'$ —rises in the Kunda mountains on the Nilgiri plateau, and, after following a circuitous course through the Attapadi Valley, in which it barely escapes tumbling over the ghats to the westward, it returns again to the shadow of the Nilgiri mountains just before leaving Malabar. It is joined in the valley by one large and several small feeders. The former is called the *Siruvani* or small *Bavani* and rises on the crest of the lofty forest-clad mountains on the northern edge of the Palghat gap. Acquiring a considerable volume in a sort of amphitheatre of mountains on the very crest of the ghats it pours itself in a magnificent cataract, said to be two thousand feet high, over a precipitous ledge of rock which hems in the Attapadi Valley on the south. At the top of this ledge of rock is a deep pool in the bed of the stream called Muttukulam, which is regarded with superstitious awe by the people, and about which many wonderful stories are told. By those who have never been to see it, it is said to be fathomless, and the people declare that extraordinary and tremendous noises do at times issue from it, and rull cracking among the mountains.

SECTION D.—GEOLOGICAL FORMATION.

With the exception of the auriferous quartz-reef country in South-East Wynad, the detailed consideration of which falls more appropriately under the heading of the gold industry in Chapter VII, the district has not yet been scientifically surveyed by the Geological Survey Department, but Mr. W. King, the Deputy Superintendent for Madras, has embodied in his "General sketch of the Geology of the Travancore State" the results of his observations gathered in visits to Malabar and Cochin, and those, as he says, enable him to "generalize as to the lie and character of the very few rock formations over the country far to the northward" of the scene of his immediate explorations in Travancore, so that in fact a good deal is known about the geological formations of Malabar.

For facility of reference Mr. King's short paper on Travancore is therefore subjoined, with notes to certain portions of it.

General sketch of the Geology of the Travancore State. By W. KING, D.Sc., Deputy Superintendent, (Madras) Geological Survey of India—(Records, Geological Survey, Vol. XV, p. 87.)

"My last season's work (1880–81) was devoted to a general examination of the geology of the southern half of Travancore, and to a particular study of a small area of deposits which has been long known as occurring on the sea-coast, on the history of which I have written a separate paper.

"The development of the gold industry of Southern India having raised hopes of a similar auriferousness of the mountainous and coffee-planting districts in Travancore to that in Wynad, I was, at the very urgent request of the Travancore Government, induced to devote a considerable portion of my time to the examination of the region supposed to present the most favourable indications of gold-bearing rocks. The result of this was a report on the quartz outcrops of Peermad, in which I showed that the supposed reefs are to all appearance beds of nearly pure quartz rock occurring with the other strata of the gneiss series, and that, though they locally give the very faintest traces of gold, there is no reason to expect that better results will be obtained. Practically, there are no auriferous quartz-reefs, as usually understood, in the area pointed out; neither do I expect that such will be found of any extent or richness in so much of Travancore as I was able to visit.

"The geological examination of the country may be said to have extended over more than half of the territory—in reality, it consisted of various traverses over the country between Cape Comorin and the 9° 35' parallel of North latitude; but I can generalize as to the lie and character of the very few rock formations over the country far to the northward through visits which I had made in previous years in the Coimbatore and Malabar districts, and

this season at Cochin, to which place I was called in connection with a commission of enquiry on the harbours, conducted by Colonel R. H. Sankey, C.B., in the hopes of being able to elucidate something regarding the well-known tracts of smooth water off the coast at Narakal and Poracaud.

"The Travancore State, though it has long had a very irregular eastern frontier, has now been settled as lying practically to the westward of the main water-shed of the southern portion of the great mountainous back-bone or mid-rib of Southern India, which stretches from the low-lying gap of Palghat, below the Nilgiris, to within some fifteen miles of Cape Comorin. Between this southern extremity of the mountain land and 'the Cape', as it is distinctively called, there is an outlying hill mass which carries the water-shed rather to the eastward of the extreme southern point of India; but a low rocky spur does terminate the end, and outside of it, or a little to the eastward again and somewhat higher, are two rocky islets.

"In the northern part of the country the mountain mass is very broad, but just south of the Poornad parallel (the northern limit of my proper work) the hilly backbone narrows considerably and becomes a lengthened series of more or less parallel ridges with lower and lower intermediate valleys. These are striking with the gneiss, or about west-north-west and east-south-east, there being at the same time a line of higher masses and peaks culminating the main ridge, from which the ribs run away, as indicated, to the low country.

"The mountain land does not, as may be seen by any good map, run down the middle of the peninsula, but keeps to the westward; so that there is a broad stretch of low country on the Madura and Tinnevely side, while that of Travancore is narrow. Then the mountains drop rather suddenly to the east, while they send long spurs down to within a comparatively short distance of the western coast. There is thus still, in Madura and Tinnevely, a southerly prolongation of the wide plains of the Carnatic, which stretch round by Cape Comorin and join the narrower, though rather more elevated, low country of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar.

"This narrower and somewhat higher land of the west coast presents also unmistakable traces of a plateau or terraced character¹

¹ The terraced character of the low lands of Malabar is best seen at Malapuram, the Special Assistant Collector's headquarters in the Ernad Taluk; but in the extreme north of the district, in the Chirakkal taluk, both north and south of the Taliparamba river, it is also conspicuous. These terraces touch the sea and form low cliffs at Mount Doli, at Cannanore, at Darmapattanam and Tellicherry, and thence almost continuously on to Mahé, at Kollam near Quilandy, and for a few miles north of it, and lastly at the Ellattur river mouth. Mr. King examined some of these terraces and observed in regard to them that "the capped character of the plateaus in the neighbourhood of Beypore and Calicut, for instance, is due to the denudation of an originally planed-down terrace of gneiss into detached plateaus, the upper surfaces of which are altered and lateritized to a certain depth."—(Records, Geological Survey, Vol. XV, p. 101.)

which is best displayed about Trivandrum, and northwards past Cochin into the Malabar country. South of Trivandrum these marks gradually disappear, the last trace being in the flat upland or plateau bordering the sea-shore at Kolachel. This more or less even-surfaced tract of country has an elevation in its most typical parts of one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet above the sea, and it touches the shore in cliffs or headlands at two or three points, particularly at Warkilli, and in the Paupancheri hill south-west of Trivandrum.

"To an observer travelling to Trivandrum across the Ariankow pass from Tinnevely, the change from the parallel ridges and broken form of the lower hilly country to the comparatively smooth downs of Trivandrum is striking, though he would hardly see the generally terraced or plateau character until a more extended acquaintance had been made with the country.

"Northwards from Trivandrum there are narrow strips of absolutely low land, that is on the sea-level,¹ marked by sandy and alluvial flats and long back-waters or lagoons. These widen out northwards from Quilon, until at Alleppey (Anlapalay) there is a width of about twelve miles of such formations, with the very extensive back-water which stretches far past Cochin.

"The rock formations are—first, and most prevalent and foundational, the gneiss series;² and then on it, but only in a very small way, the *Quilon beds*, which are supposed to be of eocene

¹ These sea-level lands are numerous in Malabar also; as, for example, the wide tidal back-waters on the Taliparamba and Valarpattanum rivers, the Agalapula (broad river) stretching between the Kotta and Ellattur rivers, the back-waters on the Kadalundi river, those connected with the Velayankod backwater, and finally the Trichur or Ennamakkal lake itself, with many others too numerous to be mentioned.

² Mr. R. Bruce Foote, in his "Sketch of the work of the Geological Survey in Southern India", points out that Mr. H. P. Blandford, in his memoir on the Nilgiris which appeared in 1859, exposed "the fallacy of a view held by Captain Newbold as well as many others at that time and still later, namely, that each of the mountain plateaus and ridges contained a great irrupted nucleus of granite rocks", and observes "that the metamorphic rocks have not been greatly broken up and dislocated by intrusions of granite, to which the present outlines of the country were supposed to be largely due", and finally winds up on this point as follows: "The existing outlines are almost entirely due to atmospheric erosion acting over vast periods of time, the gneissic highlands of the south of the peninsula being one of the oldest known portions of *terra firma*".—(Reprint from Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1882, p. 5.) To this may be added the following from Mr. W. King's paper on the gold fields of South-East Wynad: "It is worthy of notice that the present surface of Wynad has probably only been exposed after a slow wearing away of over two thousand feet of superincumbent gneiss which was once continuous between the Nilgiri mountains and the Vellera Mala range".—(Records, Geological Survey, Vol. VIII, p. 43.)

age. These last are overlapped by the *Warkilli beds*,¹ which certainly appear to belong to a different series, and are thus perhaps of upper tertiary age; they appear also to be equivalent to the Cuddalore sandstones of the Coromandel. Finally, there are the recent deposits.

"The gneisses are generally of the massive grey section of the series, that is, they are nearest to the rocks of the Nilgiris, though they differ from them in being coarse-grained or more largely crystallized, and in being generally quartzose rocks.

"So quartzose are they, that there are, locally, frequent thin beds of nearly pure quartzrock which are at times very like roofs of veinquartz. Often these beds are strongly felspathic, the felspar occurring among the quartz in distinguishable grains, or larger crystalline masses, giving the rock rather a granitic appearance. The only other region where I know of somewhat similar beds of quartz rock occurring with other gneisses is in the schistose region of the Nellore district. There, however, the quartz rock becomes often a fine, compact quartzite; here, in Travancore, there are no approaches to such compact forms.

¹ So far as is yet known, the Qilon beds do not extend into Malabar, but the Warkilli beds are known to occur at two places at least in Malabar, namely, going northwards:—

(1) *Beyyore* where Lieutenant Newbold obtained the following measurements in the section of a cliff extending down to the water-level in the river:—

"Four feet of sandy alluvial soil.

"Ten feet of loose sandstone with beds of ochreous earth.

"Twenty feet of gritty sandstone, passing into gritty laterite, and variegated in its lower portions with red and yellow bands.

Carboniferous stratum varying from a few inches to five feet in thickness."

—(Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XI, pp. 239-243).

Mr. King seems to have overlooked this account of Lieutenant Newbold's when stating that all the lateritic country about Calicut and Beyyore is "merely one of a decomposed form of gneiss".—(Records, Geological Survey, Vol. XV, p. 101.)

(2) Mr. O. Canman, an ex-Deputy Collector of Malabar, while sinking (January—May 1876) a well in his garden in the Cantonment of Cannanore, observed the following facts:—

<i>Strata met with.</i>						FEET.
Red earth and gravel	..	..	..	..	..	8
Tough, hard laterite	..	..	..	..	..	20
Red and yellow clay	..	..	..	..	..	10
Blue clay	..	..	..	..	..	10
Carboniferous stratum with <i>dammer</i> (resin) fruits—resembling those of the <i>atakkappayan</i> (<i>Sphaeranthus Ind.</i>)—ores and metals						
White sand with spring of water	..	..	..	..	..	4
Total depth of well						56
Diameter of well						17

Distance from the sea about quarter mile. This carboniferous stratum is well known at Cannanore, and it is often met with in sinking wells at that place. It also crops out in the low cliffs on the sea-shore.

In boring for foundations for a road bridge in the bed of the Kallai river at Calicut in 1883, a stratum of what looked like a carbonaceous shale was met with at thirty feet to thirty-six feet below river bed. In one bore hole the thickness of this stratum was six feet; in another two feet. Other bore holes on either side did not meet with this stratum, which lay under stiff, grey, black and blue clays.

"The common gneisses are felspathic quartzose varieties of white or grey colours, very largely charged with garnets. A particular form of them is an exceedingly tough, but largely crystallized, dark-grey or greenish felspathic rock.

"Massive hornblendic gneisses are not common. Indeed, hornblende may be said to be a comparatively rare constituent of the Travancore gneisses.

"All the gneisses are more or less charged with titaniferous iron in minute grains; they are likewise—only more visibly—as a rule, highly garnetiferous. In fact, one might say that Travancore is essentially a country of garnetiferous gneisses. The garnets themselves are only locally obtainable, it being impossible to break them from the living rock while they are generally decomposed or weathered. They are generally of small size, but are very rich in color, the precious garnet being very common. Other minerals, such as red, blue and yellow sapphire and jacinth, are found among the garnet sands so common on the sea-shore at certain places. The sea-sands are also full of titaniferous iron grain. While on this subject, I may instance the beautiful and long known constitution of the shore sands at Cape Comorin, where, on the beach, may be seen the strongest-colored streaks or ribbons, of good width, of bright scarlet, black, purple, yellow and white sands of all these minerals and the ordinary silica.

"As will be seen further on, an enormous quantity of ferruginous matter is collected among certain forms of weathered gneiss and other rocks, the source of which is hardly accounted for in the apparent sparse distribution of iron in the gneisses. After all, however, an immense supply of ferruginous matter must result from the weathering of the garnets, when we consider that they are so generally prevalent in all the gneisses, and crowdedly so in very many of them.

"The general lie of the gneisses is in two or three parallel folds striking west-north-west to east-south-east. There is, perhaps, rather a tendency of the strike more to the northward in the broad part of the hills, about Peermad, and on towards the Cochin territory. Thus between Trivandrum and Tinnevely on the west coast, or for some twelve to twenty miles inland, the dip is high to the south-south-west inland of the terraced or plateau country, or among the first parallel ridges there is a north-north-east dip; then, on the mountain zone, there is again a high dip generally to the south-south-west. Thus the inclination of the beds is generally high, right across the strike with a crushed-up condition of the folds; but they are often at a low angle, and the anticlinal on the western, the synclinal on the eastern, side are plainly distinguishable. About Kurtallam (Courtallum), on the Tinnevely side, the rise up from the synclinal is very well displayed, and in their strike west-north-westward into the broad mountain land, the beds of this place clearly take part in a further great anticlinal which is displayed in a great flat arch of the Peermad strata. With this widening out of the mountain mass there is rather an easier lie of the strata,

"Southwards from the Ariankow traverse just detailed, there is much crushing up of the beds ; but they roll out flatter again towards the southern extremity, and there are good indications of a further synclinal to the south-south-west in the northerly low-dipping beds of Cape Comorin.

"Foliation is very strongly developed : indeed it is here, practically, bedding and lamination, of which there are some wonderful exhibitions. At Cape Comorin, indeed, some of the gneiss in its weathered condition (not lateritized) is scarcely to be distinguished, at first, from good thick bedded and laminated sandstones and flaggy sandstones.

"There is no special development of igneous rocks either in the way of granites or greenstones, though small veins and dykes are common, generally running nearly with the strike of the gneiss. In South Travancore, or north of the parallel of Trivandrum, there are stronger occurrences of granite, in which the mica is abundant and in largish masses.

"The great feature about the gneisses in Travancore, and indeed also in Cochin and Malabar, is their extraordinary tendency to weather or decompose, generally into white, yellow, or reddish felspathic clayey rocks, which, in many places and often very extensively, ultimately become what is here always called *laterite*.¹

¹ The vexed question of the formation of *laterite* is still *sub judice*. There are three theories accounting for it, namely, the marine ; the fluvial ; and the sub-aerial. The chief difficulty lies in the total absence of all organic remains, for chipped instruments, which have been found in it, are only indirectly of organic origin. Alluding to the different kinds of rock which go by the name of "*laterite*" Mr. King, in a footnote to his paper on "the Warkilli and Quilon beds in Travancore," says : "The origin of *laterite* being still unsettled, it is as well that no opportunity should be neglected for keeping certain points in the investigation well to the fore. Only lately I see that my colleague Mr. F. R. Mallet, in his paper 'On the ferruginous beds associated with the basaltic rocks of North-Eastern Ulster in relation to Indian *laterite*' (Records, Geological Survey of India, XIV, p. 148), writes with reference to a generalization of Mr. W. J. McGee of Farley, Iowa, United States of America : 'But that *laterite* is a product of the alteration *in situ* of the underlying rocks is a view open to serious objections, which has been fully discussed by Mr. Blanford.' Now this is striking at actual facts, against which no local or theoretical objections can be taken into consideration ; for, to put it plainly, and as long as we are unable to define strictly what shall and what shall not be called *laterite* among the strange ferruginous rocks which go by that name, certain forms of this rock are actually and really an altered condition of the rock *in situ*. Such is the case in Travancore, Malabar, and Ceylon, where I have over and over again traced the *laterite* (as it is called in Travancore) or the 'Kabuk' (the Singalese synonym) into the living gneiss rock. I have held this view of what may be called the *lateritization* of gneiss with Mr. R. Bruce Foote (my colleague in Madras) for the last twenty years : our conclusions have been based on observations on the Nilgris, Shevaroyes, and other elevated regions in the Kurnool and Cuddapah districts ; and my enlarged experience of the western coast and Ceylon has only confirmed it. Our experience of the Deccan *laterites* is not so extended, but we are agreed also that some of these must be products of alteration of the rock *in situ*."—(Records, Geological Survey, XV, p. 96). And Mr. King goes on in the text (p. 97) to distinguish "three forms of rock here (Warkilli) and in the neighbourhood which usually go by the name of *laterite* :—

"(1) *Superficial ferruginously cemented debris*.

"(2) The ferruginous, clayey, reddish or brown colored, irregularly vesicular and vormiform scabrous rock forming the uppermost portion of the Warkilli beds, which is unmistakably detrital, and which I will call *laterite* in this paper.

"(3) The altered form of decomposed gneiss (called 'Kabuk' in Ceylon), which I shall here write of as *lateritized gneiss*. This form always eventually shows traces of original crystalline structure and constitution."

The evidences of this arc, after all, only well seen in the field ; but it may be stated here that these are seen principally in the constituent minerals, mainly the quartz, being still identifiable in much of the rock ; in the lamination or foliation being also traceable ; in the gradual change from the massive living rock to the soft and finally hard, scabrous, and vermicular ferruginous clayey resultant called laterite ; and in the thin, pale, and poorly ferruginous forms exhibited by the weathering and alteration of the more felspathic and quartzose gneisses.

“ This altered form of the weathered gneiss occurs over a definite area which I have laid down approximately in the map. At the same time, the change from unweathered gneiss to this belt is not sharp ; for long before the eastern limit of the more generally lateritized belt is reached, approaching it from the mountain zone, the great change has begun.

“ Very soon after one begins to leave the higher ribs of the mountains and to enter on the first long slopes leading down to the low country, the gneiss begins to be weathered for some depth into a clayey rock, generally of pale colors, streaked and veined with ferruginous matter, and having always an appreciable upper surface of scabrous or pisolitic brown iron clay, which is, of course, probably largely the result of ferruginous wash, and, less so, of ferruginous infiltration. Also the ferruginous and lateritoid character is devolved to a certain extent according to the composition of the gneisses ; but, on the whole, there is no doubt that the upper surface generally over large areas is lateritized to a certain depth irrespective of the varying constitution of the strata.

“ Then, as the rocks are followed or crossed westward the alteration becomes more frequent, decided, and deeper seated ; though still, all over the field, ridges, humps, and bosses of the living rock rise up from the surrounding more or less decomposed low-lying rock areas.

“ This generally irregular and fitfully altered condition of the gneisses begins at an elevation of about four hundred feet above the sea, and thus it extends as a sort of fringe of varying width along the lower slopes of the mountains.

“ At a yet lower level, say from two hundred to one hundred and fifty feet, and so nearer the sea-coast, there is a better defined belt of more decidedly lateritized form of weathered gneiss, in which the unaltered rock occurs less frequently, and then always in more or less flatly rounded humps and masses, which never rise above a general dead level. This belt is, in fact, a country of undulating downs (where free from thick and lofty jungle), or tolerably uniform level stretches of forest land. Occasionally it also shows a plateau surface, or it is broken into small and low flat-topped hills. Always it is very deeply indented by river and stream valleys, or even by some of the backwaters which have high and steep shores,

"Further northwards the plateau character of the lateritic gneiss belt is very well developed in Malabar.

"It is remarkable of this coastal belt of country that its laterite (an altered, or ferruginously infiltrated condition of weathered or decomposed gneiss) is not to be distinguished from any other laterite, except that which is made up of obviously detrital material.

"Whatever the laterite of Travancore or Malabar may have been originally, it is a useless form of the rock, being crumbly and soft as a general rule, and often of a red color than brown. The character of the climate does, in fact, appear to militate against the changing of the red peroxide of iron in the rock to the brown peroxide, during which change the proper cementing and hardening of the sound rock, such as that on the east coast or in the Deccan, is evidently brought about.

"The next succeeding rock formations, namely, the Quilon and Warkilli beds, occur as a very small patch on the coast between the Quilon and Anjengo backwaters.

"The Quilon beds are only known through the researches of the late General Cullen, who found them cropping out at the base of the low laterite cliffs edging the backwater of that place, and again in wells which he had dug or deepened for the purpose. I was myself not able to find a trace¹ of them. They are said to be argillaceous limestones, or a kind of dolomite, in which a marine fauna² of univalve shells, having an eocene *facies*, was found, and they occur at about forty feet below the laterite of Quilon, which is really the upper part of the next group.

"The Warkilli beds, on the other hand, are clearly seen in the cliffs edging the sea-shore some twelve miles south of Quilon, where they attain a thickness of about one hundred and eighty feet, and have the following succession in descending order:—

Laterite (with sandstone masses).

Sandy clays (or lithomarge).

Sandy clays (with sandstone bands).

Alum clays.

Lignite beds (with logs of wood, etc.).

¹ They have since been satisfactorily identified as occurring at a place called Parappakkara on the Quilon backwater about six and a half miles north-east of the Residency at Quilon.

² The marine fauna to which Mr. King here refers is thus described in an extract quoted by him in his paper on "The Warkilli and Quilon beds in Travancore." "Lastly come the argillaceous limestone of the Malabar Coast, not only abundantly charged with the *orbolite* just mentioned" (*Orb. Malabarica*—but it is doubtful, for reasons assigned by Mr. King, whether this orbolite was actually found in the Quilon beds), "but then again in company with *Strombus fortisi*, together with *Cerithium rude*, *Ranella bufo*, *Cassia sculpta*, *Voluta jugosa*, *Conus catenulatus*, and *C. marginatus* (Grant. Geol. Cutch. Tert. Foss.): also *Natica*, *Turbo*, *Pleurotoma*, *Pasciolaria*, *Murex*, *Cancellaria*, *Ancillaria*, and *Cyprea*, all (new species?) closely allied in form to the figured shells of the eocene period. The *orbolite* differs very little, except in size, from *Orbiculina angulata*, Zam. (Encyclop. Methodique, page 468, fig. 3), from which I infer that the latter should also be included among *orbolites*, Zamarek."—[Records, Geological Survey, XI, p. 96.]

"The bottom lignite beds rest on loose white sand, and nothing is known of any lower strata.

"It will be seen how this set of strata has an upper portion, or capping of laterite, which is, however, clearly detrital. On the landward edge of the field of those Warkilli beds, there is in places only a thin skin, representative of these upper beds, of lateritic grits and sandstones lying directly on the gneiss, which is itself also lateritized; and it is very hard, as may be supposed, to distinguish the boundary between the two unless the detrital character of the former deposits is well displayed. Thus the upper part of the formation has overlapped the gneiss. It is also this upper portion which overlies the Quilon beds, which are also apparently overlapped.

"These Warkilli beds constitute, for so much of the coast, the seaward edge of the plateau or terraced country above described, and they present similar features. The Warkilli downs are a feature of the country—bare, grass grown, long, flat undulations of laterite, with, about Warkilli itself, small plateau hills forming the higher ground—one hundred and eighty to two hundred feet above the sea. These downs, too, and the small plateaus or flat-topped hills, are partly of the Warkilli laterite and partly of the lateritoid gneiss.

"Whatever form of denudation may have produced the now much worn terrace of the gneissic portion of the country, the same also determined the general surface of the Warkilli beds. Indeed, it gradually dawned on me while surveying this country, having the remembrance of what I had seen of the plateaus and terraced lowland in Malabar in previous years, that here, clearly, on this western side of India is an old marine terrace, which must be of later date than the Warkilli beds.

"These are, as I have endeavoured to show in another paper, of probably upper tertiary age, and equivalent of the Cuddalore sandstones of the Coromandel. Hence this terrace must be late tertiary or post-pliocene, and it marks, like the long stretches of laterite and sandstones on the eastern side of the country, the last great or decided elevation¹ of Southern India, prior to which, as is very probable, the Indian land rose almost directly from the sea by its Western Ghats and had an eastern shore line which is now indicated very well by the inner edge of the Tanjore, South Arcot, Madras, Nellore, and Godavari belts of laterite and sandstone.

"Mr. Foote has already generalized in this way for the eastern side of Southern India in particular; but I think he makes the elevation too great, including, as he does in his laterite deposits, patches of lateritized gravels and rock masses ranging up to a height of five hundred feet at least, which are not so definitely part and parcel of the proper coastal developments.

¹ This reminds one of the traditional account of the miraculous reclamation of Keralam from the sea by the might of Parasa Raman,

"The plateau form of the Coromandel areas has often already been commented on; but their connection with a terraced form of marine denudation is more clearly brought out now that the evident conformation of the Travancore and Malabar lowland is ascertained.

"The somewhat different level of the surfaces of these plateau lands on each side of the peninsula is also interesting in so far as there is an evident general very slight inclination of the whole to the south-eastward.

"One more very small patch of variegated sandstones, but associated with scarcely any laterite, occurs in the Travancore country at Nagarcoil, about twelve miles north of Cape Comorin. I should certainly take this to be representative of the Cuddalore sandstones so long as no positive evidence to the contrary turns up; and it may be the nearest connecting link between these rocks on the eastern coast and the Warkilli beds.

"The recent deposits are the usual blown-sands and alluvial deposits of the low flats along the coast; an exceptional form occurs at Cape Comorin in the shape of a hard calcareous sandstone, which is crowded with true fossils and casts of the living *Helix vitata*. It appears to be simply a blown-sand, modified through the infiltration of calcareous waters. Loose blown-sands are heaped over it now in places, among which are again thousands and thousands of the dead shells of the past season. The examination of this deposit has, however, been left to Mr. Foote, who has likewise reserved for his study other remarkable fossiliferous rocks of very late age which occur in this neighbourhood."

The soils resulting from the geological formations which Mr. King thus describes have been roughly grouped by the natives into three classes, namely—

Pasima—a rich, heavy, clayey, tenacious soil.

Pasima-rasi—the above with an admixture of sand, and of a loamy character.

Rasi—sandy soils.

Each of these classes is again subdivided into three, so that in reality there are nine classes of soils, and this classification is used in determining the revenue assessments on rice lands, to which indeed this classification is alone applied.

It is also laid down in the Hindu Sastras that the above classification of soils can be roughly applied to any particular soil in the following manner: one cubic *kol* or yard of earth being excavated, soil of the best description (*pasima*), if put back into the pit thus excavated, will suffice to more than fill it; while loamy soil (*pasima-rasi*) will exactly fill it, and sandy soil (*rasi*) will not suffice to fill it.

The poor sandy soils are chiefly found on the low-lying lands near the coast, and the coconut palm flourishes vigorously in them if the subsoil water is within easy reach of its roots. The uplands are chiefly formed of detrital laterite, many of them being little better than gravel quarries, and of what Mr. King calls lateritized gneiss,

Some of the most productive grain land in the district lies in the Walawanad Taluk where laterite is scarce, and where the *pasima* lands are chiefly to be met with. On the mountain slopes and ridges, where the gneiss does not crop up, there is an immense store of rich black mould produced by decayed vegetable matter.

The chief building material in the district is *laterite*, a most valuable material for some kinds of buildings and a most treacherous material for other kinds. In the mass, when not exposed to the atmosphere, it is as a rule soft and therefore easily obtained. It is cut out in squared oblong pieces with an axe having a bifurcated blade, and is dressed to the shape wanted by means of a rough adze. After exposure to the air for some time it becomes hard and answers nearly all the purposes for which bricks are used, but it varies greatly in quality. Some of the best sorts stand damp and exposure to the air as well as the best sandstone, while, on the other hand, arched bridges and high revetments, when constructed of inferior sorts, are notoriously unsafe, as the material (especially during the rains) is very apt to crush.

SECTION E.—CLIMATE AND NATURAL PHENOMENA.

To understand aright the climate of Malabar it is necessary first of all to glance at a few of the more prominent facts which hold good not only of Malabar, but of all intertropical countries similarly situated.

And the first and most obvious fact which strikes an observer is the uniformity of temperature throughout the year as tested by the thermometer. The thermometer shows a mean annual temperature on the sea-coast of 81° Fahr. It rarely rises above 90°, and it seldom falls below 70°. It may be said in short that it is always hot, sometimes hotter, but never very hot.

This is not solely nor even chiefly due to the great altitude of the sun at midday as very often supposed, for the sun is no higher in the heavens in Malabar at certain seasons than it is in temperate climates. Moreover, the sun shines much longer in summer in temperate climates than it does in Malabar. Further it may be observed that the month in which the sun is at its highest in Malabar, and its hours of shining longest, is by no means the hottest month of the year. At the same time of course it is to be remembered that the altitude of the sun is always great, and its hours of shining are comparatively long throughout the year, varying as they do from a maximum of about twelve hours and thirty-five minutes in the latter half of June to a minimum of about eleven hours and thirty-five minutes in the latter half of December.

One of the most important factors in maintaining this high temperature is the superheated condition of the surface soil. There is no thick body of cool earth on the surface capable of quickly absorbing the sun's rays as there is in the temperate zones, where, the range of the thermometer being greater, the depth at which

an uniform temperature for the year is reached is deep below the surface of the earth. The uniform annual temperature depth is soon reached in Malabar, and the consequence is that the surface soil becomes superheated and is constantly radiating its heat both by day and night, and thus maintaining a comparatively high temperature. Another very efficient cause of the high temperature maintained throughout the year is the influence of the aqueous vapour of the atmosphere. It has already been noticed that an ocean current sweeps across from the African and Madagascar shores, and one branch of it apparently impinges on the coast a little to the north of the district. This brings with it an atmosphere more or less saturated with moisture. And the ocean itself is always at hand and the sea breeze always highly saturated with moisture blows steadily for several hours of each day in the dry weather. Finally during June, July and August—the south-west monsoon season—the wind blows all day and night long off the ocean and rolls up before it dense masses of vapour. The atmosphere is therefore throughout the year in a more or less saturated condition, and the superfluous heat which, as observed above, is given off by the earth's surface is, instead of being radiated off into space, very largely absorbed by the aqueous vapour held in suspension in the atmosphere. This aqueous vapour in fact acts like a blanket, preventing the earth from losing heat at night by radiation into space, and the greater the heat is the greater is the capacity of the atmosphere for absorbing moisture. A cloudless night in Malabar does not, as those who have experienced it can testify, betoken a cool night as it usually does elsewhere.

The above facts are not, however, without their compensating advantages, for the ocean never becomes superheated like the land, and the ocean breezes which blow throughout the year, and in particular the south-west monsoon wind, are comparatively cool winds. In the south-west monsoon season, the temperature of the atmosphere is low in spite of the fact that the sun then attains its greatest elevation in the heavens, and for days, sometimes for weeks together, the dense mass of the monsoon clouds shelters the earth from the sun's direct rays.

In fact, so dense and so unbroken is the stratum of clouds in the south-west monsoon season that the uniformity of temperature is chiefly maintained by another cause, namely, by condensation of the atmospheric vapour in the shape of rain. To convert water into steam requires a large amount of heat, and the reverse process, the condensation of aqueous vapour into rain, necessitates the liberation of a large store of heat. So long as the water retains its gaseous form, the heat is insensible, but on being liberated it helps to keep up the high temperature of the air. And this is no doubt what happens to a great extent in the monsoon season when the earth is screened by clouds.

But finally there is also evaporation, a conversion of watery molecules into their gaseous form, in which process a large amount

of heat becomes latent or insensible. This goes on in the hours of hottest sunshine. The district is well supplied with rivers and backwaters, and there is besides the ocean always at hand for the sun's rays to act upon. The heat thus absorbed is great, and evaporation plays no inconsiderable part in moderating the heat and reducing the temperature on land.

Vegetation thrives in such a climate as Malabar possesses, and it is needless to dwell on the luxuriance of grass and shrub and tree presented in Malabar to the eye of a traveller crossing from the arid plains and hot winds of the country east of the ghat mountains. The mountains themselves play an important part in sheltering the country lying to the west of them, for they cool down the winds passing over them ; but in the extreme south of the district, where the Palghat gap permits the hot land winds to rush through unimpeded, vegetation receives a severe check in the dry months. Even here, however, the balance of nature is maintained, for heated plains invite the inrush of moist sea breezes, and though the days are hot, the sea breeze lasts longer than it does on the coasts, and brings with it fresh nights and cool mornings even in March and April, the hottest months of the year.

Nor is the climate less favourable to man and animals ; for, as Mr. Wallace in his work on " Tropical Nature " justly observes : " The large absolute amount of moisture always present in the air is almost as congenial to the health of man as it is favourable to the growth and development of vegetation "—(p. 17). Facts bear out the truth of this remark, and it is matter of common observation that Europeans, who leave the coast in the hot months to seek the coolness and the " sweet half-English Nilgiri air " of the mountains, return after their holiday trip to find their brethren in the plains in the enjoyment of robust health and vigorous constitutions. The best time to seek a change on the coast is in the months when the sky is screened by heavy clouds, when the almost incessant rain of the south-west monsoon has filled the air and the earth with an excess of moisture, and when thick clothing is necessary to stave off maladies arising from the chilly damp. It is then, too, that animals require extra care and extra comforts in the shape of warm dry beds. It is altogether a mistake to suppose that horses and dogs and cattle generally thrive worse in the humid climate of the west coast than in other places to the east of the mountains. There is absolutely less risk to a heated animal to be exposed to the moist air of the coast climate than to the chilly breezes that prevail at certain seasons elsewhere, and it is matter of experience that with the most ordinary care a sensitively organized animal like the horse enjoys as good health on the coast as inland.

All kinds of property, susceptible of damage by excessive moisture, are very liable to be spoilt. Articles made of leather, the binding of books, furniture whose parts are glued together, instruments made of steel or iron, woollen articles of clothing, silks, etc. require especial care in the monsoon season. They become

mildewed, they fall to pieces, they rust, they become spotted, they lose their colours, and, generally speaking, perish unless great care and elaborate drying arrangements are undertaken.

Another most striking point in regard to the climate is the extreme regularity as a rule of the seasons. It once happened to the present writer to be asked one day in the end of the month of February or beginning of March as to the likelihood of rain coming soon, and the reply given on the spur of the moment was that on the 22nd of March at 2 P.M. the first shower would fall. As a matter of fact, the shower did come on that day and at that hour, within ten minutes or so. This was not altogether a haphazard guess, for the 22nd of March is the vernal equinox, and 2 P.M. in the day is precisely the hour at which most frequently the daily battle between sea-breeze and land-wind begins. In some seasons, though not in all, the first distant rumble of thunder along the line of ghats betokens that 2 P.M. has just struck or is about to strike. This daily battle begins as soon as nature's pendulum (so to speak) commences slowly to swing back with the passage of the sun across the equator into the northern hemisphere. And so it is throughout the seasons with a regularity as to months and almost to days and hours, perfectly astonishing to people accustomed to live in less settled climes.

The rotation of seasons is very much as follows: towards the end of March or beginning of April the first distant mutterings of thunder are heard among the hills. In some seasons, these thunder-storms occur regularly every afternoon, and occasionally the thunder-showers extend as far as the coast line. In other seasons the advent of these storms is not such a regular daily occurrence, nor is the hour at which they begin so marked. At first the land-wind usually gets the advantage and blows throughout the night; in the forenoon, there is a lull; then, as the inland surface of the country becomes heated, the sea-breeze rushes in to supply the place of the atmosphere rarified by the heat. This continues until the thunder-storms commence or until night sets in, for on the coast the sea-breeze declines with the setting sun, and it is only far inland that it continues to blow through the early part of the night. As the season progresses, the western winds from the sea usually gain in force, while the land-winds from the east and north-east fail. Towards the end of May or beginning of June, the south-west monsoon wind finally obtains the mastery, and the regular rains begin and are usually ushered in by heavy banks of cloud to seaward, by a heavy swell from the west, and by an electric storm of more than usual violence. In some seasons, the electrical disturbance at this time is very great, the roar of the thunder is continuous for many minutes together, and the blaze of the many-coloured lightning flashes almost incessant. In the season of 1873, the duration of one of these thunder-peals was noted. It lasted for no less than thirty-five minutes, during all of which time there was no cessation in the roar of sound, one thunder-peal succeeding another, now near, now far, without a single moment's interval between them.

The blaze of light, too, at such times is truly awful. Once, however, the south-west monsoon has asserted itself, the thunder-storms cease, the wind settles steadily in the west, and as the season progresses it veers a point or two to the northward of west, although inland it blows steadily all the time from south-west. The explanation of the fact of the wind veering to the north of west is that as it strikes the coast it follows the direction of the littoral current which at this season runs from north to south. The figures given in the Statistical Appendix No. I attest the volume of rain which falls at this season, but even in the heaviest weather one or two hours of each day are free from rain, and there is sometimes a cessation for a fortnight. These long breaks in the monsoon, if there occur with them a fresh breeze and a bright sky with scattered clouds, are most enjoyable, but on the other hand the short intervals between the rain squalls of the monsoon are most oppressive, the air is supersaturated with moisture, the heat is also at the same time great, and of wind there is none. In the end of September, the south-west monsoon dies away, nature's pendulum (to use the same metaphor) again begins to swing back, and sometimes battles royal again take place between the contending aerial currents. In October, the north-east monsoon or land-wind has usually asserted itself, and with it the rain becomes less frequent, the country begins to dry up, and by the end of December the dry weather has, as a rule, fairly set in. The period of regular land-winds at night and morning and of sea-breezes during the day then commences and lasts till, with the vernal equinox, the period of disturbance again sets in.

Of the *south-west monsoon* and the discovery by Hippalos—the Columbus of antiquity as he has been called—of its importance to navigators, the following interesting account is taken from M'Crindle's translation of the "*Periplus Maris Erythræi*": "The whole round of the voyage from Kane and Endaimon Arabia, which we have just described, used to be performed in small vessels which kept close to shore and followed its windings, but Hippalos was the pilot who first, by observing the bearings of the ports and the configuration of the sea, discovered the direct course across the ocean; whence as, at the season when our own Etesians are blowing, a periodical wind from the ocean likewise blows in the Indian sea, this wind, which is the south-west, is, it seems, called in these seas Hippalos (after the name of the pilot who first discovered the passage by means of it). From the time of this discovery to the present day, merchants who sail for India either from Kane or as others do from Aromata, if Limurike be their destination, must often change their track, but if they are bound for Borugaza or Skythia they are not retarded for more than three days, after which, committing themselves to the monsoon which blows right in the direction of their course, they stand far out to sea, leaving all the gulfs we have mentioned in the distance." It is generally accepted that Hippalos made his discovery in the first century A.D.

Excessive falls of rain are quite common and floods are frequent. On 19th and 20th of May 1882 there was registered a very heavy fall of rain. Several rain-gauges in different parts of the town of Calicut registered from eighteen to twenty-five inches in the twenty-four hours, and as an instance of a heavy fall spread over a longer period in the monsoon of 1871 the rain-gauge at the Collector's office in Calicut registered over six inches per diem for six consecutive days. But floods do little damage: the rivers have in the course of ages worn down for themselves deep river beds, which, as a rule, contain all ordinary floods, and the common laterite soil of the country is so porous that within half-an-hour of the heaviest shower of rain the roads are dried up, and but for the dripping trees and bushes there would be very little to tell of the rain that had just ceased.

Of unusual *storms* there are but few records. This is perhaps to be explained by the fact that the mountain peaks of the Western Ghats prevent altogether or disperse any cyclonic tendency of the winds, but the squalls which usher in the south-west monsoon are at times terrific in their violence, and do much damage to ships which have incautiously remained too long on the coast to complete their lading. These squalls are accompanied by mountainous seas, and the wind and waves together generally smash the strongest cables of the best equipped ships. With their anchors gone, the **ships** usually attempt to set sail, but, the squall being past, the seamen find there is a lull in the wind, while the sea runs as high as ever. If the attempt to make an offing is persisted in, the ship generally drifts slowly into the breakers, and the most skilful seamen usually attempt to beach their ships instead of trying to work them out to sea.

The *great storm* of the 16th, 17th and 18th April 1847 is perhaps the only occurrence of the kind of which some details are on record. The storm originated somewhere beyond the southern islands of the Laccadive group. It swept over the islands of Kalpeni and Androth, and did some damage to Kavarathi, but Agatti was apparently beyond the circle of its violence. Of ninety thousand coconut trees in each of the islands of Kalpeni and Androth the hurricane left only seven hundred standing in Kalpeni and eight thousand in Androth. Kalpeni was also partially submerged by a wave, and the drinking water of the people in wells was spoilt and their stores of food and their houses destroyed. Of a population of over one thousand six hundred in Kalpeni, four hundred and fifty only remained, but it was estimated that from three hundred to four hundred people only had perished in the storm or of famine afterwards, and that the others had left the island. Of a population of over two thousand five hundred in Androth, nine hundred only remained, the rest having either perished in the storm or dispersed. Two boats with ninety-six males and a number of females belonging to Agatti were caught in the storm and heard of no more. The storm wave dashed on the coast in a very unexpected manner, and its effects were felt from Cannanore to Chetwai,

The wave destroyed the Cannanore Custom house ; it came in so suddenly that the officials had hardly time to escape by the rear as the sea swept in at the front. The wave rushed up the *Kotta* river and destroyed the *Palliyad* dam and the cultivation above it over two miles from the mouth of the river. The floods from inland breached the new work on the Conolly canal at Calicut. At *Parappanangudi* and *Tanur* private persons suffered much loss from the sudden rise of the sea. The wave rushed up the *Velliyan-kod* river and destroyed the *Ayinichira* dam and the cultivation above it. The sea also " forced a new and deep opening into the *Chavakkad* back-water and broke with much strength on the *Eunnamakkal*¹ dam, which, however, sustained no injury," but the crops in the bed of the lake were injured by the floods from inland.

Earthquakes are fortunately not very frequently experienced, nor, when they do occur, are they destructive in their effects. On the 31st December 1881 at 7-10 A.M. (Madras time) a tremulous motion of the earth, apparently from east to west, was observable at Calicut. It lasted only a few seconds, and the motion which, at Calicut, was unaccompanied by any rumble or noise, was so slight that persons walking and riding out of doors at the time failed to notice anything unusual. To those indoors, however, the motion was very perceptible, and one or two persons felt sick. This earthquake was preceded by something of the same kind about mid-night of the preceding night, and a peculiar rumbling and a noise as of rushing waters was heard, but these were so faint that they escaped general observation. This earthquake extended over a wide area, stretching from the Malabar Coast to the Arracan Coast and as far north at Khatmandu in Nepal and south as far at least as the Nicobar Islands. Two months later—on 28th February 1882 about 6-16 A.M. (Madras time) another smart shock of earthquake was felt at Calicut, but it seems to have been a mere local affair, extending as far north as Tellicherry and as far east as the Nilgiri mountains. There was the same tremulous motion as on the previous occasion, but the motion gradually increased, and a muffled roar was heard approaching, passing, and dying away. It was like the noise of a short train passing through a tunnel underfoot at the rate of several hundred miles per hour, in a direction from south to north. Furniture and roof tiles and window frames shook audibly for a second. From the first tremulous motion of the earth until everything was again quiet there was no more than an interval of four or five seconds. At 2 P.M. on 14th October of the same year (1882) the Deputy Tahsildar at Allattur in the Palghat taluk heard a noise as of a train proceeding underground from east to west. He happened to be at the time in office, and the tables and boxes rattled audibly while the shock lasted, which was only for a second or so. Further south earthquakes occur occasionally also, and they have been noticed on the following dates at Trivandrum :—

February 1823,

September 19, 1841.

¹ Eight miles from the river mouth.

November 20, 1845.

March 17, 1856.

August 11, 1856—5 h. 51 m. 25 s. A.M.

August 22, 1856—4 h. 25 m. 10 s. P.M. and

September 1, 1856—0 h. 15 m. 0 s. P.M.

At various periods of the year, but chiefly towards the close of the rains, the sea and some of the backwaters exhale very offensive effluvia. The water is at times of a dark porter colour, at other times it has been noticed to leave a deposit of black mud on the sand. Whatever may be the cause of this change in the water, it is invariably fatal to fishes of all sorts, which float dead and dying on the surface and are thrown up by the waves on the beach. The offensive smell is of course largely caused by the putrid fish, but the water itself when thus changed has a peculiar fetid odour.

Many suggestions have been offered to account for the occurrence almost annually of this *ked vellam* (bad, stinking water) as the natives call it. Day, in his "Land of the Perumauls," p. 417, suggests that at Cochin it is due to the emptying of the pits in which coir fibre is soaked before being twisted into rope—the effluvia from which, he very justly remarks, is "most horrible"—and also by the emptying or overflowing of rice-fields in which vegetable matter is allowed to putrify for manure. These causes do not, however, apply to all the circumstances under which this phenomenon occurs, particularly in Malabar proper, and Dr. Day himself says that "the cause of this effluvia in the sea, during the hot months, is difficult to determine." Benett, quoted by Dr. Day, considered that in Ceylon it arose from the presence of vast numbers of the *Arum foetidum*. The cause usually assigned, namely, the mixing of the fresh-water from the flooded rivers with the salt-water of the ocean, cannot account for the occurrence of the phenomenon in November and December, and an instance of its having been observed at Telli-cherry, where also there is no mud bank, in those months of the year 1836 is on record. It is possible that the phenomenon is connected with that puzzling one presently to be described, which in the very height of the monsoon months vouchsafes calm harbours of refuge for ships on the open coast.

The origin of the *mud bays* or *mud banks* which exist at Northern Kollam (near Quilandy), at Calicut, and at Narakal in the Cochin State, and at Alleppey in Travancore, to which some allusion has already been made in the description of the Kadalundi river, has never yet been satisfactorily set at rest. The fact that at Narakal, and sometimes too, at Alleppey mud banks exist which enable ships to load and discharge cargo in calm water on the open coast all through the south-west-monsoon season is well known. At Calicut, too, a small mud bank of a similar description is generally present, and at Northern Kollam also. In fact it was at one time supposed (erroneously of course) that the mud bank at Kollam protected the fleet of Vasco da Gama through the monsoon season of 1498, and this and the fact that a ship had lain there in safety

the previous year and another had already taken up her position for the season then approaching induced the Joint Commissioners in Malabar in 1793 to permit the Honorable Company's vessel *Morning Star* to lie under the protection of the mud bank there during the south-west monsoon of that year. Very heavy weather, however, was experienced, the seas broke through the bank, and the *Morning Star* was wrecked. The characteristic of the mud banks is that an unctuous mud rises from the bottom of the sea, becomes dispersed in the water, and effectually stills the surf. That the mud is always more or less present at the places named is a fact, but the annual churning up of this mud stratum hardly accounts for all that has been observed, and Mr. H. Crawford, the late Commercial Agent of the Travancore Sirkar at Alleppey, who has perhaps had better opportunities of watching the phenomenon than any one else, came to the conclusion that subterranean passages or streams communicating with some of the rivers and backwaters "become more active after heavy rains, particularly at the commencement of the monsoon, and carry off the accumulating water and with it vast quantities of soft mud." In scanty monsoons the mud banks are less effective as anchorages. He also observed that at seven hundred yards east of the beach at Alleppey pipes were being sunk at a depth of fifty feet to sixty feet when the shafting ran suddenly down to eighty feet and several buckets of mud from this depth were brought up, corresponding in every respect with the mud thrown up by bubbles which he had observed in the sea. A cone of mud, he said, at times appears above the water, the cone or bubble bursts, throwing up immense quantities of soft soapy mud and blue mud of considerable consistence in the form of boulders with fresh water, *debris* of vegetable matter decayed, and in some instances fresh and green. Mr. Crawford's successor at Alleppey, Mr. Rohde, confirms the observation, and states that he has seen mud volcanoes bursting up in the sea during the rainy season, to all appearance "as if a barrel of oil had suddenly been started below the surface." He has come to the conclusion that the mud bank at that place, after being formed in the way above described, is gradually floated away to the southward by the littoral current, and fresh mud banks are formed whenever the hydraulic pressure of the inland backwater increases sufficiently to overcome the subterranean resistance offered by the stratum of fluid mud which exists at the spot described by Mr. Crawford. A further proof, he observes, of the truth of this is to be found in the fact that the extent of mud bank at Alleppey increases and diminishes as the level of the inland waters rises and falls, and this was most observable in the monsoon season of 1882.

Of the *mud* itself, Dr. Day gives the following account: "The mud feels unctuous and sticky, but is not gritty unless mixed with the sand. It is of a very dark greenish colour, and has but a slight odour. Under the microscope it shows 'very minute angular fragments of quartz, the largest hardly visible without a lens: this is the sand. Secondly,—*Foraminiferous* shells, of the genus *rotalia*,

and a few fragments of larger shells. *Thirdly*,—*Diatomaceæ*, of which were discovered species from upwards of twenty genera. *Fourthly*,—a few spicules of sponges and corals, very minute: and some amorphous matter which was not destroyed after long boiling in strong acids.' On a more elaborate enquiry 'the mud was found to be very tenacious and resistant of pressure, like a stiff piece of jelly; and it is supposed that, acting like an immense spring, it yields to the pressure of the waves, that the water thus loses its force and becomes quiescent; whilst the mud expanding is prepared for a fresh encounter. An examination into its composition resulted in the discovery of sixty-two species belonging to thirty genera, of the class *Cryptogamia* and sub-group *Diatomeæ*." —Land of the Perumals, pp. 36, 37.

These phenomena, owing perhaps more to natural difficulties than to any lack of interest in the subject, have not yet been exhaustively investigated, but the following statement of facts is perhaps justified by the observations so far made. The occurrence of the *ked vellam* (stinking water) and the existence of the mud banks are not necessarily connected: fish can live in the latter, but not in the former. The former probably owes its deadly character to the generation from subjacent strata by volcanic heat of poisonous matter or vapour which is absorbed by the water; and the latter, while possibly deriving some of their mud oil from similar volcanic causes, are also replenished, in one instance at least, by subterranean passages, full of liquid mud, communicating with the sea on one side and the backwaters on the other.

SECTION F.—FAUNA AND FLORA OF MALABAR.

(By Rhodes Morgan, F.Z.S., Member of the British Ornithologists Union, District Forest Officer, Malabar.)

FORESTS AND TIMBER.

There being in Malabar great variations of climate, soil and rainfall, and the latter being nowhere less than fifty inches annually, we find a rich and varied flora, which is best classified as follows:—

(1) The littoral zone—sea-level to 200 feet; rainfall 70 to 133 inches.

(2) Zone of deciduous forest commencing some five miles or so from the base of the Western Ghats and in the south-eastern portion

¹ Madras Journal of Literature and Science, New Series, No. XII. p. 264.

² While these pages have been passing through the press Mr. King, of the Geological Survey, has written a paper on the subject, in which, for the first time, it is conclusively proved that "a sensible amount of oil" exists in the mud. And the oil, as Mr. King points out, may be in part at least the efficient cause of the quiescence of the sea. The oil, Mr. King thinks, is "derived perhaps in part from the decomposition of organisms (in the mud), but principally from the distillation of oil in subjacent lignitiferous deposits belonging presumably to Warkilli Strata." He also suggests that this distillation of oil from the lignitiferous Warkilli deposits may be due to "moderate heat arising from a line of volcanic energy," "possibly lying parallel to the west coast of India".—*Record, Geol. Surv., Vol. XVII, Pl. I., 1884, p. 14.*

of the range extending some distance up to an elevation of 1,500 feet ; rainfall (average) 130 inches.

(3) Tropical evergreen forest from 500 to 3,500 feet ; rainfall from 130 to 180 inches.

(4) Evergreen shola forest from 3,500 to 6,000 feet ; rainfall from 180 to 250 inches.

(5) Scrub shola forest from 6,000 feet upwards ; rainfall from 250 to 300 inches.

(6) Open grass, scrub and bamboo, mixed deciduous and evergreen forest (Wynad plateau), from 2,000 to 2,500 feet ; rainfall 60 to 90 inches.

(7) Heavy deciduous forest with oak zone 50 to 80 inches.

Perhaps the best way in which I can describe these various classes of forest will be by asking the reader to kindly follow me on a trip from, say, Calicut to the Mysore frontier.

We will first of all drive from the beach to Ellatur, where a boat is in waiting for us to take us to the foot of the ghat near Kuttiyadi. The road passes through a forest of Coco palms (*Cocos nucifera*), of which we notice several varieties. Every here and there a giant Talipot (*Corypha umbraculifera*) with Palmyra (*Borassus flabelliformis*) and Sago palms (*Caryota urens*) are to be seen, generally near houses, whilst on the edges of paddy flats, groves of the graceful Areca (*A. catechu*) are cultivated for the sake of their astringent nuts. Mango (*Mangifera Indica*) and Jack (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) are abundant, and we see planted in the avenues, white Dammer (*Valeria Indica*), Poonga (or Oonga as it is here called) (*Pongamia glabra*), Banyans and Peepuls (*Ficus Indica* and *religiosa*), and in the compounds of houses, the Poinciana, covered with its gaudy blossom, and the beautiful *Lagerstroemia reginœ*, which, later on, we will see in full blossom at the base of the ghats. The graceful Indian Laburnum (*Cassia fistula*) with its pendulous racemes of golden flowers, and long dark brown legumes, next claims our attention.

Further on, we pass on our right, low laterite hills, on which the Cashew-nut tree (*Anacardium occidentale*) grows vigorously. We pick some of the bright gold and crimson peduncles of the fruit on which the curved ash-coloured nut is borne ; but though the former are juicy and sweet they leave an acrid feeling behind in the throat.

The Casuarina (*C. equisetifolia*) seems to thrive well also on these hills where the laterite does not actually outcrop on the surface, but, where it does, it supports a scrubby growth of Lantana, Eugénias or which *Eugenia bracteata*, a small tree in Wynad of thirty to forty feet in height and occasionally two feet in diameter, is here a ramous shrub of three or four feet in height at the most ; and two species of Euphorbia, of which *E. nirulia* grows to over twenty feet in height, and occasionally sandalwood (*Santalum album*) sown by birds from cultivated trees in the neighbourhood.

When we got to Ellatur we find numerous boats drawn up on the beach of the backwater ; our canoe is rather better than the others, being larger and cleaner, with a neat semi-circular awning of *Corypha* leaves. It has been cut out of a single log of Iyneo (*Artocarpus hirsuta*). Some of the large sea-going boats, made of this timber, are worth from five hundred to six hundred rupees each, and last for a great number of years. Having crawled head foremost into our boat, the roof of which is so low that we can just sit up without knocking our heads against it, the boatman in the stern digs his bamboo pole into the unsavoury mud, and we are off. Our boat is manned by two men—the one who poles and the man in the prow who rows with an antiquated oar made of a circular bit of wood scooped out like a spoon and lashed to a bit of bamboo split at the end, which forms the handle.

The backwater, or tidal creek up which we are going, is known as the Agala-puñ and is very irregular in shape, sometimes broadening out to over two miles in width, anon narrowing, till you can throw a stone across. The banks are fringed with the everlasting cocoanut, and now and again, near houses, we see pretty clumps of dark green trees, principally jacks and mangoes, with Talipot and Sago palms and occasional gaunt stems of the silk-cotton tree (*Bombax Malabaricum*), from which the breeze floats clouds of silky-down that drop gently in the water and float down with the receding tide. At intervals we pass groves of trees sacred to snakes, where stone images of the cobra, plentifully smeared with castor-oil and red ochre, lean against the trees. Here the Frangipani (*Plumeria acuminata*) scents the air with its beautiful wax-like blossoms, whilst a host of pied hornbills (*Hydrocissa coronata*) gorge themselves on the golden fruit of the deadly Nux-vomica (*Strychnos nux-vomica*).

A scrubby growth of jungle fringes the oozy banks of the creek and thousands of little red crabs race in and out of their holes in the slime, each holding a monstrous ivory-white claw pugnaciously out, as if offering battle to all comers. This little creature is apparently *all* claw ; the one claw being disproportionately developed at the expense of the other. Growing in this fringe of jungle, the *Cerbera odallum* claims our attention with its green fruit, looking for all the world like mangoes, but deadly poisonous ; and where the lagoon shallows suddenly and forms marshes, a dense growth of *Dillivaria* (*D. illicifolia*) forms a secure retreat for muggers (*Crocodilus palustris*) which lie stretched out on logs of drift wood or sand spits in the Dillivaria, lazily enjoying the hot sunshine with wide-open mouth. Families of otters (*Lutra nair*) disport themselves in the bright blue wavelets, diving and chasing one another in play, or swimming ashore when they have been lucky enough to capture a fish to devour their finny prey secure from the greed of their comrades. Kingfishers of four species are abundant. The large stork-billed kingfisher (*P. gural*) flying out of the clumps of trees that line the shore, as the boat comes into view,

uttering his harsh cackle, whilst the pied kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis*) hovers over the stream with his eye keenly fixed on the small fry stemming the tide below. The brilliant *H. Smayruensis* is busy, excavating her nest on the sandy banks and cliffs that here and there rise above the level of the water, and her smaller cousin, the little *Alcedo Bengalensis*, seated on a twig just below is belabouring a minnow on the branch he is on, to be presently thrown up in the air and swallowed head foremost with much gusto. Bee-eaters too (*Merops Swinhoii* and *viridis*) are having a fine time of it, hawking the numerous insects hovering over the water, and diving with them into the holes in yonder sand bank, where their clamorous young with gaping bills are waiting to be fed. Long lines of snowy egrets (*Bubulcus Coromandus*) come flying past us low over the water on their way to their roosting places lower down the river.

The sun is dipping now behind a heavy bank of clouds and darkness is speedily on us.

How beautifully phosphorescent the water is, what flashes of light there are, as frightened fish shoot like lightning through it, alarmed by the approach of the boat, and how the water sparkles again as it falls dripping like a shower of diamonds off the blade of the oar! We light a lantern and hang it over the boat and numbers of fish, attracted by it, come leaping into the boat. Most of them look like miniature "Bombay ducks" with long serrated beaks like the bill of a snipe. They have a nasty odour though, an ancient and fish-like smell, and so we throw them back again or hand them to the peon in the stern for his curry in the morning.

At midnight we are awakened, for we have reached the Payoli Lock, where a small fee has to be paid to the toll-keeper, and then on again. We are now in the Kuttiyadi river, for we crossed from the Agalapula through a canal, where the lock is, while we were asleep. How still everything is! Now and again, however, there is a sullen plunge, as some mugger waddles off the bank and tumbles head foremost into the river or a great Nair fish (*Lates calcarifer*) leaps sportively out of the water. We turn in once more only to be awakened by our servant asking us whether we wish to have coffee as day has broken, and yet we have done twenty miles since leaving the lock; but we have slept so soundly, it seems only an hour ago we went to sleep!

We land, gather a few dry sticks and have chota hazri, then once more on again. How the scenery has changed! The mountains of the Western Ghats rise right before us clothed with forest from base to summit. We have only a mile more to go, and this does not take us long. The boatman being paid his fare, and the usual inam which every Tiyan makes a point of clamouring for, we mount our horses which we sent on from Calicut, see our traps started, and follow them. It has rained overnight, though we did not know it, and Nature is rejoicing; a thousand brilliantly plumaged birds fly from branch to branch and chatter in the trees

overhead. The ubiquitous cocoanut palms are on both sides; but we notice that many forest trees are growing amongst them, and that luxuriant pepper vines are trained up the stems of every tree; the lovely *Erythrina* (*E. Indica*) with its scarlet blossoms being evidently a special favourite for this purpose. Here are two elephants going to their day's work. Poor beasts! look at the frightful abscesses in their jaws! the result of making them drag huge logs of timber with their teeth. Was ever such barbarity heard of! Many of them lose their teeth, and to an elephant this is a far more serious matter than to us, for he cannot go to a dentist, poor beast, and have a fresh one put in. He cannot chew his food, nor digest it; he loses condition, and dies. His pig-headed owner will not listen to reason; when you suggest that he might use harness and adopt a more rational method of having his timber dragged, his only reply is that it is the custom of the country (mamool) and that his father did it, etc.

Three miles after leaving Kuttiyadi we enter the forest. There, to our right, is a timber depot; it belongs to the owner of this forest, and we dismount and have a look at it. There are logs of all sizes. Ebony (*Diospyros ebenos*), Ironl (*Xylia dolabriformis*), Mutti (*Terminalia tomentosa*), Poomaraday (*Terminalia paniculata*), and a few logs of red (*Acrocarpus fraxinifolius*) and white (*Cetrela toona*) Cedar. All these will be floated down this little stream when it is in flood into the main stream at Kuttiyadi, and from thence they will be rafted to Calicut. All the logs in this depot are in the round, the bark alone being peeled off. We leave the depôt and a few yards further come on a large "Punam" clearing. What reckless and wanton damage has been done here! All the larger trees have been girdled and killed long ago, and every sapling has been pollarded. The tender green of the blades of sprouting grain are very beautiful. There is the owner, a Malayar; he is stooping to examine his dead falls, which he has set at intervals all round his field for hares, porcupines and such small deer, and see, he has just taken out a mouse-deer (*Meminna Indica*).

The forest now has grown denser; everywhere we see the quaint stems of *Cycas circinalis*, which is spared for the sake of the nuts it bears. There is a bunch of them to our right, growing on the very apex of the tree; they are green, and as large as a pigeon's egg; but one or two are of a golden-yellow, and must be ripe.

These magnificent trees, under which we are passing, are Schleicherias (*S. trijuga*), one of the handsomest trees I know. They bear bunches of round fruit, the size of a robin's egg, with a few short spines. The seeds contain a large percentage of good oil, and the natives are much given to hacking off the branches to save themselves the trouble of gathering the fruit, and that is why that fine specimen to our right looks so lopsided. At a distance, one might almost mistake this fine tree for an oak, and near Palghat the country is covered with them, the owners being fully alive to their value, having spared them when the rest of the forest fell

before the axe. Further on, lofty specimens of *Hymenodictyon* (*H. excelsum*) tower above the smaller trees that surround them. The bark of this tree is so bitter that at one time it was believed that it might contain similar alkaloids to the cinchona, but analysis soon dispelled this idea. That tree next the *Hymenodictyon* is a *Bignonia*, and touching it is a fine specimen of the *Alstonia* (*A. scholaris*), belonging to the natural order Sapotaceae. There are other genera of this useful order, such as the *Bassia* (*B. longifolia*), but though common in the drier taluk of Palghat, it is not found here. But higher up a bit I will introduce you to the *Isonandra* (*I. Wightiana*).

We now pass over a wooden bridge spanning a mountain torrent, which rushes seething and foaming over a bed of solid gneiss which it has worn into innumerable pot-holes, into and round which, the water, clear as crystal, gurgles and bubbles. Just below the bridge is a pool the water of which is of a sapphire blue, so deep is it. Crowds of little fish dart hither and thither, the lovely little *Barilius Bakeri* rising freely at the little flies and ants that are falling into the water shaken down by a troop of noisy, chattering, grey monkeys (*Macacus radiatus*), who are busy filling their pouches with some small yellow berries that are growing on a creeper-enveloped tree that overshadows the pool.

We now begin the ascent of the ghat and at first rise gradually. The undergrowth consists entirely of a species of *Strobilanthes*, in flower at present. Soon it will all be dead and afford food for the destructive forest fires that sweep through the forests at this elevation. The bamboos (*B. arundinacea*), too, have seeded, and the jungle fowl (*Gallus sonneratii*) are rejoicing exceedingly. There are several scratching under yonder clump. The old cock crowing defiance to another who, perched on a boulder in the middle of the stream, challenges him to battle, whilst his hens cackle their approval. The booming note of the black langoor (*Presbytis jubatus*) now resounds through the forest, and presently we see him, his wives and children bounding from branch to branch as they approach to have a nearer look at us. He is a truculent looking old fellow this patriarch, and as he balances himself on a branch and barks angrily at us, we cannot help noticing his enormously long and sharp canines with which he can rip up a dog as with a razor.

We again cross the stream, and here the gigantic size of the trees strikes us with wonder. There is a black Dammer (*Canarium strictum*) with a mass of resin, two feet long, that has poured out of a cut in the trunk, sticking to the bark, and here a noble *Isonandra* (*I. Wightiana*), which we hack with a shikar-knife, and a stream of milk oozes out and flows down its mossy sides; this rapidly hardens into a kind of guttapercha, for which no doubt some use will hereafter be found. Close to the *Isonandra* is a curious little tree, *Baccaurea sapida*, its trunk covered with racemes of pinkish red flowers. Most of these have withered now, and the curious little

angular red fruit appear here and there. In October when the cardamoms are ripe, the fruit will be the size of a duck's egg, and will prove a pleasant treat to the lucky finder for the aril of the seed inside is sweet, sub-acid and pleasant, and very refreshing, tasting somewhat like a mangosteen. Here are cardamoms (*Elletaria cardamomum*) too, but most of the flowers have set, and we only find one at the extreme end of a raceme white, with the throat striped and spotted with violet and purple.

Be careful, however, what you are about, for overhead is the terrible *Laportea crenulata* or devil's nettle—the petioles of the leaves are hispid, with poisonous hairs, the sting of which once felt will not be forgotten by you in a hurry—and yet another vegetable abomination in the shape of *Mucuna pruriens*, or cowhage. The pods of this nasty creeper are covered with a velvety armament of stinging hairs, so give them a wide berth, and do not pick the purple flower of that arum, it has a horrible smell.

We must now press on, for the sun is getting hot. We can sit down and have a sandwich higher up, where there is a stream of water, and a drink and smoke, and wait for our people to come up.

A turn in the road brings us to a coffee estate. The trees are from ten to fifteen feet high and covered with blossom. The air is scented with its sweet odour, just like jessamine. Birds are numerous here. The pure white *Tchitrea paradasi* or paradise fly-catcher is busy catching insects. The two long white tail feathers wave like ribbons behind him as he flies from tree to tree, whilst his sober chestnut-coloured spouse is busy with the cares of maternity. When they have reared their brood they will leave us, for they are migratory.

Hovering in front of yonder flower is the purple sun-bird (*Cynniris lotenia*), gorgeous in a mantle of the darkest steel-blue that flashes in the sun, whilst his quivering wings beat the air as suspended in front of the flower, he quickly thrusts his tongue deep down into it and extracts the nectar. Another brilliant sun-bird (*Cynniris zeylanica*) is also busy at the coffee blossom. His wings are dark maroon, breast golden yellow, and his head capped with metallic green, whilst his little throat is clothed with the most brilliant amethystine purple feathers imaginable.

Down in the rocky stream below, the Malabar blue thrush (*Myiophonus Horsfieldii*) is whistling gaily away. Soon, when the monsoon has burst, he will be busy with his wife in building a home for a future generation in some rocky cleft near a foaming torrent, inaccessible to mischievous monkeys and marauding snakes. And still we must toil upwards, for we have not reached the stream yet. Here, a pretty little squirrel (*Sciurus tristriatus*) dashes across the road, and a still smaller one (*S. sublineatus*) looks sharply at us from the gnarled knot of a forest tree overhanging the road. These, however, are but pigmies of the race, for we presently see a splendid male of the Malabar squirrel (*S. Malabaricus*) racing up the trunk of a giant Dammer (*Vateria Indica*) as he rattles out his disapproval

of us in no measured terms. If you look up that buttress tree in front you will see a round hole, the edges of which look as if they had been recently cut out with a chisel and so they have, for inside *Pteromys petaurista* is no doubt at home, and if you will go down and rap on the trunk with a stone, he will come forth to interview the unwelcome visitor; and when he sees you, will spread his parachute and sail gracefully down the valley out of sight.

Perhaps, however, I am mistaken, and it is a smaller and rarer species of squirrel (*Sciuropterus fusco capillus*) that lives in that hole. What a multitude of noble and valuable trees are there here! Look at that splendid iron wood (*Mesua ferrea*) and this tree, known on the coast as Irrupu (*Cynometra ramiflora*), rare up here, but commoner down below, a splendid timber, and that fine Jack (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), sixty feet to the first branch and over three feet in diameter! You never saw a boll like that in a cultivated tree, and see what a splendid Poon spar (*Calophyllum Angustifolium*) that is! There are hundreds of others, but if I were to go on at this rate the whole of the space at my command would be taken up with the mere description of these trees.

Are they not better described in Beddome's magnificent "Flora Sylvatica"?

Here we are at last! This pure, cold mountain water is very refreshing. You need not be afraid to drink it, no malaria fiend lurks there.

What a vast extent of forest lies stretched before us! We can distinctly see the sea, and even the white sails of fishing craft coming homewards from the fishing grounds, laden with seer-fish and pomfret and many other kinds.

Who would imagine that the whole of that vast forest that stretches from near the base of the hills to the very sea consists mainly of cocoanut palms!

Look too, at the rivers and backwaters glittering amongst the groves of far off palms.

But here come our people, so we must press on. We have not far to go now, for we intend to spend the night at the head of the ghat, and to-morrow early we will come back to the toll-gate at the head of the ghat and go right up to the top of Balasore and explore the forests. And this is the toll-gate. The taluk boundary runs, you see, to the right and left up these conical forest-clad hills, and the next step we take brings us into Wynad.

We must descend now a little. That urticaceous plant in the ravine is a *Boehmeria* (*B. Malabarica*), and produces a splendid fibre. The string of yonder Coorcha's bow is made of it. What plucky men these Coorchas are! I know an old fellow who lives in these same forests; he owned a little coffee garden some six miles from here, and one evening his nephew was busy weeding it when a tiger suddenly pounced on him and bore him away into the depths of the forest. The next morning a searching party was

organized and the remains of the poor fellow recovered. The Coorchas instantly surrounded the forest and beat the tiger out, when the old man drove an arrow through its heart as it bounded across the open grassy hill side to the next shola.

We spend the night very comfortably in the Koroth bungalow and make an early start for the great Balasore mountain, at the base of which our bungalow is : we will not go back to the toll-gate that would be too far out of our way.

We first toil through some abandoned coffee, with that curse of the country, lantana, growing in clumps here and there. It will soon overspread the whole face of the mountain now under coffee. We have passed this bit of planting now and enter a small patch of the original primeval forest. The ground is strewn with large, round prickly fruit (*Cullenia excelsa*) that look like green hedgehogs rolled up. We must clear out of this, or one may come down on our heads and that would be no joke, for they are very heavy and the spines three inches long. Bump ! bump ! how fast they are falling ! and no wonder for a tribe of Wanderoos (*Innus silenus*) or lion-tailed monkeys are feasting on the seeds. Here is a fearful thicket of rattans (*Calamus rotang*). Take care of the streamers ; they are twelve or fourteen feet long, as thick as a pencil, and armed with rows of the most fearful recurved spines. If they catch you by the lip or ear you will remember it. And this is the handsome *Solanum robustum*, with leaves three feet long and two feet broad, beautifully velvety ; but they and the stem are armed with spines. We will take home the handsome orange fruit ; they are as big as badminton balls, and covered with a thick coat of fine spines. When peeled, the fruit looks just like the yolk of a hard-boiled egg. We will have them made into a tart to-night for dinner, and I promise you, that they will taste nicer even than the Brazil cherry (*Physalis Peruviana*) cooked that way. There is a large solanum that Mr. Broughton got from Peru. It is exactly like this, but unarmed. You will see it growing in the Conservatory (Botanical Gardens) at Ootacamund if you go there. Is not this a lovely Thunbergia, with its racemes of pendant golden flowers ! There is another species too here, much handsomer, with the flowers streaked with orange-maroon. Both species flower in the cold weather, and it is very curious that this one should have flowered like this out of season.

Here is a monstrous tree, it is a fig (*Ficus parasitica*) ; a thousand aërial roots have descended to the ground in every direction so thickly that we can scarcely pass between them. Many have anastomosed with the main stem and with each other, forming quaint arches. The smaller roots produce a soft and silky fibre, very strong, used by the Coorchas for their bows, and known as colinar. They, however, prefer the manali nar (*Boehmeria*) I told you about.

It is very curious how little leaf mould there is in the ground. What has become of it ? Well, the termites have buried it. Turn

over that rotten log and you will find millions of them hard at work, and see there is a splendid earth-snake under it, a very rare and handsome one, the rainbow snake it is called, for its whole body gleams with the most lovely iridescent hues—shades of purple and metallic blue. We will put him into our death bottle; and here is another treasure, the elephant beetle, the giant of his tribe, and, if you travel through the deciduous forests on the Mysore frontier after rain, you will find him busy carrying out the purpose for which he was created, rolling great balls of elephants' droppings along the path and tumbling them into a hole he has dug with much trouble and patience. Break one of these balls open and you will find a yellow egg, as big as the top of your little finger. Later on there will be a loathsome looking larva there, covered with parasites. This will form a toothsome morsel for the black sloth bear (*Ursus labiatus*) when he comes shuffling along and sniffs out the nest with his keen nose.

Up the trunk of that Dammer we see a thin black line. It is the covered gallery leading to a nest of the arboreal termite, suspended a hundred feet overhead. If it happened to fall now and strike one of us it would be certain death, for that nest weighs sixty pounds and is as hard as iron. There are over twenty different species of *termes* in this province alone, and in Burmah there is a monstrous one, half an inch in length, that marches along pathways at night and makes the natives jump when they happen to tread on them in the dark.

Do you see those holes in the ground at the base of that whiteant's nest? They have been made by the pangolin or scaly ant-eater (*Manis pentadactyla*) who is most probably rolled up inside fast asleep after having demolished the inhabitants of the colony. We are still in the third zone or tropical evergreen forest, the most interesting of all. On that block of gneiss a thousand rock-plantains (*Musa ornata*) display their handsome leaves and curious bulbous looking stems, whilst the common wild plantain (*M. superba*) grows in clumps in the ravine lower down. We cut down a bunch of the tempting golden fruit. There is nought inside them however but a mass of hard black seeds, thinly covered with farinaceous pulp. Our attendant Cooreha munches steadily through them, finishing up with a handful of common figs (*Ficus glomerata*) which he has picked on our way up and which swarm with a multitude of little two-tailed flies.

This is a Gamboge tree (*Garcinia morella*); the yellow gum comes slowly out when we cut the bark, and the larger one just ahead is the wild nutmeg (*Myristica laurifolia*). There is another (*M. Angustifolia*) lower down, but it is not so common as this one. And that tree you are passing, with the clusters of pale green flowers growing out of the trunk, is a Polyalthia (*P. coffeoides*). The bark is very fibrous and strong. And here is another of the same order Anonaceae, quite a small tree with glabrous leaves; it rejoices in the name of Goniothalamus (*G. Wightii*). It is rare here, but much commoner near Palghat in the Chenai Nayar forests.

We have to cut our way now through a dense undergrowth of the dwarf Screw-pine (*Pandanus*, sp. undescribed ?) and then through a lot of *Strobilanthes* (*S. paniculatus*) which higher up forms the sole undergrowth in places. The number of species of *Strobilanthes* is very great and varies according to the elevation.

We are now out again in more coffee, wretched sticks with hardly a leaf on them. The *Hemileia vastatrix* has destroyed them.

That large bird flying across is a hornbill (*Dichoceros cavatus*). Hornbills are breeding now and are very noisy. Who would believe any bird capable of uttering such horrible cries as that old male perched on the dead tree opposite ? He roars like some wild beast, disgusted no doubt at having the trouble of feeding his mate, who is sitting comfortably on her large white eggs in the hole of some giant forest tree near. She is fat and jolly, for every ten minutes or so Mr. Hornbill comes flying up with some sweet and juicy fig or plum and pops it down her throat. Lady Hornbills are kept in due subjection by their lords, who build them into their nests by plastering the mouth of the hole up with clay and excrement, leaving a mere slit to feed them through. There must be some reason for the males undertaking this self-imposed task ; possibly their spouses are a giddy lot, and require to be restrained from leaving their nests to flirt while their eggs get cold.

It is very sad to look round us from where we are and see the vast extent of forest that has been destroyed by the Mappillas all round for coffee.

After toiling upwards for another hour, we again find ourselves in shola, but of a different character to that we have left behind us. The trees are not so lofty, the undergrowth is much denser, the species of *Strobilanthes* here is quite different to that last seen ; birds, too, are more abundant, and bees and insects keep up a continual hum in the blossoming trees overhead.

We are now in the fourth zone or evergreen shola.

We enter a dense growth of dwarf bamboo (*Beesha Rheedii*) and put up a barking deer (*Cervulus arcus*). Further on our Coorcha finds a bees' nest (*Apis mellifica*), and as there is a delightful purling brook close by we decide to have breakfast. How lovely these moss-grown rocks are, with lichopodiums and balsams growing all over them, and that funny frog (*Hylorana* sp.) squatted amongst them, every now and then raises his voice and treats us to what he no doubt considers music, a monotonous running up the scale, which sounds like "Tune- tuk- tuck---tuck, tuk, tuk."

Here comes our Coorcha with the honey which he has cut of the hole of that *Eugenia*—a mass of golden combs, with the divine scent of the beautiful camellia-like flowers of the iron-wood (*Mesua ferrea*), for most of the honey now is collected from that flower. The Coorcha reserves for himself the larvae and pollen, which he devours with much gusto as we smoke our cheroots. Half an hour is all we have allowed ourselves for this pleasure, for the top of the mountain is

yet far off and we must cut our way soon. There is a family party of the spur-fowl (*Pteroperdix spadiceus*). How fussy the mother is about her little brood. She is hiding them in the dead leaves, and there they will instinctively crouch till we have passed them.

The slimy hole you see in this bit of swampy ground is a sambur (*Rusa aristotelis*) wallow, and last night, after rolling in the mud, a stag has rubbed his back against this rock and then sharpened his horns against yonder *Garcinia* (*G. purpurea*). Our wide-awake friend, the Coorcha, pockets a lot of the acid fruit of this tree, which are used by the natives as a substitute for tamarind.

The *Eugenia* family is well represented here, and there are more species than below, but I will reserve these for the list at the end. *Simplocos* too, of which we see several species, and cinnamons; but most of these are supposed to be only varieties of the common kind (*Cin. zeylonica*). And there is *Eurya* (*E. Japonica*) which is so like the tea shrub, and two species of *Tetranthera* which the *Atlas* larva delights to feed on, and *Bischofia Javanica*—the *A. Luna* silk-worm loves it. And here is *Evodia triphylla* with several gorgeous butterflies (*Papilio Paris*) hovering round it, and look at that chaste-looking *Hestia* (*H. Jasonia*) with her lace-like wings. I have just secured three beetles, a handsome green *elater*, a large rose beetle, one of the *cetonidæ*, and a fine specimen of the horned beetle (*Odontolabis Burmeisteri*).

And the Coorcha has found a horrible scorpion, eight inches long, of a dark bluish green color, which looks like a small lobster. He tells us a wonderful story of a snake which chased him here, and declares it had wattles like a cock on its head of a brilliant scarlet! Most probably the snake was the mountain cobra (*Ophiophagus elaps*) which is given to be aggressive. This Coorcha knows the boa well enough, for he once killed one eighteen feet long with an arrow, so he says. Snakes are numerous hereabouts, especially a greenish brown viper with a villainous looking head. I have nearly been bitten a hundred times; but luckily this snake is so sluggish that it is a long time before he will make up his mind to retaliate.

After another half hour's work we reach the region of dwarf shola forest, or the fifth region, and here our troubles really commence. The undergrowth is very dense, and we have to cut every yard of our way. The ground, too, has become very broken. There are great stretches of boulders to be scrambled over, and we got badly stung by the common nettle (*Girardinia pterophylla*). The trees are principally dwarf *Egenias* and ilox (*T. Wightiana*) with a scrubby bamboo (*Arundinacea Wightiana*) only six or eight feet high. The species of *Strobilanthes* is very harsh too, and difficult to struggle through. Flying from bush to bush we see small flocks of a rare laughing thrush (*Trochalopteron Jerdoni*), while the blue rock thrush (*Petrocincla cyanea*) sits looking at us from a boulder above.

A multitude of other birds, such as *Zosterops palpebrosus*, *Hypsipetes Nilgiriensis*, *Dendrophila frontalis*, etc., are busy securing their

food amongst the leaves and branches of the trees and shrubs, whilst the common green megalaima, seated on the topmost bough of the only tall tree near, utters his monotonous "koturr, koturr" the livelong day. Thousands of swiftlets (*Collocalia unicolor*) are hawking the insects about, and will probably roost to-night in the caves of the Bramagiris, where, at this time of the year, they breed in thousands. Their nests are not edible, however, like the Chinese ones, though they are made of the same substance, inspissated saliva mixed, in the case of these birds, with moss and feathers.

A Nilgiri kestrel (*Cerchneis tinunculus*) is busy eating a mouse on a rock, and flies away with his prey as we approach.

At last we gain the peak and look round. There, away to the east, we see the great pools of the Cobbani where the mahseer loves to dwell. To our right lie the serrated peaks and ridges of the Western Ghats with patches here and there of coffee near their bases, and beyond again the Nilgiri plateau with great masses of black storm-clouds gathered menacingly over it, whilst from their dark depths vivid streaks of lightning dart forth forked tongues of flame, and the boom of distant thunder echoes from the rocky cliffs around.

Clouds are gathering, too, on our left over the Bramagiri and Dindamal hills, so we will take the warning and hurry down again—not the way we came, but down the Terrioot face of the mountain.

It is late by the time we reach the foot, and, mounting our horses posted for us there, we get back to the Korothe bungalow in time for a late dinner.

At midnight, the storm bursts, the rain pours in torrents, whilst the vivid and continuous flashes of lightning illuminate the country round. How the thunder peals and crashes over head, as report quickly follows report, until the whole is merged in one almost continuous series of detonations echoed back from the mountain above. In an hour, it is all over, a loud rumbling to the west denoting the course followed by the storm; but the roar and rush of mountain torrents, careering madly down the steep slopes behind us carrying the surface soil away to the sea, continues for some time longer.

At day-break we are off, *en route* to Manantoddy, ten miles away. The air is fresh and cool, and a thousand birds rejoice; here the exquisite scent of a lovely orchid fills the air with fragrance. It is the *Dendrobium aurum*. We pick a few of the delicate golden flowers and collect a host of others with which the trees are laden. In this hollow there is a great bed of wild ginger, and the trees are covered with festoons of Hoyas and handsome ferns, and there, on the bank, or some fine tree ferns (*Alsophila glabra*). Here the forest is principally deciduous, though many evergreen trees appear, such as *Vateria Indica*, *Evolia triphylla*, etc. The shrubby *Wendlandia* (*W. notoniana*) is abundant, and we may expect to find on it fine specimens of the larvae of the Atlas moth (*Attacus Atlas*).

The whole of the country about here has been ruined by koomreo cultivation, the land having been tuckled for raggi for years, until it refuses to grow anything now but a scrubby vegetation, consisting mainly of such trees as *Evodias*, *Lagerstroemias*, the *Wodina* (*W. wodier*), and *Bignonias*, with scattered trees of *Careya arborea*, surrounded by a heavy growth of brackens.

There is an old avenue bordering the road, planted up with *Vateria Indica*, *Ficus Bengalensis*, *Artocarpus integrifolia*, etc. Between the patches of jungle are open grassy downs with herds of buffaloes and small black cattle grazing on them. These latter are not to be trusted, as they are often vicious and charge desperately, as I have experienced to my cost. Most of the animals have wooden bells on, and their loud and monotonous rattling is more curious than pleasant.

We pass numerous Mappilla houses on the road, each with its little coffee-garden shaded by jack trees, up the stems of which *Dioscoreas* have been trained for the sake of their tuberous roots.

As we approach Manantoddy, the lantana becomes more abundant, till finally it seems to have taken entire possession of the country, affording a secure asylum to numerous panthers (*Felis pardus*) which prey on the village dogs, calves, etc.

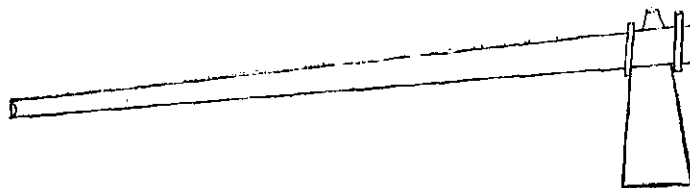
We ride through the Manantoddy bazaar, a dirty and disreputable place, and finally reach our destination at nine o'clock, quite ready for breakfast, which discussed, we walk down to the Forest office, a small building on the top of a hill, prettily situated. Here we find an experimental garden, in which Ceara rubber (*Manihot Glazovii*), mahogany (*Chloroxylon Swietenia*), cocoa (*Theobroma cacao*), the rain tree (*Pithecolobium saman*), sappan (*Caesalpinia sappan*), and a host of Australian eucalypti, acacias, and exotic trees and palms are growing vigorously; and then on to the new building for the Forest officer, of which nothing is to be seen but the foundations, after which we mount our horses and are off again to Bogur, the headquarters of the Koodrakote forest, where forest operations are in full swing. After riding about two miles, we enter the reserve, a huge signboard with the words "Imperial Forest Reserve, Koodrakote" informing us of this fact. This board has been nailed to a fine young tree of the *Naucllea* species, covered with its curious flowers just like olive-green badminton balls.

The *Naucllea* is growing in a swamp in a dense brake of screw-pine (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) with scattered trees of the common willow (*Salix tetrasperma*). Just above us, overhanging the road we have come, is a huge solitary tree loaded with the nests of the cliff bee (*Apis dorsata*), so, for heaven's sake, do not smoke, or the irascible little wretches will be down upon us, in which case we are certain to have a bad time of it, even if we escape with our lives! Here is a bridge with a notice that you are to walk over it. One of my mahouts lately, in the dark, took his elephant across it, so I do not think we need pay much attention to the notice.

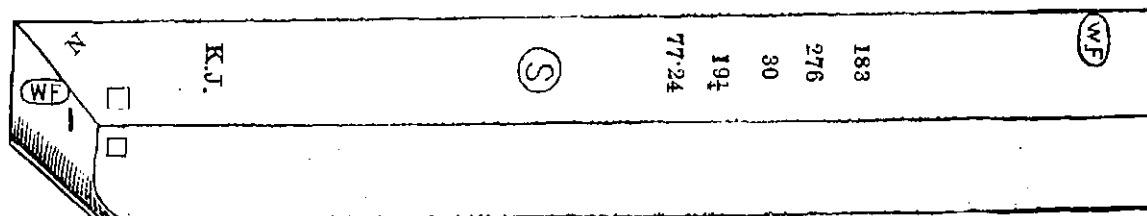
The forest improves, and we presently leave the Oliout police station behind us and reach the village of Sumnuthgoody. Here we turn off, the road to the right going on to Mysore. We will go that way to-morrow.

The forest we are now riding through is very valuable. It belongs to the seventh zone, and is first-class deciduous forest with teak. Yesterday, if you remember, we rode through the sixth zone, or open grass scrub and bamboos with mixed deciduous and evergreen forest. The principal timber here is Mutty (*T. tomentosa*), or Kurra-maradoo as it is called in Canarose. See how abundant it is, and what grand logs it can produce. Seventy and eighty feet long, and as straight as an arrow! If we could but get an extensive sale for it at remunerative rates, what a mine of wealth these grand forests would become. But we cannot sell it now. Natives do not value it here, though it is a magnificent timber, very strong and tough. White-ants, however, destroy it, and that is why it is not valued; besides it is given to warping and dry rot! However, when a railway affords cheap carriage and saw-mills are at work, we may hope to make a fair profit out of it yet.

Look at these magnificent logs! They are Hon (Pterocarpus marsupium), the next best timber we have to teak. The merchant who has bought them has got his money's worth, for they have been so well and truly squared, and are so sound, that there will be little or no wastage in sawing them up. This mark in the corner of the log has been made by the Bet Kurumbar who squared it. What does this  hieroglyphic mean? It is only Kala's mark. He has no T-square, no tape, no foot-rule, chisel or hammer—nothing but his axe, and this is what it is like:



He has squared the log entirely by his eye. In the centre of the log we find stamped with a steel die,



which means that the number of the log is 276, that it is 30 feet long, and its mean quarter girth is $19\frac{1}{4}$ inches and total cubical contents 77-2-4. The /83 denotes the year in which it was felled. (W.F) stands for Wynad forests and the (S) shows that it has been sold. The K.J. in the right-hand corner are the initials of the purchaser. The hole in the corner is for the drag-chain to pass through.

The logs in the next depot you see are all blackwood (*Dalbergia latifolia*). They are for the coast market, and will be shipped by the purchasers at Tellicherry for the Bombay and Karachi markets. We are close to Bogur now, for on our left the forest is a gorgeous sea of flame: the Poinciana (*P. regia*) is in flower. The whole of this side of the road was once a splendid shoot of coffee, but the manager was foolish enough to plant this tree for shade, and, being a surface-feeder, its roots quickly starved the coffee out.

We leave the road now and turn sharply to the right, and ride through the estate. There are a few jack trees here and there, but our elephants have stripped the leaves and branches off them and they do not look happy. Those two large sheds you see below us are the elephant houses, but the elephants have not returned yet from their work.

We will have tiffin now and then write some letters, after which we will go down to the stream close by and see if we can get a tow carp for dinner. This is the forest hut; it is built entirely of teak and shingled. It was nicely matted inside at one time, but I had the mats all pulled off the walls, as rats took up their quarters between and snakes followed them.

Here is old Khazi. He is a great fisherman and has turned up in the nick of time.

"How is the water, Khazi?" "Excellent, sahib."

"And the fish, are there lots of them?" "Your lordship will have good sport; they are well on the feed."

"Well, we will take the rods and come at once."

"Here are the leaves, master."

We carefully tie on a Valisneria leaf to our hook, so that it is quite concealed, and wading into the head of the run, let our line, with six feet of the finest drawn gut at the end, float gently down the current. Just as the leaf passes the roots of yonder willow, sixty feet away, there is a swirl, and a plunge, and a sudden tug at the line, and our reel screams a merry tune. He is six pounds, if an ounce! Gently now, for he is trying hard to fray the gut against that snag. Now he makes a rush for that fallen tree in the water. Once under that, and he is gone. Oh! run Kala, run! Wade in and free the line; it has twisted round that bamboo twig. Be careful! He is off! No, thank goodness, no; he is on still. Now for the net. They have left it behind; how disgusting. Khazi! help me to land this fish. Out with him now! And Khazi deftly pushes his fingers in behind the gills and flings *Barbus*

carnaticus, quivering and gleaming, on the pebbly shore. He is quite four pounds we find. But see what Khazi is up to. He has a dozen gourds, and is tying three feet of sago palm (*Caryota urens*) fibre on to the neck of each; and now he whips on hooks, baits them with *Ageratum* leaves, and sets them floating down the stream. There goes the little fleet, and bob! down goes the leading gourd. Now it is up again, and seems to have gone mad, for it jumps and leaps about, then dives and disappears in the most surprising manner. But old Khazi knows what is up, for he has run to the bottom of the pool, and, as the gourd passes him, seizes it, and lo! there is a handsome three-pound barbus at the end of the line.

We go on fishing with varying success, and finally count up a bag of three brace of carp. Old Khazi has caught two, and has made besides a miscellaneous bag of *mastacemblus*—a fish that looks like a sharp-nosed eel—four young *labeos*, several cat fish (*silurus*), and a heap of the little *Barilius Bakeri*.

On our way back we call on old Lutchmi, a dear old elephant, at the shed, and treat her to some jaggery and see Mr. Sankara fed. He has been naughty of late and became "*must*," so he has had to do double work. Here are Chloe and Phyllis, who were captured in the Alambadi khedda in Coimbatore. Vixen has gone to Nilambur. These last three are, I believe, the only ones alive now out of all those then captured! They are going down to the river now to bathe, after which they will be hobbled and turned loose to graze all night.

Do you notice the number of young trees here that have grown up everywhere in this abandoned coffee estate? There are two teak seedlings twenty feet in height; and these are all young blackwood trees, growing vigorously.

Before dinner we will send for old Kurumbar Kala and the forester, and give them orders to have two Kurumbars ready to go with us to the Soola Bulla forest, near the Coorg frontier, early to-morrow morning.

Daybreak sees us up, and we are in the forest *after* sunrise. We march steadily along the forest road for some distance and turn off, after crossing a large bridge, to inspect a depot.

There are over seventy logs in this depot, all dead toak, for we have not felled living trees here for the last six years. The Kurumbars who have prepared these logs are waiting for the measurements to be checked, and this we do. A great deal of the timber you see is much cracked and flawed, but as long as we can make any profit out of it, it would be a great pity to let it get burnt up and destroyed.

Look at the pugs of this tiger! what a monstrous size they are! He lives up on the Bramagiri plateau, and only occasionally comes down here when he is hard up for grub and has established a scare amongst the sambur up there. He is a grand old fellow, this tiger, and I once had a shot at him, but only wounded him slightly in the leg.

There are wild dogs (*Cuon rutilans*) crossing the road ahead, eight—nine—ten of them! One stops and barks at us, with his brush up in the air, and then jumps lightly over a log and disappears. They are remorseless beasts, these dogs, and kill numbers of deer, both sambar (*Rusa aristotelis*) and spotted deer (*Axis maculatus*). Sometimes they go about in enormous packs; I have seen one of over sixty myself. The wild dog has few enemies to keep it in check, and it is but rarely shot by sportsmen. I think, though, that a good many get killed in their encounters with dangerous game, such as boars and tigers. There are many instances on record of wild dogs having tree'd both tigers and panthers, and one, of their having killed and partly eaten a tiger at Bandipore on the Mysore frontier.

The forest we are now passing through has a dense undergrowth of *Leeas* and zingiberaceous plants, with a host of creepers trailing along the ground and twining up the trunks of the trees, in many instances distorting the tree, or even strangling it altogether. Many species of figs are, however, far worse in this respect, for there, in front of you, is a mighty rosewood tree (*Dalbergia latifolia*), the trunk of which has been almost completely hidden by a fig (*F. parasitica*), and so tightly has it been embraced that there is nothing to denote that the rosewood is even alive but that miserable tuft of leaves showing overhead through the luxuriant foliage of its enemy.

We must keep a sharp look out now, for here are the fresh tracks of a solitary elephant, a rogue, no doubt, for he is constantly about here and is the terror of our Kurumbar axemen. I should not be at all surprised if we found him in company with Chloë and Phyllis, who were let loose to graze in this part of the forest last night.

What is Kala running back for? He must have seen the tusker. No; there is a large sounder of pig (*Sus Indica*), he says, in a swamp. There they go, headed by a grim old boar, who is grunting angrily and champing his tusks. We will let him pass as we are not armed.

Here we are at the big depot, and there is old Lutchmi in the swamp. She has evidently not smelt that rogue, or she would have come straight home again, for she does not like wild elephants, and is not given to flirting with rogues, like her giddy companions, Chloë and Phyllis.

Just look at the magnificent trees here! And no wonder they are so fine, for the soil is a deep rich loam, nearly black, and composed entirely of the rich surface-soil washed down from the low hills around by the monsoon rains. The rainfall is about eighty inches here annually. There stands a magnificent teak surrounded by thousands of Mutty trees (*Terminalia tomentosa*), and Vonghay (*Pterocarpus marsupium*), and Venteak (*Lagerstroemia microcarpa*), with here and there a noble rosewood (*Dalbergia latifolia*). Here, just off the road, is a monstrous fig (*Ficus mysorensis*) that was blown down in the fearful monsoon gales of 1882. A famous tree

it was, too, known amongst the Kurumbars as the great "Goni Barray." Its branches bore twice a year a rich crop of wax and honey, for over a hundred colonies of the large bee (*Apis dorsata*) have resorted for years to this mighty tree to rear their broods in fancied security.

We must return now, for we go to Bhawully this evening. The forest here swarms with birds. That handsome black bird flying across the path is the Bhimraj (*Edolius paradiseus*), often tamed by Muhammadans for its song. It also possesses a strong power of mimicry, and, in captivity, will imitate the mewing of cats, crying of babies, and cackling of poultry in the most wonderful manner. In English it is known as the racquet-tailed drongo shrike, from the two elongated tail feathers, which are curled into the shape of a racquet at the end.

Seated on a twig is a male of the handsome Malabar trogon (*Harpactes fasciatus*), his rose-pink breast contrasting beautifully with the delicately-penciled black of his wings. Flashing like a meteor across the path, flies the lovely bronze-wing dove (*Chalcophaps Indica*), the metallic green of his wings glittering like some jewel in the sunshine; and on the tree in front are a host of flame birds (*Pericrocotus flammeus*), the cocks clad in orange-red and black and the hens in gold and dark grey. The oriole (*Oriolus kundoo*) is here, too, resplendent in his gold and black livery, and the fairy blue-bird (*Irena puella*) with a back of the loveliest cobalt blue, the rest of his body a jetty black. Hodgson's wood-pecker (*Picus Hodgsoni*) is investigating the trunk of yonder hoary tree and making the forest resound again with his loud rat-a-tat-tat-tat-tat. The moment we catch his eye he slips round the trunk like lightning. But how is it possible to describe the hundreds of species of birds that swarm in these forests, with the limited space at my command? I must even content myself with a dry list of them at the end.

We have reached Begur now, and so we will mount our horses and be off to Bhawully. At Karticollam we branch off to the Mysore road, and, after going a short distance, pass the Padry Reserve signboard and a little further on reach the Bhawully bridge. We now dismount, and go down to the river and have a look at the colonies of bees (*Apis dorsata*) that have built under the arches of the bridge. It is a wonderful sight truly! There are over a hundred hives: the bees are flying in millions across the bridge and we see nervous travellers passing the bridge at a run to avoid being stung. Seated on a willow tree are about fifty or sixty birds—king-crows (*Dicrurus macrocerus*) and bee-eaters (*Merops viridis* and *Swinhoii*). Watch them, and you will see one or two leave their perches for a moment, fly rapidly through the arches of the bridge, snap up a bee, and retire to the forest on the opposite side to devour their prey at their leisure. This goes on continuously, and the numbers of bees devoured in this way must be something enormous.

Before returning to Manantoddy we will just take a run down to the pool in the Cubbani at Shanamangalam, and have a try for mahseer (*Barbus mosal*) and Carnatic carp (*B. Carnaticus*). There are some monsters in this great pool, and if we are fortunate enough to get a run, we must look to our tackle and see that it is in proper order.

Here is the pool, some four hundred yards long by one hundred yards broad, and from ten to seventeen feet deep; a fine sheet of water. We will now unwind our reel, and dry the three hundred yards of strong cotton line it holds, in the sun for a quarter of an hour. We will also oil the winch, for it is a cheek winch invented by me, and see that it is in proper working order. Having done this, we will prepare our bait. First and foremost we cut a bamboo rod, seven feet long, and put on a single gut-line with a fine hair-hook; next we deftly tie on a leaf-fly and then chuck in a handful of *Valisneria* leaf. See how the fish are rising: now is the time. Our fly falls gently in the very centre of a patch of floating *Valisneria*. There is a swirl, and a tug, and, after a little play, we land a nice little Carnatic carp, nine inches long, just the right size. Our Kurumbars have meanwhile made a bamboo basket with a narrow mouth, and we put our bait into it and lower it into the water with a tuft of grass, to keep the fish from jumping out, shoved into its mouth. In ten minutes we have half-a-dozen young carp, and it is now time to reel up our line. This finished, we examine the three trebles and coat the silk whipping with a little fly-wax. These trebles are the very largest and strongest made for mahseer fishing. We now cut a strong bamboo rod, twenty-five feet long, nice and pliable, and lash it firmly to a willow tree so that the point overhangs a deep, shady portion of the pool. Next we take out a carp and with a needle stitch a double thread through his back, just in front of the dorsal fin. We then pass one of the hooks through the loop of thread thus formed, and tie our line to the tip of the bamboo rod, so that we can lower our bait at will from the bank; at the same time we make our tie just strong enough to hook the mahseer when he seizes the bait. We now drive the spike of our reel deep into the bank, and reel up the slack line till the dorsal fin of the bait just shows above water. The bait is very vigorous, you see, for he dashes madly round in a circle, striving to escape. A screen must be made or the wily mahseer would never come near the place if he suspected that we were here.

We have another reel, and this we will work in a different way. We will first drive the spike into the ground and then pull out thirty yards of line. About a foot from the hooks, we tie a quartz pebble of a pound in weight, and then we bait the hooks with a lump of raggi dough as big as your two fists. We next gather the line into a neat coil and fling our bait far out into the pool. When the bait and pebble have settled at the bottom, we gently pull in the slack line till we feel the weight of the stone, and then take a double turn of the line round a stake one foot long and as thick as your finger.

This stake we thrust deep into the sand, and then make the line from the reel to the stake taut. All is ready now, and there is nothing for it but patience. The sun is just setting, and it is the hour when mahseer wake and begin to feed. Silence! Not a word must be uttered, so we lie down behind our screen and lazily watch the green imperial pigeons (*Carpophaga insignis*) cooing and pruning their feathers on yonder bastard ebony tree (*Diospyros embryopteris*). Swimming slowly down the pool, nothing visible but his bung-like eyes, goes a mugger (*Crocodilus palustris*) on the look out for grub. No chance of a mahseer as long as that scaly monster is on the move! Some Wodagur women are coming down the bank for water opposite us with their polished brass-pots gracefully poised on their heads. The mugger dives and is gone, the wood pigeons flutter from the ebony tree and swiftly wing their way down stream, a melancholy frog croaks dismally from yon slimy pool covered with ferruginous scum, and the hoot of the great eagle owl (*Bubo Nipalensis*) is echoed from the dark forest behind us.

The stars twinkle overhead, and soon all nature is hushed, the silence being now and again broken by the splash of some great fish. Hours pass and no sign. It is drowsy work, and soon the heavy breathing of our Kurumbar is the only sound heard. We begin to nod too, when splash! whir-r-r-r-r! whir-r-r-r-r-r-r! There is a sound as if the father of all fish had taken a header out of the water, and our reel sings merrily as yard after yard is reeled out with the rapidity of lightning! Gently now! We seize the line with a strip of chamois leather; it is put through in an instant. Lower the line under water! Let him travel. Do not attempt to stop him or the line will part. One hundred and fifty yards out and still he goes! Ha! his first rush is over, and now we will reel in hand over hand. In comes the line; a desperate tug; he is off again. Let him go. Nearly two hundred yards out, and suddenly the line stiffens. Heavens! it will part. We feel the desperate tugs at the end of it, but not only will it not come in, but when we let it out, it slacks! The fish has fouled it and has beat us. The raft! the raft! The Kurumbar lights a bamboo torch. I jump on the raft and my companion attends to the line. We pole rapidly down, line in hand. The fish has fouled in the heavy water below. We shoot past and over the spot. A few tugs at the line and it is free. Hurrah! the fish is still on! Let out line! we cry as the fish forges ahead, nearly towing the raft. He has doubled and goes up stream, fouling the line again under the raft; but we quickly free it, and now it tautens as he frantically dashes down again. Line! line! more line! Ha! see his tail as the water boils under its strokes. His race is run now, and he nears the raft. The glare of the torch lights up his massive back, and, horror of horrors! shows one hook alone slightly attached to the very tip of his under lip! One more pull, hands are slipped behind his gills, and he is ours as he lays gasping on the raft. And now back to the hut, the Kurumbar frantic with joy. We land

and weigh our prize, sixty-four and a half pounds, a splendid female. Enough for to-night. We get back to camp to sleep soundly till daybreak.

FAUNA.

In Appendix II will be found a list of the *animals* found in Malabar. To this list I might have added two new bats (*Cheiroptera*), but as they have not been named as yet I have not done so. They were discovered in the depths of the primeval ghat forests, and are chiefly remarkable for being clad with a long dense fur. I have found it impossible to give a detailed description here of the fauna of Malabar, the space at my command being so limited; but a short description of the habits and distribution of some of the more remarkable forms may be of interest.

The wild elephant is the most important animal of the district. Without his assistance, when domesticated, it would be difficult indeed to work the forests. Wherever you go in the forests you find numberless pitfalls excavated for his capture; but, as a rule, they are mostly old ones, half filled in. Numbers of elephants are captured by Nayars and Mappillas, and broken in for timber dragging, which is done entirely by the teeth; the elephant seizing a thick cable made of grewia fibre in his trunk, and biting the end between his molars, drags the log, to which the other end of the cable has been made fast. In wet and slippery weather, when going downhill, a log often gets such way on that the elephant's jaw is either dislocated by the sudden jerk or a molar is pulled out. All elephants which are forced to drag timber in this brutal and irrational manner have their jaws very much disfigured by abscesses and suffer cruelly from toothache, often being laid up for months at a time. Elephants are very abundant all along the chain of the Western Ghats and in the teak forests of Beni, Chedleth, and Koodrakote; but here they are partially migratory, leaving Wynad in the heavy bursts of the monsoon for the drier climate of Mysore, where they eat quantities of the black saline earth in the salt licks and thus get rid of the innumerable intestinal worms with which they are troubled. When the domestic elephant, prompted by instinct, does this, the mahout thinks at once that he is ill, and the wretched animal is forthwith dosed with the most virulent mineral and vegetable poisons that the nearest bazaar is capable of producing, such as corrosive sublimate, arsenic, verdigris, croton-oil, marking-nut, nuxvomica, etc., mixed up with such ridiculous ingredients, as bison flesh, peacock's fat, etc.

I have heard frequent complaints of the "want of constitution of Indian elephants" and such like balderdash, but when we consider the brutal and wicked manner in which this, one of the noblest creations of God, is treated, is it any wonder that the wretched animal, however powerful its constitution, succumbs? Think of the dreary marches of a newly-caught animal—which has already endured all the tortures of the damned in the khedda

where it was captured—over dusty plains in the hot weather, picketted out in the scorching sun, often without a drop of water to assuage its burning thirst, fed for years on cocoanut leaves or the eternal banyan and fig, physicked when it is well and when it is ill, in a word—physicked to death!

In Malabar the system of catching elephants is to dig groups of pitfalls on the pathways and beaten tracks the animal has made for itself, and which it is so fond of using. As a rule, these pits are dug a little way off the road and a tree felled across it to induce the animals to go round; but so artful are they, that a cautious old female will often suspect the trap, and carefully uncover the pitfalls, to prevent her more youthful companions from tumbling in. Elephants are often seriously injured and even killed in these pitfalls.

The gaur (*Gaerus gaurus*) was in former years very abundant everywhere in the Malabar forests, but murrain has slain its thousands, and the native and European pot-hunters have not been behind-hand in the work of destruction. I have heard well-authenticated cases of Englishmen who have shot three and four cow bison of a day and have left them to rot where they fell.

Now, bison are only to be found on the Bramagiri and Dindamul ranges of hills, in the Chedleth and Beni forests, and in the ghat forests near Peria in the Wynad. In the low-country the gaur is found all along the slopes of the Western Ghats, from the Coorg frontier to near Palghat in the Chenat Nayar forests; but they are nowhere abundant.

Sambur (*Rusa aristotelis*).—This fine deer is almost extinct in the Wynad plateau proper, but is still fairly abundant on the spurs of the Western Ghats and on the Bramagiri range. It is also found all along the lower slopes of the Western Ghats, but is not very abundant.

The spotted deer (*Axis maculata*).—This handsome animal is abundant only near the foot of the Karkur ghat; elsewhere it is far from common, and may be considered nearly extinct in the Wynad, where at one time it swarmed.

The tiger (*Felis tigris*) is rare in the Wynad, not uncommon all along the Western Ghats, where each tiger has his own beat and does not interfere with his neighbour. As a rule, the tiger in Malabar is restricted to such parts where game abounds.

The panther (*F. pardus*) is particularly abundant at Manantoddy in Wynad, and in September and October may be heard roaring round your house in every direction. Woe to the dog that leaves his master's house, even for five minutes, there at night.

The wild pig (*S. Indicus*) is common everywhere in the forests, but is fairly kept in check by his natural enemies the tiger, pard, wild dog, and last, though not least, the native, who is very partial to pork, even though it may be measly.

The South Indian wild goat (*Hemitragus hylocrius*) was abundant once all along the precipitous peaks and rocky hills of the Western Ghats from Naduvattam to near Valliyar, but it has been so ceaselessly persecuted by Europeans and natives alike, and the does so ruthlessly slaughtered, that where there were herds formerly of over a hundred, you rarely now meet with more than two or three, and on many great rocky ranges they are quite extinct.

The following interesting account of tame ibex is taken from the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, New Series, II, 82. It is sad to relate that these ibex have all been since ruthlessly shot down by persons who ought to have known better.

"No one lives upon this hill" (Malliattur hill-station, north-east of Ahlwye), "but the chapel" ("a very filthy little neglected church which bears a character of excessive sanctity") "has a weekly visit from the priests at Malliattur, who at other times leave the chapel to the care of a converted herd of ibex, which graze on the steep hill-side and shelter in the sheds and outhouses. I saw fifteen of these very ugly goats about the knoll, all males, which was remarkable, and I should have entered them in this my diary as having distinctly monastic habits had I not been told that there were many more in number of the other sex just out of sight among the bushes, which silenced the suggestion. These civilized members of a forest family have not lost all the habits of their race in general. They saunter with composure on edges as sharp as knives, and stand with all four feet upon a single point of rock. Nor are they less wary than the ibex tribe in general. Their cunning teaches them that they are safer in the sanctuary of the church than on their wonted haunts, the precipice; and having taken up their abode upon the sacred hill, they bask in perfect safety as if aware that it was consecrated. In one of the chapel offices a black buck was lounging on a bedstead, who knew his place better than to take any notice of the heretic intruder, and such was evidently the feeling of the herd in general. This seems to speak of good intelligence, yet, judging by the head and face, the ibex is a sheepish jackass. Dull as these animals appear, they are said to have all the cleverness of priests, and, when anything goes wrong on the hill, one of the old bucks goes down immediately to report it in Malliattur. Only a few days ago one of these vigilant vergors is said to have taken the three-mile walk to ask a man in the village when he meant to pay that silver elephant he had promised to the church if the pitfalls he was digging should prove successful, an elephant having been taken and the vow forgotten."—(Captain Fred C. Cotton's account of a journey over the Annamullays for the purpose of examining the teak forests, etc.—Cochin to Annamullay.)

There are three fine species of large squirrels in Malabar. The Malabar red squirrel (*Sciurus Malabaricus*) is abundant everywhere in the ghat forests, and is also found in the ravines of the deciduous

forests. There are two varieties: the one has a yellow tip to its tail and the other has a tail wholly black.

The large flying squirrel (*Pteromys pelaurista*) is a very handsome animal. It is entirely nocturnal in its habits and very silent, only giving utterance to a low plaintive note at night. It grunts like a young pig when handled. The fur is beautiful and much valued. These squirrels are very abundant, but rarely seen, unless a forest is felled, when they fly out of their holes as the trees fall.

Fishes.

Of *fishes* there are innumerable species and varieties, and all waters teem with them. The most important amongst the sea-fish are the seer, the pomfret, mullet, barrin, and Nair fish. Sardines (*Sardinella Neohowii*) are very abundant at times and very cheap. They are extensively used as manure, and an evil smelling oil is manufactured from them. Of fresh-water fishes, the mahseer is the most important, and is found in most of the larger rivers. It does not, however, grow to such a size in those rivers as it does in the Cubani in Wynad, where it is said to grow to over a hundred and fifty pounds in weight.

In Appendix III will be found a list of the *fishes* of Malabar taken from Dr. Day's work.

Birds.

The Malabar District is very rich in its *avifauna*. The list in Appendix IV contains four hundred and twenty species of birds, most of which have been entered in the list on undoubted authority, Mr. Atholl MacGregor, late British Resident in Travancore, having collected them and drawn up a list from Jerdon's "Birds of India," which has served as a foundation for the preparation of Appendix IV. Some few species, such as *Lyncornis bourdilloni*, *Merula Kinisii*, etc., have been entered, as it is very probable that they will be found to occur, both species having been procured in Travancore. No doubt there are errors in this list; but it is next to impossible, without the most careful and systematic collecting, to get anything like a really correct list of the fauna of a large district like Malabar.

Insects and Reptiles.

It is simply impossible to give lists of the various species of *insects* and *reptiles* that abound. It would take up a great deal of time and space, and both are here valuable. I have, however, given a list (Appendix V), though not a complete one, of the butterflies of the Wynad and the Western Ghats.

FOREST TREES.

In Appendix VI will be found a list of the principal *timber and forest trees* of Malabar classified according to the forests in which they grow.

SECTION G.—PASSES, ROADS AND RAILWAY.

The climate, the physical character of the country, and, in most places, the nature of the road materials are all unfavourable to road-making in Malabar. Indeed, in ancient times and within the memory of people still living, bullock carts and made roads did not exist. The chief traffic of the country was, and in great measure still is, carried on, as already alluded to in the section on rivers, etc., by water and not by land. In ancient times, the country was split up into rival principalities and roads were not a necessity. A force on the march went in single file and unencumbered by artillery, and it was only after the Mysorean invasions under Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan that the necessity for roads capable of carrying heavy guns began to be felt. The following extracts from the records show how the matter stood shortly after the British acquisition of the province.

Minute by Colonel Dow on the state of roads in 1796.—"The general disorder that has hitherto prevailed in the Mappilla districts is greatly imputable to want of roads, which enabled them to trespass with security. The Mappillas hold all regular government in aversion, and never appear to have been thoroughly subjugated by Tippu. This habitual dislike to subordination is not to be removed by methods of severity, which are likely to excite resistance. A large body of troops should be stationed at their quarters, and their lurking-places should be kept open by constructing roads. At present no vestige exists of wheel-carriages having ever been in use in Malabar, and the roads are generally narrow, which are rarely better than foot-paths running at random through paddy-lands without any regard to the convenience of travelling. The necessity for spacious and broad roads was not probably felt until the Muhammadan conquest. Tippu projected and in a great part finished an extensive chain of roads that connected all the principal places in Malabar and pervaded the wildest parts of the country. The grand termination of these intercommunications was Seringapatam, and as the route necessarily led over the ghats, neither labour nor expense was spared in rendering it practicable for artillery. This was the most politic and enlightened of any enterprise undertaken by that prince, and he appears to have been sensible that the construction of the public roads was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of his authority and to enable him to effect the forcible conversion he so long meditated. Many works of utility have been abandoned since the province came into the hands of the Company. Works of great extent and magnitude should be proceeded with by degrees. The roads, whether projected or finished by Tippu, should be first ascertained and completed thoroughly before any new works are undertaken. His routes are in general well chosen and lead through almost every part of the province. The work might be performed by the Cherumars of the country. Having completed Tippu's roads, the Company should take up such roads as escaped the supervision of that prince.

After completion, the roads should be maintained in good order by the labour of the community. Bullocks carrying merchandise might be tolled so as to provide a fund to meet contingent charges, etc."

Colonel Dow stated further : " Since the country came into the possession of the Company, the roads have been gradually encroached on, and in many parts entirely shut up, by the inhabitants. The country is rendered scarcely accessible to the troops and the movement of artillery impracticable."

The task of securing good roads to all parts of the province was taken in hand, and, as a first step, the following information as to Tippu's roads was obtained from the Zamorin's minister, and from actual inspection by an officer of Engineers.

" Account of Tippu's Gun-roads by Shamnauth.

" 1. From Calicut to the present cantonment Polwye by Purrinalettu, Cheakur, Tamracheri.

" 2. From Malapuram to Tamracheri.

" 3. From Malapuram to Pudapani and from thence to the ghat.

" 4. From Calicut to Ferokia, Carate Hobli, Elamaruthoo, Chatamungul, Purrinalettu, Tamracheri.

" 5. From Ferokia through Shernad Taluk, by Chalapoora Hobli, Pooloor, Tirurangadi, Venkatakotta, Poolanalettu, Erakerlu, Kemaro, Waleakoomuttu, Tirucheraparamba, Cowlpara, Mungarey river, Pattambi, Walayar river, Coimbatore.

" 6. From Palghat to Dindigul, Tallamangala, Wundelarrulatiel, Nellinootiel, Wellikumbil, Margienaympalim, Peelachi, Worunmalakatu, Kannenerukuvaturu, Palni, Virupakshu, Dindigul.

" 7. From Venkatakotta, Purumbil, Walluanatakuny (Velateru), Palaketeri, Angadipuram, Muleakurchi, Karialutu, Vellatur, Rapellallawuloora, Peynat, Koondepulla river, Mannar, Attaparu, Tengraunttooroo, Wellinamutu, Coimbatore.

" The northern division is in like manner pervaded by roads, the particulars of which may be easily obtained. It is sufficient at present to take notice that they lead from mount Deli both by the seashore and through the interior parts of Chirakal, Cotiote, etc., generally having for their direction the passes of Pudiacherrim and Tamracheri."

Letter from Captain-Lieutenant Johnson, of Engineers, on the subject of the gun-roads in the province, dated 1st December 1796.—

" The roads practicable for guns are as follows : one from the south side of the Beypore river to Tanur, Ponnani, Balliancota, and keeping about one mile to the westward of Chavakkad, proceeds along the island of Chetwai to Cranganore, where it stops. This road is throughout good, but has five rivers to cross, four of which require boats ; but as the road lies near towns close to each of these rivers, boats are easily procured when wanted,

"The next begins at Tanur, from whence it proceeds through Pudiangadi, Tirunavayi, Omalur, Tirttala, Cowlpara, Lakkidikotta to Palghat, and from thence to Coimbatore to the eastward, as also through Chittur, Tattamangalam to Kolangod. The first part of the road requires hardly any repairs as far as Tirunavayi, where, near the Ponnani river, road is so much encroached on whenever it leads through batty fields, that in such places it can hardly be called a foot-path; not only this, but the more effectually to prevent cultivated spots from being marched through, hedges, banks and ditches are made to cross the roads, or trees felled which require time and trouble to clear away. These appear to be the first obstacles to be removed and prevented. The latter part of this road, as it mostly runs over high jungly, hilly grounds, only requires here and there repairing, which being once done, the inhabitants of the country might be induced to keep it so, as it is one of the first marks of attention very readily shown to many of the natives of rank to clear and repair, and even clean, the road over which they have to pass.

"There is also another gun-road leading from Pattikad Chokee to Trichur, Ullur, Pudcad, through Ramosvaram gate to Amolum eastward of Cochin, which is kept in repair by the Cochin Rajah, whose guns are moved over it frequently.

"Of roads formerly intended as gun-roads there are many leading in every direction, the principal of which are one leading from Ferokabad to Trovengarry, and by passing near Venkatakotta, to Angadipuram, from whence it leads through Cherpalcheri to Mannar Town. The first part of this road, so far as Venkatakotta, is mostly over uncultivated rocky heights, abounding in forage, but affording little wood and water, which would only require a little repairing at the ascents and descents here and there, after which, going toward Angadipuram, there are batty fields and nalas that require more work to make them fit for guns, but the expense, even there, cannot be great, as such places bear a very small proportion to the tract of country over which this road leads, which is generally high and even, but also abounds in wood and water, which are to be found in abundance everywhere but on the sea-coast.

"The next is a road from Ferokia to Konduvetti, and from thence to Errowinagarry, Nilambur, and by the Karkur pass to the top of the Gazalhatti pass. The first part of this road bears evident marks of having been made for guns at a great labour, and appears more to require clearing of small trees, etc., than making; it also abounds in wood, water and forage throughout, but is destroyed whenever it crosses batty fields. This road strikes to southward from Errowinagarry to Whurumpuram, the first half of which I have not seen; but, supposing it resembles the latter, will require very little expense to make it practicable for guns. There are also many of this kind of roads—such as one from Mannar to Cowpiel, from Cherpalcheri to Lakkidikotta, from Venkatakotta to Tirunavayi—all of which require more to be cleared and repaired than made. Very little more can be said concerning them."

Though the matter thus received early attention, but little was done in this direction for over fifty years, and it is only within the last thirty years that the opening up of the country by good roads has been vigorously pushed on. The main lines of road eastward and the coast-line absorbed all the money that could be devoted to them, and the following roads, which enabled the produce of Malabar to be exchanged for that of the eastern districts, were maintained in fair order during the first period of fifty years.

(1) The *Perambadi* ghat road, leading from Tellicherry and Cannanore through Coorg, to Seringapatam and Mysore, by which sandalwood and pepper and grain, and chillies and pulses, and latterly, coffee were brought to the coast, and return loads, chiefly of salt, were taken back. The route has been partly altered and the gradients on this line have been greatly improved of recent years. The ghat portion of it lies in Coorg territory.

(2) The *Periah* ghat road, from Tellicherry and Cannanore through North Wynad to Mysore, conveying much the same traffic as the road last-mentioned between the same places. This road has been very greatly improved in recent years. It was originally required as an alternative route for the passage of troops from the coast to Mysore, which, going this way, avoided passing through the Coorg Raja's country. The ghat has been retraced in recent years, and all the old steep gradients cut down or circumvented.

(3) The *Kuttiyadi* ghat road, leading from the head of the navigable waters of the *Kotta* river into North Wynad, which at first was made, and afterwards maintained, chiefly for military purposes, in connection with the *Palassi* Raja's rebellion. This ghat road remains in much the same state as formerly. A new and easy trace up the mountains has been laid out, but it has not been widened sufficiently for carts. The traffic which exists is still carried on by means of pack-bullocks and by coolies.

(4) The *Tamracheri* ghat road—one of Tipu's military roads—leading from Calicut through South Wynad to Mysore, was the line judiciously selected by Colonel the Honourable Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) as commander of the forces for the operations against the rebellious *Palassi* Raja. It had the advantage of splitting up the country of that chieftain in Wynad and of enabling the military commanders to operate, according to circumstances, against any position where the rebels seemed inclined to make a stand. For this purpose stockades¹ or small forts were made at easy distances apart throughout its length. The labour of moving guns on this road must have been most severe, as the original trace ran straight up the almost precipitous face of the mountain. In recent years a well-graded ghat road, seven and three-quarter miles in length and rising nearly three thousand feet, has taken the place of the old short direct track. For the first three miles from the top of the ghat the road has literally been blasted out of the solid rock, which at that place crops out precipitously on the

¹ *Lakkidikotta* means literally stick or timber fort, and this is how the place at the head of the ghat obtained its name.

face of the mountain. The view, from the upper zigzag, of mountains and forests, and of the plains of Malabar with the sea in the distance, is superb.

(5) The *Sissapara* ghat road was made from the head of the navigable waters of the Beypore river, through the head of the Silent Valley, also called Vallaghat, up to the summits of the Kundah mountains on the Nilgiri plateau, for the purpose of enabling visitors from Bombay and the west coast generally to reach the Nilgiri Sanitarium. Except from the river to the foot of the hills it was, and still, is, only passable for baggage animals, but it has, ever since the opening of the railway, been discarded as a route to the Nilgiris.

(6) The *Palghat* gap afforded an easy means of communication between east and west, and a good road has always been maintained between Ponnani on the coast and Coimbatore and Palani inland. This road passes through Palghat, where it bifurcates, one branch going to Coimbatore, the other to Palani. From Tirtala, too, a branch struck off north-westwards to the coast road and afforded the usual route adopted by travellers to or from Calicut.

(7) Finally, the *coast* road, from Calicut to the extreme north of the district, united all the above lines at the points where they touched the sea-coast, and afforded a ready means of bringing detachments of troops from the military brigade stationed at Cannanore to any point where their services were required.

These were the main lines of communication kept up till within the last forty years, but a good deal used to be done besides to keep up country-paths, running in all directions over the country, but utilized only by men and animals. These country-paths were maintained by the occupiers of lands through which they passed.

In the last forty years great strides have been made towards opening up the district, and there is now scarcely any considerable portion of it to which wheeled traffic has not been extended. The roads, exclusive of those within the limits of municipalities, now number one hundred and seventeen and the total length maintained is one thousand, four hundred and forty-three miles. The details will be found in Appendix VII.

The south-west branch of the Madras railway was opened in the following sections on the following dates :—

Sections.	Miles.	Dates.
Beypore to Tirur	19	12th March 1861.
Tirur to Kuttipuram	9	1st May 1861.
Kuttipuram to Pattambi	12	23rd September 1861.
Pattambi to Podanur	65	14th April 1862.
Kadalundi to Calicut	10	2nd January 1888.
Olavakkot to Palghat	3	Do.

And with the opening on 12th May 1862 of the section beyond Podanur, the west coast was put into direct railway communication with the presidency town. The total length of line within the

district is ninety-nine miles, and the following are the railway stations :--

1 Calicut.	11 Pattambi.
2 Kallayi.	12 Cheruvannur (Shoranore).
3 Ferok.	13 Ottapalam.
4 Kadalundi.	14 Lakkidi.
5 Parappanangadi.	15 Mankarai.
6 Tanur.	16 Parali.
7 Tirur.	17 Olavakkot.
8 Edakkolam.	18 Palghat.
9 Kuttipuram.	19 Kanyikod.
10 Pallippuram.	20 Valliyar.

Before the extension of the line to Calicut it was felt that it was a mistake for the railway to stop at Beypore, which is only an insignificant fishing village, and that the line should have been brought into Calicut, the headquarters of the district, only seven miles distant from the terminus. On 9th February 1880, after much previous discussion, a public meeting was held at Calicut, and resolutions were passed and a memorial drawn up, praying that the line might be brought into Calicut. The prayer of the memorialists was favourably received and the line to Calicut opened on 2nd January 1888. On the same date a feeder line was opened between Olavakkot and Palghat.

There are but few works of any engineering consequence on the line of railway in Malabar, but the following may be mentioned :—

Dimensions of principal bridges on the Madras railway in Malabar District.

Bridges.	Miles.	Telegraph post.	Remarks.
1. Kallayi Bridge	412	3	390 feet in length. Iron lattice girders. Three openings, each 130 feet long. Iron cylinder foundation. No flooring.
2. Ferok do.	407	2	780 feet in length. Iron lattice girders. Six openings, each 30 feet long. Iron cylinder foundation. No flooring.
3. Kadalundi Bridge, No. 1, at ..	403	5	840 feet in length. Twelve 70-foot iron girders on piers of cast-iron cylinders of 6 feet diameter, 12 spans, each 64 feet. No flooring.
Do. No. 2, at ..	403	7	560 feet in length. Eight 70-foot iron girders on piers of screw-piles, 8 spans, each 64 feet. Depth of screw-piles 30 to 35 feet below rail level. No flooring.
4. Canal Bridge at	395	5	210 feet in length. Three 70-foot iron girders on piers of screw-piles, 3 spans, each 64 feet. Depth of screw-piles 30 to 35 feet below rail level. Floored.

Bridges.		Miles.	Tele- graph post.	Remarks.
5. Tirur Bridge	at	387	12	370 feet in length. Five 70-foot and one 20-foot iron girders on four piers of screw-piles and one pier of laterite stone 4 feet 10½ inches thick, 5 spans, each 64 feet and 1 span 16 feet, 1½ inch. Depth of screw-piles 30 to 35 feet below rail level. No flooring.
6. Tudhakkal River Bridge	at	373	12	744 feet in length. Twelve 62-foot iron girders on piers of laterite stones 7 feet thick, 12 spans, each 55 feet. Nature of foundation, clay; platform, timber over wells. No flooring.
7. Kottakkad Bridge	at	329	4	520 feet in length. Fifteen 30-foot arches on piers of granite stones 5 feet thick. Nature of foundation, on rock. No flooring.
8. Valliyar do.	at	316	3	100 feet in length. Three 30-foot arches on piers of masonry 5 feet thick. Nature of foundation, gneiss. Depth 7 feet. No flooring.

The following heights above mean sea level give a very fair idea of the gradients on the line :—

				HEIGHT ABOVE MEAN SEA LEVEL. FEET.
Kadalundi bridge	..	..	..	11.64
Parappanangadi platform	..	..	..	37.60
Tanur do.	..	..	..	22.54
Tirur platform	...	..	..	16.61
Tudhakkal bridge parapet	..	..	..	48.20
Cheruvannur (Shoranore) platform	..	..	..	94.58
Ottapalam platform	..	..	..	115.67
Palghat do.	..	..	..	255.73
Kanyikod do.	..	..	..	376.77
Valliyar boundary bridge parapet	..	..	..	689.23

The heaviest gradient west of the boundary bridge is one in sixty-six.

The traffic on the line in goods showed no tendency to expand, nor was it likely to be the case till a more suitable terminal station was obtained; but some concessions to third-class passengers resulted in a considerable increase in the passenger traffic. A statement showing the variations in the goods and the passenger traffic subsequent to the extension of the line to Calicut is appended.

Monthly average number of passengers and tons of goods passed in and out of Beypore Railway Station.

Years.	Monthly average.	
	Passengers	Goods.
	NO.	TONS.
1870	12,729	2,134
1871	13,219	4,279
1872	14,826	7,480
1873	15,507	4,986
1874	16,291	3,776
1875	15,628	4,383
1876	14,767	3,054
1877	15,492	8,650
1878	14,311	3,199
1879	14,761	3,431
1880	18,297	3,206
1881	20,012	2,709
1882	21,796	2,931

Statement showing the monthly average number of passengers and tons of goods passed in and out of Calicut Railway Station.

Years.	Monthly average.	
	Passengers.	Goods.
	NO.	TONS.
1888	34,980	3,510
1889	37,711	4,991
1890	34,054	4,463
1891	35,553	4,540
1892	40,241	5,670
1893	40,702	4,918
1894	41,703	4,818
1895	33,855	4,357
1896	34,377	4,664
1897	31,055	6,777
1898	27,718	4,100
1899	29,984	8,167

SECTION H.—PORTS AND SHIPPING FACILITIES.

The number of ports in Malabar is very large, but many of them are only occasionally visited by small coasting craft. The following list, proceeding from north to south, gives such particulars of them as are worthy of notice :—

(1) *Kavvayi*.—Small craft enter the mouth of the Kavvayi river.

(2) *Ettikkulam*.—This is a small, picturesquely situated village, in a bay just under the mount Deli promontory, and commanded by the old mount Deli redoubt now in ruins. When the wind is from north-north-west large numbers of country craft bound to the northward take shelter in this bay and wait till the wind takes a favourable slant for the continuation of their voyages. In former days this bay was a regular resort of the pirates who infested the coasts, and who came in here to waylay their victims and to take in wood and water,

(3) *Putiyangadi*.—Fourteen miles north of Cannanore. A very small port of call on the open coast for country craft taking in cocoanuts and other produce. The name means “new bazaar,” and it was probably so called to distinguish it from *Palayangadi* or “old bazaar,” a place of ancient repute on the Taliparamba river.

(4) *Valarpattanam*.—This port has a fair amount of coasting trade. Craft of considerable size enter the river of the same name and take in the country produce brought to market at Valarpattanam by the rivers (Valarpattanam and Taliparamba) which here unite their streams.

(5) *Cannanore*.—This is the principal port of the group composed of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. The average tonnage is 459,253 per annum. The imports average Rs. 21,44,726 and exports Rs. 13,87,749. It was described by the first Europeans who saw it as “a large town of thatched houses inside a bay.”—(*Correa*, p. 145). Most of the houses are now tiled, and the barracks of the European troops, and the bungalows of the officers dotted along the low cliffs, and the fort built by the Portuguese on the promontory north of the bay, stand prominently out when approached from seaward. Being the headquarters of the Malabar and Canara brigade, coasting steamers call here regularly; but of trade there is not much, particularly since the excise system of managing the Government salt monopoly was introduced. The best anchorage for large vessels in the roads is with the following bearings:—Flagstaff N.E. by N. to N.E. by E. in from five and a half to six fathoms, and about two and a half miles off shore, while small coasting craft find shelter in the bay under the guns of the fort situated on a promontory commanding the native town. The port limits are as follows:—

To the *north*.—The boundary pillar one mile north of the fort.

To the *south*.—The boundary pillar two miles south of the fort.

To the *east*.—The seashore between them to within fifty yards of high-water mark, spring tides.

To the *west*.—The space enclosed by two lines running due west from the boundary pillars to nine fathoms water. There is a flagstaff in the fort with a light for the shipping in the roadstead.

(6) *Elara* or *Agarr*.—This port is at the mouth of a small stream, the bar of which, however, cannot be crossed even by small craft. The English factors at Tellicherry had a warehouse here for collecting pepper.

(7) *Dharmmapattanam*.—A small bay at the mouth of the southern branch of the Anjarakandi river, which, however, cannot be entered by any but the smallest coasting vessels.

(8) *Tellicherry*.—This is the principal port of the group composed of Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9. It is not, as sometimes supposed, a place of ancient trade. It was the Honourable East India Company's first regular settlement on the Malabar coast. “*Let us be sole Masters of the pepper trade*” they said, and accordingly selected

the site of the town as the most favourable point they could at the time obtain for commanding the pepper trade in the Kottayam and Kolattiri Raja's dominions. Dharmmapattanam [No. (7)] would have suited their purpose better, but this ancient trading post was at the beginning of the eighteenth century in dispute between three country powers—the Kolattiri and the Kottayam Rajas, and Ali Raja of Cannanore. And it was not till some years afterwards and under pressure of a Canarese invasion, that a favourable opportunity occurred for securing Dharmmapattanam Island for the Honourable Company. A scheme for moving the Tellicherry Factory bodily to Dharmmapattanam Island was sanctioned immediately after the acquisition of the latter, but, on account of the expense of moving, the scheme was never carried out, though it was steadily kept in view even up to the time (1792) when Malabar was finally ceded to the British by Tippu Sultan. The Factors completed about 1708 the building of a fort on a rocky cliff projecting into the sea at Tellicherry, and this port continued to be one of the principal trading posts of the Honourable Company down to 1792. It was subordinate to the Company's chief settlement at Bombay. The average tonnage now-a-days is 601,404 per annum. The imports average Rs. 42,63,272 and the exports Rs. 73,05,718. It is a place of considerable trade, of which the most valuable articles of export are coffee and pepper, and the most valuable imports are rice and salt. The best anchorage for large vessels is with the following bearings:—Flagstaff N.E. by N. in six fathoms and about two miles off shore. Coasting craft come into the bay, lying south of a reef of rocks, which, at a distance of about a thousand yards from shore, runs parallel to the coast line. Instances have been known of vessels of six hundred or eight hundred tons in ballast passing the monsoon under shelter of this reef. The custom house is in the centre of the business quarter of the town. The port is supplied with a flagstaff on a bastion of the Honourable Company's fort. And here, too, is a white light (sixth order dioptric) displayed at a height of ninety feet above water mark and visible about six miles. The limits of the port of Tellicherry are as follows:—

To the *north*.—The boundary pillar one and a half miles north of the custom house.

To the *south*.—The boundary pillar one and a half miles south of the custom house.

To the *east*.—The seashore between them to within fifty yards of high-water mark, spring tides.

To the *west*.—The space enclosed by the two lines running due west from the boundary pillars to nine fathoms water.

(9) *Talay*.—Is a small port on the open coast about one and a half miles south of Tellicherry.

(10) *Kallay*.—This port is inside the bar of the Mahe river, which can be entered by small-sized country craft. There is little coasting trade, but the land customs of the French settlement provide

some occupation for the establishment here maintained. There is no port subordinate to it. Its average tonnage is 16,966 per annum, imports Rs. 2,24,732, exports Rs. 82,728.

(11) *Chombayi* or *Chombal*.—This port is on the open coast, and an occasional load of cocoanuts is taken to market. It lies about five miles north of Vadakara.

(12) *Muttungal*.—The same remarks apply to this port, which lies about three miles north of Vadakara. It was a notorious haunt of pirates in former days.

(13) *Vadakara*.—This is a place of considerable trade on the open coast and coasting steamers occasionally call. The chief exports are coffee and dried and fresh cocoanuts; the chief imports rice and salt. It is the chief port of the group composed of Nos. 11, 12, 13 and 14. Its average tonnage is 202,735 per annum. Its average imports are worth Rs. 7,42,241 and its exports Rs. 13,84,921.

(14) *Kollakkal*.—At the mouth of the *Kolla* river, was a famous resort for pirates in former days. They made prizes of all vessels not carrying the pass of the *Kadattunad* Rajah, their sovereign, who was styled the lord of the seas. But for the fact that a canal, partly natural, partly artificial, gives access from the Kotta river to Vadakara, the trade at this port would be considerable.

(15) *Trikkodi* and (16) *Kadalur*.—Are small ports, with occasional craft calling to load with cocoanuts and other country produce.

(17) *Kollam*.—This is the Northern Quilon, as distinguished from Quilon proper in Travancore, which is styled Southern Kollam by Malayalis. Some confusion has sometimes arisen from the fact not being known that there are two Kollams, both of which were important places in former days. This place, about one and a half miles north of *Kovilkandi* (*Quilandy*, *Coilandy*), is sometimes also called by another name which it bears, *Pantalayini*, or *Pantalayini Kollam*. This is the Pandarani of Portuguese writers, the Flandrina of Friar Odoric, the Fandreeah of Rowlandson's *Tahafat-ul-Mujahidin*, the Fandaraina of Ibn Batuta. Some accounts say that it was here Vasco da Gama brought his ships (probably from *Kappatt*), and it was here he landed. This is not at all improbable. It was certainly here that the *Morning Star*, a vessel belonging to the Honourable Company, was wrecked as already described (*ante*, p. 36), and the fact of the existence of the mud-bank gave color to the story that it was here that Vasco da Gama lay with his ships, protected by the mud-bank, during the monsoon of 1498. The mud-bank still exists, and in the monsoon season it is generally possible to land in a small bay immediately to the south of the promontory which is used as a Muhammadan burial-ground. Moreover, even now, sailing ships from the Arabian Coast and Persian Gulf invariably touch here if the monsoon is still blowing when they arrive off the coast, and the fact that Vasco da Gama's expedition reached the coast on 26th August, at a time, that is, when the monsoon must

still have been blowing, is much in favour of the supposition that it was here, and not at Kappatt, that Vasco da Gama landed. Indeed, Correa's account, which is evidently the most trustworthy, is silent on the point, and his statement that the anchors were dropped at Kappatt is quite reconcilable with the other account which points out *Kollam* as the eventual landing-place; for this account also says the ships were brought subsequently to "Pandarane" (*i.e.*, *Pantalayini*), and this is not contradicted by Correa.

(18) *Kovilkandi* (*Quilandy*, *Coilandy*).—This port has some trade, and the ports Nos. 15, 16, 17, and 19 are subordinate to it. Its average tonnage is 15,865 per annum. Its average imports are valued at Rs. 2,33,690 and exports at Rs. 2,46,843. Some years ago this was the favourite starting and landing place for Muhammadan pilgrims to Mecca, but of recent years and since the introduction of steamers the passenger traffic has fallen off.

(19) *Kappatti* or *Kappallangudi*.—This little port on the open coast is famous as the place where Vasco da Gama's expedition first dropped anchor. Correa's account may be here transcribed. "The ships," after sighting mount Deli and passing Cannanore, "continued running along the coast close to land, for the coast was clear, without banks against which to take precautions: and the pilots gave orders to cast anchor in a place which made a sort of bay, because there commenced the city of Calicut. This town is named Capocate." The "city of Calicut" does not commence for eight miles more to the southward, but what was meant probably was that there commenced the dominions of the Zamorin of Calicut. The place is an insignificant minor port where country craft sometimes come to lade with bulky country produce.

(20) *Ellattur*.—A small port at the mouth of the river of the same name. Small vessels do not enter the river; they call here occasionally for country produce.

(21) *Putiyangadi*.—A small port on the outskirts of Calicut, where country vessels sometimes call.

(22) *Calicut*.—This is one of the largest ports in the presidency. The tonnage frequenting it annually averages 902,119 tons. The average value of its imports, chiefly consisting of grain, salt, and piece-goods, is Rs. 68,43,021, and of its exports, chiefly consisting of coffee, pepper, timber, ginger, etc., Rs. 1,22,37,598. It was in ancient days, when the Zamorin's influence was supreme on the Malabar Coast, a place of great trade. The nations of the West came here for spices, pepper, and cloth (*calico*); the Chinese even came from the far East in their gigantic floating hulks. It probably rose into importance about the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. In the first half of the fourteenth century, when Shaik Ibn Batuta visited it, it was certainly a place of great trade, and so it continued till the arrival of the Portuguese in the end of the fifteenth century. After that its decline was rapid owing to the interference of the Portuguese with the Muhammadan trade, and it has never since then recovered its position, as Cochin, its rival, under Portuguese

and Dutch influence, has, with its greater natural facilities, always hitherto had an advantage. In later times the French, Danes, and English had small trading factories at Calicut. It was here that the notorious pirate Captain Kydd began his career of crime. Aided by several noblemen, he had, in 1695, fitted out his ship the "Adventure," a galley of thirty guns with two hundred men, to attack and destroy the buccanciers who had their rendezvous at Madagascar, and who preyed to such an extent on the native trade that the Honourable Company feared the Mogul Emperor would take to making reprisals on them. His mission failed if it ever was seriously undertaken, and Captain Kydd finally threw off the mask and made prize of a small Dutch bark at Calicut, carrying it off to Madagascar. Shortly afterwards he took the "Quedah Merchant," of four hundred tons, with a cargo valued at four lakhs of rupees. After this he was joined by others, and his force was eventually composed of five ships (one hundred and eighty guns), two of which constantly cruised off Cape Camorin and the three others off the Malabar Coast, the port of Porcat (Porukatt) being free to them. After a short but brilliant career he returned to St. Mary's Island off Madagascar and partitioned his gains among his crew. He then sailed for the West Indies, was arrested in America by one of the noblemen (Lord Bellamont) who had helped to fit him out, was tried, condemned, and hanged in chains at Tilbury (23rd May 1701), and his property becoming forfeit, was presented by Queen Anne to Greenwich Hospital. This severe example did not, however, prevent others from following in his footsteps, though, perhaps, the trade was carried on less openly afterwards, and Captain Alexander Hamilton narrates how he met at Calicut, in February 1703, a certain Captain Green, who admitted to him he had helped the Madagascar pirates with arms, and who, under the guise of lawful trading, did not let slip any opportunity of enriching himself by plundering others who were weaker. Captain Green, too, had his crimes brought home to him, and was executed in Scotland. Other nations also, it would seem, engaged in this unlawful trade, and the "Formosa," an English ship of Surat, was never heard of more after leaving Calicut one night on her voyage home. The people ashore heard a great firing of cannon at sea next forenoon, and two Danish cruisers were believed to have rifled her and then sunk her and her crew.

Calicut possesses an iron screw-pile pier extending out to twelve feet of water, and it has a lighthouse exposing a good dioptric light. The best anchorage for large vessels is marked by a buoy, and is with the following bearings :—Lighthouse E. to E. by N. in five to six fathoms, and from two to three miles off shore. Small craft, of which large numbers frequent this port, lie close in shore, but they should not anchor further south than with the light bearing E.N.E. as the ground then becomes foul. The latter frequently lie aground on the soft mud-bank which from time to time forms off the lighthouse. This mud-bank is of small extent and gets broken up by heavy weather, but it at times suffices to still the surf created by

ordinary sea-breezes and thus affords facilities for landing and shipping goods. The entrance and exit to and from the anchorages, particularly from the southward, is cumbered by a reef known as the "Coote Reef," from one of the Honourable Company's vessels having grounded on it. This is probably also the reef alluded to by Captain Alexander Hamilton as "the ruins of the sunken town built by the Portuguese." In standing into Calicut roadstead his ship struck on the "ruins," and in describing the event he conjectures how the "ruins" got there, and quaintly winds up with the observation "but so it was, that in six Fathoms at the mainmast, my ship, which drew twenty-one Foot water, sat fast afore the chest-tree."

That the sea has encroached at Calicut cannot be doubted, but that a Portuguese fort once stood where the Coote Reef now is cannot be believed, although the tradition alluded to by Captain Hamilton has great currency on the coast. There is no doubt that the tomb of an Arab of Himisi in Egypt, by name Shaikh Mammun Koya, once stood on a spot now covered by the sea, but his bones were recovered, and a birth-feast (*mavabud*) is now held annually in his honor, in the month Rajab, at his mosque. The encroachment on this occasion could evidently not have been a serious one. Recent experience shows that if the sea encroaches one year it recedes again speedily, a fact which is perhaps to be accounted for by the rocky (laterite) nature of the bottom opposite the lighthouse, and for a considerable distance further north. In 1877 it encroached so much on the beach opposite the new custom house (about a thousand yards north of the lighthouse) that the abutment of the pier and three of the pier bays were carried away; but now (April 1883) the sea beach has reformed at this spot, and the sand now extends fully up to or beyond its former limits.

The limits of the port of Calicut are as follows :—

To the *north*.—The boundary pillar erected three quarters of a mile north of the new custom house.

To the *south*.—The boundary pillar two miles south of the custom house; the seashore between them to within fifty yards of high-water mark spring-tides.

To the *east*.—The harbour or backwater, and the Kallayi river as far as the junction of Conolly's canal with all creeks and channels leading thereto, and so much of the shores thereof, whether of the mainland or the islands, as are within fifty yards of high-water spring-tides.

To the *west*.—The space enclosed by two lines running due west from the boundary pillars to nine fathoms water.

The ports immediately subordinate to Calicut are Nos. 20, 21 and 23.

(23) *Molamkadvu*.—A small port at the mouth of the Kallayi river, about a mile south of the Calicut lighthouse.

(24) *Beyypore*.—The present terminus of the Madras railway south-west line is usually called Beyypore, but this nomenclature is not correct, for Beyypore, the port properly so called, lies on the

north bank of the river of that name, whereas the terminus of the railway is on what is known as the island of Chaliyam. The custom house is on the north bank of the river, but the marine establishment, with a flagstaff, is located close to the railway station on the south side. The anchorage for small vessels is inside the river, close to the north bank and immediately below a reef of laterite rock which projects far into the stream. There is here, too, a tide-registering apparatus. The best anchorage in the roads for large vessels is with the following bearings :—Port flagstaff E. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. to N.E. by E. in four and a half to six fathoms and from two to three miles off shore. There is one port subordinate to it, No. 25. The average tonnage of the port is 276,071 per annum. Its average imports, consisting chiefly of salt and grain, are worth Rs. 4,80,407, and exports, consisting chiefly of coffee and cotton, are worth Rs. 37,66,685. The limits of the port are as follows :—

To the *north* and *south*.—The seashore within fifty yards of high-water mark spring-tides, from boundary pillars one and a half miles north and south of the river's mouth.

To the *west*.—The anchorage between two lines running west from the boundary pillars to nine fathoms water.

To the *east*.—The banks of the river, backwater, creeks, and islands within fifty yards of high-water spring-tides, and within a distance of one and a half miles from the river's mouth.

(25) *Kadalundi*.—This is a small port at the mouth of the river of the same name, where native vessels occasionally come for country produce. The bar of the river prevents even small native craft from entering it. It is possible that this port was of considerable importance in ancient times, inasmuch as the late Dr. Burnell has taken this to be the site of the "village of great note situate near the sea" known to the author of the *Periplus Mar. Erythr.* as *Tundis*. There is some color for this conclusion in the name itself, as *Kadalundi* is probably *kadal* (Mal. sea) and *tundi* (Mal. navel). Moreover, *Tundis*¹ was, according to the *Periplus*, distant five hundred *stadia* from the mouth of the *Mouziris* river, which has been pretty satisfactorily identified with *Muyiri-kodu* or Cranganore (*Kodungallur*), and as matter of fact *Kadalundi* is sixty-six and a half miles or five hundred and seventy-eight *stadia* from the mouth of the Cranganore river. There is a temple of some note in the neighbourhood with a tradition going back to Rama's conquest of Ceylon. The services rendered on that occasion by the monkeys secure daily food at the present day for their descendants left behind by Rama, on his return journey, at this temple. They come up boldly directly they are called. There is also a sacred spring which holds only a gallon or so of water, but refills as soon as the water is drawn. There are no remains of mark, but as in the first century A.D. *Tundis* was only a "village," not much can be expected in that way.

¹ *Tundis* was on a river, and the only other river that could be referred to in the *Periplus* is *Ponmani*, the mouth of which is a long way short of 500 *stadia* from the mouth of the Cranganore river.

(26) *Parpanangudi*.—This is a small port on the open coast, with some trade in salt-fish and country produce.

(27) *Tanur*.—This is another small port and fishing village, also on the open coast. Subordinate to it are the ports Nos. (26) and (28). Its average tonnage is 6,406 per annum. Its imports average Rs. 7,247 and its exports Rs. 90,345.

(28) *Paravanna* and (29) *Kuttayi* resemble Nos. (26) and (27).

(30) *Ponnani*.—This port is of some importance owing to its position at the mouth of the river of the same name, and also owing to its being the nearest port to the great gap at Palghat in the Western Ghat chain. There was in fact, on this account, a proposition at one time to place here the terminus of the Madras south-west line of railway. A large part of the country east of the ghats used to be supplied with salt brought from Bombay to this port, but the railway has revolutionized this trade. The average tonnage frequenting the port is 39,203 per annum. The average imports (grain and salt chiefly) are valued at Rs. 1,01,260 and the exports (chiefly timber, pepper and cocoanut produce) are valued at Rs. 4,25,576. Coasting craft of small size can enter the river, the mouth of which is, however, much cumbered by sand-banks. Subordinate to this port are Nos. 29 and 31.

(31) *Veliyankod*.—Is a small port of call for coasting craft loading with cocoanuts and other country produce, and is placed at the mouth of the river of the same name.

(32) *Chavakkad*.—This port is not situated at Chavakkad itself, which is an inland place, but at *Chetwai* (*Chettuvai*) at the mouth of the river of that name. Its chief trade is in salt-fish, cocoanuts, etc., carried in small coasting craft, which, however, do not enter the mouth of the river. Average tonnage 4,987 per annum. Imports Rs. 671, exports Rs. 31,927.

(33) *Madayi*, (34) *Attakuli*, (35) *Kurkkuli*, (36) *Attupuram*.—Are all small ports of call for native coasting craft, and are all situated on the open coast respectively forty-eight miles, forty-two miles, thirty-six miles, and thirty miles north of Cochin, to which port they are all subordinate. These ports, however, all belong to the Ponnani and not to the Cochin Taluk, being situated in the *Vadanapalli*, *Pallipuram*, *Keippamangalam*, and *Panangad* amsams of the former taluk.

(37) *Cochin*.—This is the second or third largest trading port in the presidency. Its imports, valued at Rs. 57,46,987, the average for the seven years 1875–76 to 1881–82, consist chiefly of food-grains, metals, piece-goods, seeds, wood and manufactures, and its exports, valued at Rs. 74,44,303, the average for the same period of seven years, consist chiefly of coir yarn, rope and fibre, coffee, dried cocoanut, cocoanut-oil, pepper and wood, and manufactures. The average tonnage frequenting this port is 474,357 per annum. Cochin has an inner harbour and an outer roadstead. The former is comprised of a narrowish patch of deep water created by the heavy scour of the tides rushing into and out of the immense tidal

area of the backwater lying both to the north and south of the port. This deep water lies chiefly on the south bank close to the town of Cochin, and also between the jaws (as it were) of the harbour. On passing beyond the points of the land, the stream of the tides naturally diffuses itself over a wider area and the ship channel gradually diminishes in depth till the bar is reached. The bar, which is at a distance of about a mile from the shore, is marked with buoys about five hundred yards apart, and carries a depth of never less than twelve feet and never more than eighteen feet of water. For the first half mile beyond the bar the depths lead only to twenty-one feet, and to secure thirty-six feet another mile has to be passed. The roadstead for vessels of great draught, therefore, lies about two to two and a half miles from shore in five and a half to six and a half fathoms with the following bearings: flagstaff E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. to E.N.E. Cochin possesses great natural facilities for trade as it is the centre of an immense area of rich country, tapped in all directions by inland backwaters and navigable creeks, and it has the further advantage of affording security to the small shipping which frequents the port; but it fails to come up to the requirements of modern trade in the matter of harbour accommodation for the large ocean-going steamers now used. In the monsoon months, when the bar is usually impassable, the shipping takes refuge at the mud-bank of Narakal lying off Cochin State territory, five miles to the north; and trade, though slack in the rains, is still carried on there. The limits of the port of Cochin are as follows:—

To the *north*.—The boundary pillar on the northern point of the entrance to the harbour or backwater.

To the *south*.—The boundary pillar three miles south of the southern point of the entrance to the backwater. The seashore between them to within fifty yards of high-water mark spring-tides.

To the *east*.—The harbour and backwater, with all creeks and channels leading thereto that may be within the Honourable Company's territories, and so much of the shores thereof, whether of the mainland or the islands, as are within fifty yards of high-water mark spring-tides.

To the *west*.—The space enclosed by two lines running due west from the boundary pillars to nine fathoms of water.

Cochin is really the successful rival of the very ancient trading city of *Mouziris* mentioned in the *Periplus Mar. Erythr.* which was written in the first or the third century A.D. The account given of that city in the said work is so interesting that it deserves to be here transcribed.

From the Periplus Maris Erythraei (M'Crindle's translation).

" 53. After Kallienna, other local marts occur—Semulla, Mandagora, Palaipatmai, Melizeigara, Buzantion, Toparon, and Turannosboas. You come next to the islands called Sesekreienai and the island of the Aigidioi and that of the Kaineitai near what is called the Khersonesos, places in which are pirates, and after this the island

Leuke (or "the white"). Then follow Naoura and Tundis, the first marts of Limurike, and after these Mouziris and Nelkunda, the seats of government.

" 54. To the kingdom under the sway of Keprobotras, Tundis is subject, a village of great note situate near the sea. Mouziris, which pertains to the same realm, is a city at the height of prosperity frequented as it is by ships from Ariake and Greek ships from *Egypt*. It lies near a river at a distance from Tundis of five hundred *stadia*, whether this is measured from river to river or by the length of the sea voyage, and it is twenty *stadia* distant from the mouth of its own river. The distance of Nelkunda from Mouziris is also nearly five hundred *stadia*, whether measured from river to river or by the sea voyage, but it belongs to a different kingdom, that of Pandion. It likewise is situate near a river and at about a distance from the sea of one hundred and twenty *stadia*.

" 55. At the very mouth of this river lies another village, Bakare, to which the ships despatched from Nelkunda come down *empty* and ride at anchor off shore while taking in cargo, for the river, it may be noted, has sunken reefs and shallows which make its navigation difficult. The sign by which those who come hither by sea know they are nearing land is their meeting with snakes, which are here of a black color, not so long as those already mentioned, like serpents about the head, and with eyes the color of blood.

" 56. The ships which frequent these ports are of a large size, on account of the great amount and bulkiness of the pepper and betel of which their lading consists. The imports here are principally—

Great quantities of specie.
(Topaz?) gold-stone, chrysolite.
A small assortment of plain cloth.
Flowered robes.
Stibium, a pigment for the eyes; coral.
White glass, copper or brass.
Tin, lead.

Wine, but not much, but about as much as at Barugaza.
Sandarach (Sindura).
Arsenic (orpiment), yellow sulphuret of arsenic.
Corn, only for the use of the ship's company, as the merchants do not sell it.

" The following commodities are brought to it for export.¹

¹ It will be observed that there is no mention among these exports of coconuts or of coconut produce of any description. If the coconut tree had existed at this time (first century A.D.) in Malabar, it is pretty certain that the produce of such a notable fruit tree would have been exported and must have been here mentioned. It may be safely concluded that the coconut—the *southern tree* as the Malayalis call it—was introduced on the coast after the first century A.D. It was probably cultivated on the coast at the time of the Syrian Christians' copper-plate grant—the date of which is placed in the early part of the ninth century A.D.—for the professional planters of the coast, the Tiyyar (islanders), Cingalese, organized as a civic guild, were then well established, and tradition says that they came from the south bringing with them the "southern tree," the coconut to wit.

Pepper in great quantity, produced in only one of these marts and called the pepper of Kottonam.	Pearls in great quantity and of superior quality.
Spikenard from the Ganges.	Ivory.
Betel—all brought from countries further east.	Fine silks.
Transparent or precious stones of all sorts.	Jacinths.
Diamonds.	Tortoise-shell from the Golden Island, and another sort which is taken in the islands which lie off the coast of Linnurike.

“ The proper season to set sail from Egypt for this part of India is about the month of July, that is, *Epiphi*.”

Mouziris, as already noticed, has been satisfactorily identified with *Muziri-kodu*, alias *Kodungallur*, alias Cranganore, the capital city of the Chera empire, and its site was manifestly well selected as a place of trade before the mouth of the *Periyar* (great river) was blocked up by the sand-banks and alluvial islands which now hamper it. The Portuguese would no doubt have made their chief settlement at Cranganore instead of at Cochin had the advantages been in favour of the former, but Vasco da Gama's successor, in 1500 A.D., wisely selected a site for his factory at Cochin, situated at the principal mouth of the system of backwaters. It was described at this time as a long, low, sandy island covered with cocoanut trees, and divided by a deep river from Vypeen. Since that time it has continued to be a place of great trade, first under the Portuguese (A.D. 1500 to 1663), then under the Dutch (A.D. 1663 to 1795), and finally under the British. The mouth of the system of backwaters has thus been fixed and protected, a fact of importance to the stability of trade at any part of a coast where the littoral current and the surf are always at work attempting to block up existing waterways and to open others. A breach, in fact, did take place in 1875 at what is called the Cruz Milagro Gap, about two miles north of Cochin, and to shut up the deep channel which was immediately scoured out was a labour of difficulty and expense. The existing waterway at Cochin can only be maintained by preventing the opening out of other waterways in the long reach of low sandspits stretching from Cranganore river to beyond Alleppey, a distance of over sixty miles.

The limits of the minor ports, namely, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36 in the above list, have been authoritatively¹ laid down as follows :—

“ Half a mile on either side of the landing-place, extending to ten fathoms water seaward and fifty yards above high-water mark landwards.”

The Appendices VIII and IX give additional information as to port rules, fees, and other matters at the various ports.

¹ Government notification, 18th June 1881.

CHAPTER II.

THE PEOPLE.

SECTION A.—NUMBERS, DENSITY OF POPULATION, CIVIL CONDITION, SEX AND AGE.

In 1802 the population was estimated at 465,594, in 1807 at 707,556, in 1821-22 at 907,575, in 1837 at 1,165,791, in 1851-52 at 1,514,909, in 1856-57 at 1,602,914, in 1861-62 at 1,709,081 and in 1866-67 at 1,856,378.

In 1871, when the first really trustworthy census was taken, the number was found to be 2,261,250 living in 378,228 occupied houses, and in 1881, 2,365,035 living in 404,968 occupied houses.

The population is naturally densest on the seaboard, the *number* of persons (census, 1881) *per square mile* being—

Highest in Ponnani	..	..	..	974
Lowest in Wynad	..	..	..	92
and on the average	..	..	..	272

The *average number* of persons *per occupied house* (census, 1881) is found to be—

Highest in Wynad	..	..	..	10·1
Lowest in Kurumbranad	..	..	..	5·3
and in the district generally	..	..	..	5·8

The *civil condition* of the people (census, 1881) is represented by the following figures:—

Single	..	{	Males	..	688,027	
			Females	..	539,109	
						1,227,136
Married	..	{	Males	..	455,083	
			Females	..	476,711	
						941,794
Widowed	..	{	Males	..	20,283	
			Females	..	174,079	
						194,362
Not stated.	..	{	Males	..	881	
			Females	..	862	
						1,743
Total	..	{	Males	..	1,174,274	
			Females	..	1,190,761	
						2,365,035

Of the *ages* of the people (census, 1881) the following figures give the chief facts :—

Years.					Males.	Females.
0 to 5	..	..	..	..	170,649	174,780
5 to 10	..	..	..	..	166,072	155,077
10 to 15	..	..	..	..	150,611	133,233
15 to 20	..	..	..	..	112,686	115,632
20 to 25	..	..	..	..	98,892	116,012
25 to 30	..	..	..	..	102,538	110,603
30 to 35	..	..	..	..	89,614	91,231
35 to 40	..	..	..	..	76,618	65,907
40 to 45	..	..	..	..	60,627	61,857
45 to 50	..	..	..	..	41,570	39,087
50 to 55	..	..	..	..	36,050	41,178
55 to 60	..	..	..	..	22,722	22,068
60 and upwards	..	..	..	..	43,377	61,000
Not stated	..	..	..	..	248	195
Total					1,174,274	1,190,761

SECTION B.—TOWNS, VILLAGES, DWELLINGS AND RURAL ORGANIZATION.

The Hindu Malayali is not a lover of towns and villages. His austere habits of caste purity and impurity made him in former days flee from places where pollution in the shape of men and women of low caste met him at every corner; and even now the feeling is strong upon him and he loves not to dwell in cities.

On the margin of a fertile valley or ravine, with bright green fields of rice in front of his door, he likes to select the *site of his dwelling*. The stream coming down the valley or ravine is skilfully turned aside to right and left high up in its course where the first of the rice-fields is terraced out of the steep hill-side. This device serves several purposes, for first of all the divided stream is carried along the sides of the valley at a higher level than the middle of it and thus irrigation is easy; then, again, the channels serve as catch-drains for the streamlets coming down at intervals along the hill sides; and, finally the water serves many domestic purposes as it flows close past the outer gateway of the house.

This outer *gateway* is the first thing that catches one's eye as the dwelling is approached: it is quaintly placed, quaintly constructed, and quaintly neat and tidy in all its surroundings. It is essential that a stair or a ladder should lead up to it from the bank of the green level paddy flat, reminding one in its construction of the days when security of life and limb and property depended on one's ability to laugh a siege to scorn; when a Nayar's house was his castle; and when here, at the gateway, were posted the retainers to keep watch and ward against enemies. Seats for them to rest on, to right and left, both outside and in; a quaintly and solidly carved door and lintel; a room above approached by a ladder from inside, with a window or openings whence deadly shots are even now-a-days sometimes discharged on lawless intruders; and,

finally, a thatched roof, complete the characteristics of the gate-house. The Malayali is scrupulously particular about the tidiness and cleanliness of his house and its surroundings, and nowhere perhaps is this more conspicuous than at the gateway of his dwelling.

But a gate-house without flanking defences would be of little use, and the attention is next drawn to the massive bank of earth which hems in the spacious orchard in which the dwelling is placed. A neat interlaced and most serviceable fence of dry prickly bamboo thorns now generally tops the massive bank of earth and takes the place of the dense mass of living bamboo thorns which in former times used to be relied on for keeping out enemies. The house was evidently never meant to stand a long siege in former times, and the defences were intended merely to ward off a sudden raid and give time for the occupant's friends and retainers to rally round him as was their wont.

On entering at the gateway the most prominent feature is the expanse of cool shade thrown by the umbrageous trees that surround the dwelling. The cocoanut, the jack with its dark glossy leaves and massive shade, the slender areca-nut and the broad-leaved plantain, all contribute to this effect. The earth around is cooled, and an agreeable freshness is perceptible even in the hottest and most scorching days in April and May.

A broad smooth path of hard baked clay, with raised banks a few inches high on either side, leads to a square, flat, open yard, where at midday the sun shines dazzlingly and scorchingly down on the stores of paddy and other grains laid out to dry. The floor of this yard is well rammed and made smooth by cow-dung mixed with charcoal dust, often renewed in the hot weather, and the same bank of smooth clay hems in this yard on the open side.

The neatness, tidiness, and cleanliness of the approaches are not belied on closer acquaintance with the dwelling itself, and speak volumes for the housewifely qualities of the ladies who inhabit the main dwelling ranged round three sides, or sometimes all four sides, of the open yard just described.

The *main building* must face the rising sun—the east—and yet rather inconsistently it is called the *Padinyatta-pura* or western dwelling. The reason of this is explained that the building is opposite to the rising sun, and the *Padinyatta-muri*—the central chamber, the honoured guest chamber in the house, the sanctuary of the ancestors of its occupants—must be placed so as to admit of entrance through its doorway of the sun's earliest rays. Another way of looking at it is that it is called the “western dwelling” because there cannot be any portion of the house to the west of it again. It in fact hems in as it were the dwelling on the western side. On either side of it, forming two sides of the square, are the *vatakkina* and *tekkina*—the northern and southern rooms—the former used for cooking and the latter for ordinary purposes of the household.

These three are the main rooms of the dwelling, but the fourth side of the square is sometimes occupied by another room called *kilakkina* or eastern room, and behind one or more of the chambers is sometimes placed another called the *chaypu*, or lean-to, forming an enclosed verandah room.

In selecting the exact spot for his dwelling a Malayali is guided by a very simple rule. The garden in which it is to be placed must be intersected into as far as possible equal portions by lines running due north and south and due east and west. Four divisions are thus formed and the exact spot where the *padinjatta-prura* is to be placed is in the north-east division, and in the inner corner or south-west angle of that division. The reason for the selection of this spot is explained to be that a Malayali tries to be as far as possible away from the polluting caste people who may approach the house as far as the fence, but may not enter the garden.

However high a man's position may be, and however numerous may be his dependents, his house must, if he attends to the customs of his ancestors, be a succession of dwellings made in the above style; but upper storeys are often added, verandahs generally find a place both upstairs and down, and are made both open and enclosed. Long, cool, comfortable quarters are to be found in these enclosed verandahs, which, by an arrangement common on the west coast, are screened from outside observation by a pent-house roof with a massive carved wooden reverse slope to the eaves filled in with horizontal bars.

The *woodwork* of the dwelling is solid and substantial and is often beautifully carved. The walls are generally of laterite bricks set in mud, for lime is expensive and scarce, and till recent years the roof was invariably of thatch. This custom of the country was very strictly observed, and it was not till after the Honourable East India Company had had settlements on the coast for nearly a century that they were at last permitted, as a special favour, in 1759 to put tiles on their factory at Calicut. Palaces and temples alone were tiled in former days.

Of the *surroundings* of the dwelling there is generally a cattle-shed, and sometimes an excavated tank for bathing purposes, often full of fish and water-lilies; a well of water at the rear of the cooling-room, so arranged as to admit of water being taken direct from the well into the cook-room, is generally present. A chapel of the household deity is found in all considerable houses, and there is sometimes a separate dwelling (*matam*) for Brahman travellers and Brahman visitors.

The houses of the poorer classes, though smaller, are built on the same lines as a rule, and are usually kept as neat, and tidy, and clean as those of their superiors.

The *furniture* of all the houses is very simple; a metal pot with a spout, a few metal plates and saucers, a few metal pans of sizes, a spittoon of brass, a betel box, a few mats, a knife, a cut or two, a few

wooden bins for grain, etc., are nearly all the requirements of a household in this respect.

The house itself is called by different names according to the occupant's caste. The house of a Pariah is a *cheri*, while the agrestic slave—the Cheraman—lives in a *chala*. The blacksmith, the goldsmith, the carpenter, the weaver, etc., and the toddy-drawer (*Tiyan*) inhabit houses styled *pura* or *kudi*; the temple servant resides in a *variyan* or *pisharam* or *pumatham*, the ordinary Nayar in a *vidu* or *bhavanam*, while the man in authority of this caste dwells in an *idam*; the Raja lives in a *kovilakam* or *kottaram*, the indigenous Brahman (*Nambutiri*) in an *illam*, while his fellow of higher rank calls his house a *mana* or *manakkal*.

Inferior castes, however, cannot thus speak of their houses in the presence of the autocratic Nambutiri. In lowliness and self-abasement they have, when talking to such an one, to style their houses "dungheaps," and they and their doings can only be alluded to in phrases every one of which is an abasement and an insult.

The Nambutiri's character for hospitality stands high, but only among those of his own caste. Here is a graphic picture from the Travancore Census (1871) Report of the Nambutiri in his own home, related apparently from personal experience:—

"The Nambutiri's hospitality and charity are proverbial. The Brahman guest in the family, especially if he combines with that character some little influence, is most kindly treated, and in spite of the uncouth manners and queer conversation which he may meet with, he is certain to carry away the happiest recollections of the illam. On entering the gate of the extensive property—in the midst of which is situated the palatial mansion with its suburban buildings severally dedicated for the household god, the younger members of the family, the cutcherry of the Pravritti officers, and for the wearied Brahman travellers—the visitor is received by the lord of the manor, who in his native simplicity inquires if he has bathed without any further ado about the health or other concerns of his guest. If the answer is in the negative, he himself leads the guest to the bathing-tank with its cool shed and refreshing waters, most politely inquiring if oil, enja (*Acacia intsia*) and thali are required, all the time innocently gaping at the dhowti, the walk, the arrangement of the hair, the moustaches on the face, the absence of the nanamundu and the conventional waist-string and undercloth, while the stranger, accustomed to more formal societies, smarts with shyness at the queer looks of his host. The Nambutiri must be asked to leave the bath for a short time before he can be expected to go. The visitor is next led into the illam and asked to sit before the leaf spread out, not where the inmates generally eat, but in one of the outer rooms, respectable though; but the inevitable thought occurs that you are treated like an outcaste. Even the *ghi* and *dhal* eating propensities of the visitor are attended to, though they are carefully eschewed and even disliked by the Nambutiri in his own meals. Before serving rice, the Nambutiri inquires

if the morning prayers are over, which he thinks improbable on account of the speed with which the visitor has returned from the tank, and feels a conscientious but inexpressed, hatred of the light manner in which religious observances are regarded by the Brahmans of the other coast. The feeding of Brahman travellers is not, however, such a rare or difficult business with the Nambutiri. It is a matter of course with him; he makes it a rule of his life to treat the hungry Brahman: the traditions of his family are full of the proudest feats of charity and hospitality, and the number which he daily feeds is limited only by the measure of his affluence."

It may be gathered from the above descriptions that quiet and retirement are what the Malayali looks to in selecting a site for his dwelling, and that towns and town-life are not congenial to his tastes. And the fact is that the coast tracts are so densely populated that it is difficult to say where one of the municipal towns begins and where another ends. From end to end of the district on the low-lying lands near the sea there is an unbroken belt of cocoanut-palm orchards, and the description which Shaikh Ibn Batuta gave of the country in the fourteenth century A.D. is equally applicable to it now. "We next", said he "came into the country of Malabar which is the country of black pepper. Its length is a journey of two months along the shore from Sindabur to Kawlam. The whole of the way by land lies under the shade of trees. And in all this space of two months' journey there is not a span free from cultivation. For everybody has here a garden and his house is placed in the middle of it; and round the whole of this there is a fence of wood, up to which the ground of each inhabitant comes."

The fact which on the coast of Malabar indicates the existence of a town is the occurrence of one or more streets of shops--bazaars--longer and busier than those to be met with elsewhere in the district. The foreign Brahmans, the Eurasian population, and, to a certain extent the Muhammadans also, live in streets of houses built in continuous rows.

The following statement shows at a glance the chief circumstances connected with the town population in Malabar:—

Towns.	Area in acres.	Houses.		Floating population.		Total population including floating.		Total.	Religion.			
		Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.		Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Christians.	Others.
Cannanore ..	2,482	4,088	1,943	238	18	13,046	13,340	26,386	10,650	11,017	4,087	26
Tellicherry ..	2,556	8,420	2,118	725	54	12,939	13,471	26,410	15,488	9,140	1,705	8
Calicut ..	8,447	8,540	1,512	1,140	70	30,009	27,076	57,085	33,875	20,257	2,009	44
Palghat ..	5,821	6,081	1,658	728	231	17,673	18,666	36,339	30,424	4,864	1,061	..
Cochin ..	597	2,411	467	2,692	20	8,374	7,824	15,698	4,383	2,942	8,800	13

These towns have enjoyed municipal government for many years past.

For administrative purposes the district is divided not into villages as in the eastern coast districts, but into *amsams*, that is to say, *parishes*, of which the following statement gives the numbers in the different taluks :—

Taluka.	Number of amsams.	Estimated area in acres.	Total population of taluk.	Average area per amsam in acres.	Average population per amsam.
Chirakkal	44	644,453	272,009	14,040	6,197
Kottayam	28	420,080	165,775	15,002	5,920
Kurumbranad	57	261,103	261,024	4,581	4,579
Wynad	13	612,240	88,091	47,095	6,776
Culicut	41	765,680	205,962	18,675	5,023
Ernad	52	1,527,332	296,143	29,371	5,695
Valluvanad	64	448,961	308,102	7,015	4,814
Palghat	56	614,400	342,454	10,971	6,115
Ponnani	73	258,154	392,654	3,536	5,378
Cochin	1	1,085	17,161	1,085	17,161
District totals and averages ..	429	5,553,548	2,350,035	12,945	5,477

As the district has never been surveyed in detail, the areas of amsams are not wholly reliable, and in fact there are several obvious errors in the census (1881) statistics on this point, as, for example, the amsam of Arakurissi in Valluvanad taluk is said to embrace only 29,555 acres, whereas the whole of the Attapadi Valley, a very sparsely populated tract—probably 200 square miles in extent—ought to have been included, but is omitted from the statement of this amsam.

Subordinate to the amsam comes the *desam* or *hamlet*, which has often been mistaken for the village of the east coast. The fact, however, was that the *desam* was the territorial unit of the military organization in the ancient *regime*, and the true village, that is, the territorial unit of organization for civil purposes, was the *tara*. The amsams as at present defined are a modern and very recent creation for administrative purposes, but *taras* and *desams*, and the distinction that existed between them, take the enquirer back into ancient times and necessitate an investigation of the ancient system of government. This would, however, be out of place here, and it will more appropriately fall under the sections devoted to the history of the country.

It will suffice here to note that the earliest of the British administrators asserted repeatedly that the Hindu village did not exist in Malabar. Each State, said Mr. Warden, "was partitioned into gradations of military divisions from the *Naduvali*¹ to the *Desa- vali*." "Every division and subdivision was designated by the allotted quota of Nayers it was required to bring into the field." "The designations of the different military divisions remain to this

¹ *Naduvali* = the ruler, commandant of the *nad* or country; *Desa- vali* = the ruler, commandant of the *desam* or parish.

day in every district in Malabar." The chieftains of the military divisions, large and small, held their dignities as hereditary in their respective families, and had appropriate titles of distinction. They were not always in attendance on the Raja's person. If not required on particular State duties or religious services, they were only called out for defensive or offensive warfare. (Report to Board of Revenue, 12th September 1815, paragraphs 63, 64.)

Sir Thomas Munro seems to have felt, and felt truly, that this *could not* have been the real state of things in a Hindu State, and in 1817 he paid Malabar a flying visit to satisfy himself on the point. The result of this visit was embodied in a very interesting report, dated the 4th July 1817, and the conclusion he arrived at was that for some purpose or other Malabar "was in the earliest times divided like the other provinces of India into districts and villages, the limits of which, but more especially of the villages, remain unchanged to this day." The districts and villages he found to be under hereditary chiefs, and the village was called the *desam*, the name by which it is still most commonly known.

Mr. Warden and Sir Thomas Munro were both in the right to a certain extent, but they both failed to recognize the importance of that most influential territorial unit of organization—the *Dravidian tara*.¹ Sir Thomas Munro indeed mentions the word, but only as the name which the experienced Mysorean administrators of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan applied to the territorial units which they endeavoured to foster and keep alive as villages with hereditary heads, "an essential branch of their system" as Sir Thomas Munro pointed out. This fact ought to, and probably would, have opened his eyes to the real state of the case had his stay in Malabar been prolonged. *The influence of the tara organization cannot be overrated in a political system tending always to despotism.* The Nayar inhabitants of a *tara* formed a small republic, represented by their *Karanavar* or elders, and presented in that respect a striking resemblance to the "village republic" of the east coast districts as sketched by the Board of Revenue at the time when the village lease settlement system, as opposed to the ryotwari settlement system, was being discussed (Revenue Selections I, 487). The *desam* and the *tara* were not conterminous. If Sir Thomas Munro had enquired thoroughly into the matter he would, for instance, have found that the hundred and twenty-five *desams* which, according to information supplied him, formed the Calicut *nad* or county, embraced precisely the same lands as the seventy-two *taras* into which that *nad* was likewise divided. The *nad* or county was a congeries of *taras* or village republics, and the *kutlam* or assembly of the *nad* or county was a representative body of immense power which, when necessity existed, set at naught the authority of the Raja and punished his ministers when they did "unwarrantable acts." These are the very words used by the Honourable Company's

¹ *Tara* = foundation, mound, ground, village, quarter; similar to Tamil and Malayalam *teru*, Telugu *teruvu*, Canarese and Tulu *teravu*.

representative at Calicut when asked to explain the origin of certain civil commotions which had taken place there in 1746. His report deserves to be quoted in full, for it gives a vivid insight into the state of things as it then existed. "These Nayars," he wrote, "being heads of the Calicut people, resemble the parliament, and do not obey the king's dictates in all things, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts." (Tellicherry Factory Diary of 28th May 1746).

The *tara* organization instituted by the Mysoreans was unwisely changed into the *hobali* system or subordinate district establishments under the Honourable Company, the *taras* being enlarged for this purpose. Sir Thomas Munro pointed out that the establishment thus organized was "so inadequate to the object of its institution that it required a complete revision." It was, in fact, not a village establishment at all, and instead of bringing the Collector more immediately into contact with the people, it only served to lengthen the chain, already too long, of officials between them.

The *hobali* system was abolished, and the existing *amsam* system was organized in its place by Special Commissioner H. S. Graeme in 1822-23. In doing this Mr. Graeme was at some pains to search out and instate as head of the *amsam* or *adhikari*, the most influential of the *Desavalis* under the ancient system, but many *desams* had to be rolled together to form one *amsam*. There were formerly two thousand and odd *desams*; there are now only four hundred and twenty-nine *amsams*. The *Desavali* selected was not always, or even generally, the *Desavali* of all the *desams* comprised in his *amsam*, and it was a new and unaccustomed role for him to be placed as headman in civil matters over people who had not previously acknowledged his authority. Indeed Mr. Graeme was careful in his sanads of appointment to preserve the rights of other *Desavalis* to the *Sthana Mana avakasam* (rights and privileges of office) in tracts which had previously been under other men.

But Mr. Graeme made the great mistake of thinking that the *desam* and the *tara* were synonymous, and so in his scheme of *amsam* establishments, the real civil organization by the Karanavar or elders of the people was ignored, and in its place authority of various kinds was conferred on some only of the men who had been the local representatives of the ruling chieftains of Malabar. The mistake was of importance because it diverted attention away from what had been the ancient organization, and placed the real power in the hands of only one man out of several who had previously acted together in a body in the *kuttam* or assembly of the *tara*. In these popular assemblies existed the nucleus of what might have been organized by judicious treatment into real local self-government, and it was a great misfortune that this important point escaped notice at the time.

Each *amsam* or parish has now besides the *Adhikari* or man of authority, headman, an accountant or writer styled a *Menon* (literally, superior man), and two or more *Kolkars* (club men or peons), who

between them manage the public affairs of the parish and are the local representatives of the Government.

SECTION C.—THE LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND STATE OF EDUCATION
AMONG THE PEOPLE.

The vernacular of the district, popularly known as *Malayalam*, but more correctly written as *Malayalma* or *Malayayma*, "claims to be placed," says Dr. Caldwell, "next to Tamil in the list of Dravidian tongues, on account of the peculiarly close relationship to Tamil in which it stands." Indeed the relationship is so close that Sanskrit writers class both tongues as *Dravida*, although from remote times a separate name has been applied by them to the Malayalam country.

Whether Malayalam is a "very ancient" and "much-altered offshoot" of Tamil, as Dr. Caldwell holds, or whether, as Dr. Gundert holds, "the two languages of old differed rather as dialects of the same member of the Dravidian family than as separate languages," is a point into which it is unnecessary to enter here in detail beyond remarking that Dr. Caldwell's main argument from the words denoting east and west seems to be a fanciful though ingenious one. Because the Malayalam word for east, *kilakku*, means *beneath*, and because *melku*¹ (west) means *above*, Dr. Caldwell argues that the Malayalis must have come from the Tamil country east of the ghats, since there they had the low level of the ocean on the east and the high level of the ghat mountains on the west. But it is quite as reasonable to suppose that the Dravidians, in finding names for east and west, selected words denoting that east was where the sun appeared from *below*, as it would seem to them, and west as the place where he similarly disappeared from *above*. The languages were no doubt identical in ancient times, but with a high range of mountains intervening between the two countries rendering inter-communication difficult, and with further obstacles thrown in the way by differing political institutions, it is not to be wondered at that they split into two dialects, and as time advanced that they became two tongues.

The chief difference between them, and indeed between Malayalam and all the other Dravidian tongues, lies in the absence in Malayalam of the personal terminations of the verbs. In treating of the Dravidian conjugational system Dr. Caldwell writes: "The tenses are formed, not by means of the position of the pronouns, but by the particles or signs of present, past, and future time suffixed to the theme; and the personal signs, as in the Turkish and Finnish families, are suffixed to the signs of tense. The only exception to this rule is that which forms the most characteristic feature of Malayalam—a language which appears to have been originally identical with Tamil, but which, in so far as its conjugational

¹ The more common word in Malayalam for west is *padinnyaru*, meaning the setting sun.

system is concerned, has fallen back from the inflexional development reached by both tongues whilst they were still one, to what appears to have been the primitive condition of both—a condition nearly resembling the Mongolian, the Manchu, and the other rude primitive tongue of High Asia. In ancient times, as may be gathered from the Malayalam poetry, and especially from the inscriptions¹ preserved by the Syrian Christians and the Jews, the pronouns were suffixed to the Malayalam verb precisely as they still are in Tamil. At present the verb is entirely divested, at least in the colloquial dialect, of signs of personality; and with the pronouns the signs of number and gender have also necessarily disappeared: so that the pronoun or nominative must in every instance be separately prefixed to the verb to complete the signification; and it is chiefly by means of this prefixed pronoun that a verb, properly so called, is distinguished from a verbal participle. Though the personal signs have been abandoned by the Malayalam verb, the signs of tense or time have been retained, and are annexed directly to the root as in the other dialects. Even in modern English some persons of the verb retain archaic fragments of the pronominal signs (*e.g.*, *lovest*, *loveth*); but in modern Malayalam every trace of these signs has disappeared. Thus, whilst we should say in Tamil *aditten*, I beat; *adittay*, thou didst beat; *adittan*, he beat; Malayalam uses in these and all similar cases the verbal participle *adichu* (for *adittu*), having beaten, with the prefixed pronouns I, thou, he, etc. (*e.g.*, *nyan adichu*, I beat; *ni adichu*, thou didst beat; *avan adichu* he beat). Though the pronominal signs have been lost by the Malayalam verb, they have been retained even by the Tuda; and notwithstanding the comparative barbarity of the Gonds and Kus, their conjugational system is peculiarly elaborate and complete."

The complete disappearance of signs of personality in the Malayalam verb raises a doubt whether they were ever really adopted in the colloquial language. For the evidence in favour of pronouns being suffixed to the Malayalam tenses—it being admitted that verbs in all Dravidian languages were originally uninflected—is derived from ancient poetry and ancient inscriptions, and these did not necessarily correspond with the spoken language. It is to be noted that the written tongue in ancient times always tended to become a speciality, the speciality of a class or caste who got a livelihood by it. Moreover, as will be seen further on, the precise time to which Dr. Caldwell alludes—the time of the Jews' and Syrians' deeds—was precisely at that epoch (about eighth century A.D.) in the history of the country when Vedic Brahmanism is believed to have finally supplanted Jainism as the religion of the Aryan immigrants. The Jains, whose period of greatest literary activity in the Tamil country was subsequent—ninth or tenth to thirteenth century A.D.—to the dates of the Jews' and Syrians' deeds, seem to have encouraged the study of the vernaculars and to have developed the languages of the common people; the Vedic Brahmins, on the

¹ Dates about A.D. 700 to A.D. 820.

other hand, encouraged—and that only among themselves—the study of nothing but Sanskrit, of which and of the religion and arts and sciences embodied in that tongue they held a practical monopoly for many centuries, beginning from probably the end of the seventh or commencement of the eighth century A.D. One would expect therefore to find—and such is the actual fact—that Malayalam is much fuller than any of the other Dravidian languages of pure Sanskrit words (*tatsamam*) and Sanskrit derivatives (*taubhavam*): this is, indeed, the only other chief difference between it and the other Dravidian tongues.

The most probable view is that the Vedic Brahman immigration into Malabar put a stop to the development of Malayalam as a language just at the time when the literary activity of the Jains in the Tamil country was commencing. It is admitted that this immigration took place at an earlier point of time into Malabar than into the other South Indian countries, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that at the time when this took place the use of verbal inflexions had not taken hold of the colloquial language. The Vedic Brahmans (*Nambutiris*) were, of and are still it may be added, the last persons in the world to approve of educating the commonalty, for that would have tended to take from themselves the monopoly of learning they so long possessed.

It was no less than a revolution when in the seventeenth century one Tunjatta Eluttachchan, a man of the Sudra (Nayar) caste, boldly made an alphabet—the existing Malayalam one—derived chiefly from the Grantha—the Sanskrit alphabet of the Tamils, which permitted of the free use of Sanskrit in writing—and boldly set to work to render the chief Sanskrit poems into Malayalam. Regarding the obstacles which he had to meet and the opposition which was offered to him Mr. F. W. Ellis has the following remarks in a dissertation on the Malayalam language: “The difficulties with which he had in consequence to struggle gave him an energy of character which it is probable he would not have possessed had his caste been without blemish.¹ The Brahmans envied his genius and learning, and are said to have seduced him by the arts of sorcery into the habit of ebriety, wishing to overshadow the mental powers which they feared. The poet, however, triumphed on his habits, though he could not abandon them, and, in revenge against those whom he considered the cause of his debasement he opposed himself openly to the prejudices and the intolerance of the Brahmans. The mode of vengeance he chose was the exaltation of the Malayalam tongue, declaring it his intention to raise this inferior dialect of the Tamil to an equality with the sacred language of the gods and rishis. In the prosecution of this purpose he enriched the Malayalam

¹ Mr. Ellis supposed him to be the illegitimate son of a Brahman woman, but there is nothing to support this, and, on the contrary, tradition says he was a Sudra (Nayar). Mr. Ellis may have confounded the tradition about the great Sankara Acharya with the tradition about him,

with the translations I have mentioned,¹ all of which, it is said, he composed while under the immediate influence of intoxication. No original compositions are attributed to him." Tunjatta Eluttachchan's success even in his own lifetime seems to have been great, and it was in consequence of his influence and success that Malayalam, as a written language, obtained its most recent development.

The site of his house is still pointed out at Trikkandiyur near *Vettattprudiangadi* in the Ponnani taluk, and, as usual among Malayalis when a man has risen a bit above his fellows in good or in bad qualities, something of superstitious awe attaches to the place of his dwelling. It is said that as Tunjatta Eluttachchan lay on his death-bed he told his daughter that at a particular hour, on a particular day, in a certain month and a certain year which he named, a youth would come to his house. His daughter was directed to have the house swept and garnished as for a distinguished guest, and his directions were that to this visitor his sandals and his books should be given. On the appointed day and at the appointed hour came one Surya Narayanan Eluttachchan, then a youth of sixteen years and of the Taragan caste. He received the sandals and the books and went his way. This Surya Narayanan became *Gurunadhan* (tutor, teacher) to the Zamorin, and afterwards set out on pilgrimages to Benares and other places, wandering about leading a holy life till he was thirty-two years old. He then returned to Malabar, and was directed in a vision, thrice repeated, to settle on the river bank (then a jungly place) at what is now Chittur Tekke Gramam in Cochin territory, east of Palghat. He there bought some ground and, helped by the Zamorin and others, built on one side of the street a row of houses for Brahmans and in the middle, on the opposite side, one for himself. He next invited some Brahman families to settle there, which they did, attracted by the holiness of Surya Narayanan Eluttachchan's life and character. He never married but lived and died a sanyasi (ascetic), and Tunjatta Eluttachchan's relics were, it is said, there sacredly preserved and worshipped till, with one exception, they were destroyed by fire some thirty or forty years ago. The stool and staff mentioned by Dr. Burnell in his "South Indian Palæography" belonged, it is said, to the ascetic and not to the father of modern Malayalam. And another fire has, it is believed, destroyed these relics since Dr. Burnell's visit, and also probably the Bhagavatam, the only thing saved from the previous conflagration. Tunjatta Eluttachchan's memory, however, is not likely to die down, for relics thus lost are easily replaced and the sacred honors paid to them are easily shifted to the substitutes.

On the development of Malayalam since Tunjatta Eluttachchan's time Dr. Burnell has the following remarks in his "South Indian Palæography": "The Sanskrit literature was, after this, no longer

¹ Viz., "All the works of note in the original language" (Sanskrit). He is traditionally reported to have translated into Malayalam the following: Ramayanam, Mahabharatam, Bhagavatam, besides others.

a secret, and there was perhaps no part of South India where it was more studied by people of many castes during the eighteenth century."

Of the Malayalam poetry which thus originated Mr. F. W. Ellis gives the following account :—

"The language of Malayalam poetry is in fact a mixture of Sanskrit, generally pure, with Sen and Kodun Tamil;" but in Tamil "declined or conjugated forms from the Sanskrit are not admissible." "They are not admissible, also, in Malayalam prose, but in verse they are often used with such profusion as to give it the appearance of that fanciful species of composition called in Sanskrit *Muni-pravalam* and in English 'Maccaronic verse,' rather than the sober dress of grammatical language: often, indeed, the whole verse is pure Sanskrit, connected or concluded by a few words of Malayalam." And "this profuse intermixture of the grammatical forms of the Sanskrit in the higher order of Malayalam composition would seem to have led certain recent Italian writers into strange misconceptions. Though one of them, Paulinus a St. Bartholomæo, has composed a grammar of the Sanskrit, he does not seem quite clear there is any radical distinction between what he calls the *lingua Sanscredamico-Malabarica* and the *Samscredamica*; and the author of the introduction to the *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum*, by which he means the Arya character of the Malayalam, though he be sadly puzzled to discover whether the *Samscrudonica lingua* be the mother of the *Grandonica* or *vice versa*, expressly says: '*Lingua igitur vulgaris Malabarica, ea nempe quæ usurpatur a Gentibus littoris Malabarici insolis, a Promontorio Comorino usque ad montem Deli prope Regnum Canara, nil nisi dialectus est Samscrudonicæ linguæ.*'"

Mr. Ellis goes on to remark: "The Malayalam has never been cultivated as an independent literary language, nor does the Tamil literature, notwithstanding the length of time the country was subject to the Kings of Seram, appear to have been extensively known here, or at least has not survived that dynasty. This is the more extraordinary as some of the earliest and best of the Tamil works were composed in Seram. This remark, however, applies more to Keralam proper than to Mushikam or Travancore; the residence of the Seram viceroys was in this province, and a knowledge of pure Tamil has always been more prevalent here than in the northern districts." Of the historical portion of these remarks this is not the place to speak, but it is necessary to observe that Tamil, as an independent literary language, flourished in the tenth to thirteenth centuries A.D., some considerable time after the last of the Perumals (to whom apparently Mr. Ellis refers in speaking of the viceroys) disappeared, an event which, for reasons to be assigned in the proper place, was probably contemporaneous with the commencement of the Kollam era, 25th August 825 A.D.

Mr. Ellis is right in saying that Malayalam has never been cultivated as an independent literary language, and he continues:

“There exists in Malayalam, as far as my information extends, no work or language, no grammar,¹ no dictionary,¹ commentaries on the Sanskrit *Amarakosha* excepted. The principal work in prose is the *Keralutpati*,² which is also said to be translated from the Sanskrit, though the original is now nowhere to be found.” This last-named work is an account chiefly from the Vedic Brahman point of view of the origin and history of Keralam. As a historical work it is of little use, but as a mine of half forgotten and wholly forgotten native usages and customs it is most valuable.

While, however, Malayalis have no literature to be compared to the *Kural* of *Tiruvalluvar* or to the polished³ verses of *Sivavakkiyar*, they have many folk songs, few of which have been reduced to writing, but which are extremely popular, being composed in the ordinary dialect of the people and treating of subjects in which they have an interest. Of these, perhaps the most popular are the ballads relating the deeds of Tachcholi Meppayil Kunhi Othenan. The original *Tachcholi pat*, describing one of Othenan's exploits—whether the final exploit of his life or not is uncertain—is a great favourite, and several *Tachcholi pats*, as they are called, have since been composed in the same metre regarding the doings of other men. There is one commemorating the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's rebellion (1797–1805 A.D.), another about Tippu Sultan, a third about the mythical feats of Veikeleri Kunhi Kelappan. A specimen of the metre (the first few lines) of the original *Tachcholi pat* is subjoined :—

“ Otayottidattile Kandasseri
Lokanar Kavile Kavuttana
Kavur vannum pulannu vello
Nammala Kavilum pova venam
Tachcholi Meppayile Kunynyi Otenan
Tanre chamayam chamayavum cheythu
Tanre idattatum valattatumayi
Munnile pokunna Kandasseri
Valiye madhakkaran Kunynyi Otenan
Iruvarum kudiyallo porunnata.”

The metre falls in the class of what are known as “*Vishamavrittam*” or irregular metres. The lines contain generally ten or more syllables or fourteen *matras* (time required to utter *u*) and each couplet ought to have twenty-eight *matras*.

¹ This was written some time before 1819, the year in which Mr. Ellis died. These complaints exist no longer, thanks to the learning and research of Dr. Gundert.

² Origin of Keralam.

³ Arium alla, Ayanum alla,
Aranum alla—appuram ;
Karumei, semmei, venmeiyum,
Kadantu nindra karanam :
Peritum alla, siritum alla,
Pennum anum allave ;
Duriamum Kadantu nindra—
Dura, dura, durame.

(Sivavakkiyar.)

Not Brahma, Vishnu, Siva,
In the Beyond is Ho ;
Not black, nor white, nor ruddy,
This Source of things that be :
Not great is Ho, nor little,
Not female and not male ;
But stands far, far, and far beyond
All beings utmost pale.

(R. C. Caldwell.)

Of the hero of the original *Tachcholi pat*—the Robin Hood of North Malabar—many traditions are extant. He was apparently a man of fine physique and skilful in the use of arms, who attracted to himself a large and mixed following. It is not exactly said that, like his prototype, he robbed the rich to give to the poor, but he was evidently not too particular as to his means of taking what he wanted for himself or followers. This, no doubt, brought him into collision with the authorities, and the well is still pointed out near Vadakkara in Kurumbranad Taluk which he is said to have cleared at one bound to prevent his capture by the followers of the Kadattanad Raja. The well is a fine masonry-built structure, still in excellent preservation, and at the spot where Tachcholi Odenan is said to have cleared it it is twenty feet six inches between perpendiculars. There is a massive conical-shaped block of laterite some three feet in height planted erect in the ground about fifteen paces from the well, and one mythical tradition says he jumped the well with this and a jack tree in his arms. In the popular ballad he is stated to have been treacherously shot, but whether mortally or not is uncertain, by a Mappilla on returning to search for a dagger he had accidentally dropped in a duel in which he had discomfited his enemy. The following is a literal translation of the ballad, narrating with much quaintness the events of this duel, and shedding various interesting lights on native customs and habits.

Tachcholi Ballad.

To his squire Odayottidattil Kandasseri (Chappan)	Took leave of Kavile Chathoth.
Said Tachcholi Meppayil Kunhi Odenan,	Odayottidattil Kandasseri
“For the Lokanar Kavil Kavut,	Took a lance made of the first-rate
“Which day of ceremony has come and dawned,	cocoanut tree ;
“We to that temple must go.”	Armed with it,
Tachcholi Meppayil Kunhi Odenan	They proceeded together ;
His apparel he put on,	Walked (the whole distance) in
His sword and shield he took in his right and left,	one march.
In front walked Kandasseri,	On arriving at the Lokanar Kavu
In the rear the nobleman Kunhi Odenan.	It appeared as if it had been fenced
Together proceeded in company.	with men on all four sides.
Said dear Kunhi Odenan	All the Ten Thousand Nayars had
To his wife Kavile Chathoth Kunhi Chiru.	assembled ;
“Till I go and come	Also the Princes of the Four Palaces
“Don’t you go down the gate steps ;	The reigning Raja of Kadattanad,
“Do caress child Ambadi ;	The heir apparent of Purameri,
“Give him milk when thirsty	And the Raja of Kuttipuram,
“And rice when hungry.”	Had put in their royal presence.
So Tachcholi Meppayil Kunhi Odenan . . .	Tachcholi Meppayil Kunhi Odenan
	Went and ascended the entrance
	steps.
	Walked straight up to the Tachcholi’s seat—
	The platform under the Banian tree—

Where the good fellow sat and
amused himself.
Gazing at the comers and
Looking all round about the
temple.
While thus sitting,
The Mathilur Kurikkal with his
disciples—
The two and twenty youngsters—
Arrive at the Lokanar Kavu,
Went to the Goddess' divine
presence,
Most devoutly worshipped with
clasped hands,
And, after worshipping, left the
temple
To occupy a seat on the Tachcholi's
platform,
On the south part of which they
went and sat.
This with his own eyes Kunhi
Odenan saw,
And he thus exclaimed ;
"Lo ! Odayottidattil Kandasseri
"What (a) strange (thing is) all
this !
"On the platform under our Bani-
an tree
"What Nayar cometh to take a
seat ?
"Make haste and see who he is."
Thus said Meppayil Tachcholi
Kunhi Odenan—
A very jealous Odenan—
"What Nayar art thou
"That went to the Banian tree ?"
Odenan seeing this with his own
eyes
Rolled his jet black eyes in burn-
ing rage,
Shook his legs in excitement,
Clenched his fists in anger,
And spoke thus : "Odayotti-
dattil Kandasseri !
"Go home quick, and get
"My silver-handled gun ;
"In our western chamber it stands
"Full loaded with two bullets and
two plugs.
"Hasten thou and come soon.
"One word more to you ! Kan-
dasseri !
"The Poratara Peacock
"With its young brood
"Is perching upon our Banian tree

"I'll shoot them dead one by one."
This one word was said.
At once Kurikkal said,
"Hark ! My beloved youths !
"We must start at once ;
We must go to our Poratara.'
So the Mathilur Kurikkal and
pupils
Proceeded back with their heads
Covered and hungdown in disgrace.
Again said the Kurikkal,
"We should not wait to see the
Kavut."
Thus the Kurikkal left at once
With his two and twenty pupils.
When descending the steps,
The Kurikkal shouted loud and
challenged :—
"My good fellow, Tachcholi Kunhi
Odena !
"If the tenth and eleventh of Kum-
bham shall come,
"If God will spare my life,
"I pledge my word to be at Ponni-
yat.
"There under the Banian tree
"In single combat could we test
our supremacy.
"That day let us meet again !"
Thus the Kurikkal declared the
war,
In the midst of the Ten Thousand,
And proceeded back on his way.
The sight-seers trembled
At this throwing down and taking
up the gauntlet.
A stillness prevailed like that after
a heavy rain.
A panic spread
Over all assembled.
Tachcholi Koma Kurup (elder
brother of Odenan),
On this very news coming into his
ears,
Beat his breast and exclaimed in
tears :—
"Alas ! You saucy fellow !
"Is it at a mountain that you are
throwing a pot ?
"On Thursday in Kumbham next
"You have agreed to enter the
lists."
The Kurup hastened on to inter-
pose :

The Kurikkal, on his way from the temple,
 Is accosted by the Kurup,
 Whom the Lord Kurikkal treats with contempt,
 Spits on his face with betel juice,
 And says to the Kurup :
 "Get thee gone ! What (an) un-
 manly thing !
 "What meanest thou by
 Untimely interposition ?
 "If God spares me
 "I will make him atone for it."
 Thus saying the Kurikkal went
 his way to Poratara.
 Tachcholi Koma Kurup
 Went however to the Lokanar
 Kavut.
 He was met by his brother,
 Who was returning having seen the
 Kavut.
 They walked home straight.
 On their way the Kurup wept,
 Beating his breast, shedding bloody
 tears,
 And thus addressed his brother :—
 "My beloved brother ! how im-
 pudent you are !
 "You have engaged to fight on the
 10th and 11th Kumbham !
 "What do you think of doing
 next ?"
 Immediately replied Kunhi Ode-
 nan,
 "Brother ! Why do you weep ?
 "Am I not a man like himself ?
 "Is it enough always to give ?
 "Can't I receive it once ?
 "Let it happen as fate wills it !
 "Why cry for it !"
 "Hear me," said the Kurup,
 "In whose charge do you leave me ?
 "Am I not in my dotage ?
 "If fate should call me away any
 moment,
 "To perform the funeral rites
 "No male exists in our family."
 Thus saying they were going.
 The Kurup further observed :
 "My dear brother Odena
 "Your nice little face of ripe
 arceanut color
 "How came it to be changed into
 a new pot's color ?"

By this time they reached the
 Tachcholi Meppayil house.
 Their sister Tachcholi Unniehira
 Seeing them come,
 Brought a gindy pot of water (to
 wash hands and feet with)
 And asked her dear brother to
 partake of kanji ;
 But Kunhi Odenan said he must
 bathe.
 So he bathed, dined, and spent
 that day there.
 The next morning dawned,
 And the Koma Kurup said :—
 "Brother Tachcholi Meppayil
 Kunhi Odenan !
 "The fatal 10th and 11th of Kum-
 bham
 "Are drawing closer and closer.
 "On Thursday week, in Kumbham
 next,
 "At Ponniyat Banian tree, you
 must
 "Go to fight the duel.
 "Your friends in all
 "You must go and call—
 "Kottakal Ahamad Marakkar,
 "Vadakkara Pidigayil Kunhi
 Pokkar—
 "To them you must go, and tell
 particularly
 "That they should accompany you
 personally.
 "Again, Etacheri Odenan Nambi-
 yar
 "And Panangatan Chandu Kurup
 "Must also be requested
 "To accompany you to Ponniyat.
 "Hear me again, Kunhi Odenan !
 "There is Payyampalli of Kati-
 rur Tara,
 "The Kunhi Chandu of that house
 "You must also take along with
 you."
 They were all accordingly invited.
 Chandu, on being asked, said :—
 "Odenan ! don't you go this year
 to Ponniyat.
 "You have an evil time of it,
 "And I shall not come with you."
 At once returns Kunhi Odenan,
 Walking hastily through Ponniyat
 Kalam field,
 Crossing the Ponniyam and Putta-
 lam rivers,

And passing the Chambat Pancha
land,
Arrives at his Tachcholi Meppayil
house,
Bathes and takes his food,
And spends the day there.
Next morning he went to Lokanar Kavu;
Bade the priest to open the shrine
And light up lamps on each side of
the idol,
And caused the musicians to beat
tom-tom.
The treasure-box was brought out,
And the idol in procession marched
out.
At this juncture
A Nambutiri youth received
divine inspiration,
And pronounced the oracle :—
“ You should not go to Ponniyat
this year;
“ Your evil star is in the ascen-
dant;
“ I can do nothing for you.”
When this was heard
Odenan prostrated himself before
the Goddess
And prayed :—“ O ! noble Goddess !
“ When I go to Ponniyat
“ You must stand on my right.
“ I have no other help
“ But my mother Goddess ! ”
The oracle then gave him leave
To stay in the arena till noon,
And not to remain there longer;
And further assured him
That if he looked up to the Banian
tree
He would see the Goddess herself in
the disguise of a yellow bird.
But afternoon she would not be
there,
And therefore he should not be
there.
Kunhi Odenan then from his waist
cloth took
Sixteen silver Fanams, which in the
sacred box he put.
Thus worshipping, he returned
With his attendant Odayottidattil
Chappan
To the Tachcholi Meppayil house,
And told his brother Koma Kurup
All that the oracle had said.
“ Don't you then go this year,”
says Koma Kurup.

But Odenan replies—
“ Should I die even, it matters
not;
“ I must go to Ponniyat to-day.
Remonstrance had no effect—
Either brother's or others’.
“ Let us go,” says Odenan to
Kandisseri,
“ To Kavile Chathoth house.”
Thither they went accordingly
And saw his wife Chiru
Taking the child Ambadi in her
arms,
And looking at the husband she
cried :—
“ Oh ! my daring husband !
“ You have engaged to fight
“ At the Banian tree in Ponniyat :
“ To whose care will you entrust
us ? ”
“ Dear Chiru,” says Odenan in
reply,
“ Am I going to die ?
“ Is not man equal to man ? ”
Bathing and eating he spent that
day there.
Next day broke;
Kunhi Odenan rose
And proposed to go to Meppayil
house
Then Chiru prepared milk kanji,
Which Odenan took and went
home.
In taking leave of his wife, he told
her :
“ My dear Kunhi Chiru,
“ Till I come back
“ Don't you stir out of the house.”
When words like these were heard,
Beating her breast, she cried.
“ Why do you cry, my dear ” ? said
Odenan,
“ I am not going to die;
“ I shall come very soon.”
Thus saying, he took leave of her.
When descending the gate steps
Her eyes were full of tears
Which were flowing by the breast
in bloody drops.
He walked straight to his Tachcho-
li Meppayil house,
Where, in the west room he found
That his brother was still in his
bed.
He sat on the bed
And placing his feet on his lap :

And rubbing them gently
 He waked his brother from sleep.
 "Who is this at my feet?" asked
 the brother;
 "I am, I am my brother," was
 the answer.
 So and so he passed that day
 there.
 The next day came,
 And the eventful Thursday came.
 There came then the Kottakkal
 Ahamad Marakka
 And his followers,
 Vadakkara Pidigayil Kunhi Pok-
 kar
 And his followers,
 Edacheri Odenan Nambiyar
 And his followers,
 Kalleri Kunga Kurup
 And his followers,
 Panangatan Chandu Kurup
 And his followers,
 All in a body assembled
 Numbering about five hundred.
 Tachcholi Meppayil Kunhi Odenan
 Took an oil bath, and rubbed over
 his body
 A mixture of perfume, sandalwood
 and musk,
 And sat down for dinner.
 A Kadali plantain leaf was spread.
 His sister Tachcholi Unichira
 Served him the dinner—
 Fine lily-white rice,
 A large quantity of pure ghee,
 And eleven kinds of vegetable
 curries.
 He fed himself sumptuously on all
 these
 And washed his hands and mouth
 after it.
 He then sat in the south verandah.
 Kandasseri Chappan, his squire,
 Served him betel to chew.
 Chewing and chatting he sat there
 for a while;
 After which he rose and opened
 his west room,
 Where he stood in devotion to
 family Gods,
 And offered them vows if success
 he got,
 And beseeched them to stand on
 his right.
 He then prostrated himself before
 them,

And went to dress—a full dress.
 He wore God-of-Serpent's head
 ear-ring in ears,
 Combed down his hair,
 And wore a flower of gold over the
 crown,
 A silk cloth round the loins,
 A gold girdle over it,
 Gold rings in four fingers,
 A bracelet worked in with scenes
 From Ramayanam and Bharatam
 High up on his right arm,
 A gold-handled sword in his right
 hand,
 And a tiger-fighting shield in his
 left hand
 When coming out thus dressed, he
 looked
 Like melted gold of ten and a half
 touch!
 Like the rising sun in the east!
 Like the setting moon in the west!
 He took leave of his brother Koma
 Kurup
 By falling prostrate at his feet,
 Who then blessed him thus—
 "May God help you!"
 "May you gain the victory!"
 Odayottidattil Kandasseri
 Took a spear—a tiger spear—
 And led the way on;
 All in a body went on;
 Numbering about five hundred.
 They proceeded on in one single
 march
 From Kadattanad to Ponniyat.
 They halted not on the road,
 They drank not when thirsty,
 They sat not to chew betel.
 Fatigued as they were by the
 march,
 They came to the Peringalam
 river
 And they crossed the river.
 Through the Chambat Punja field,
 And through the good village of
 Chambat,
 They made a rapid march.
 They reached the mango grove
 For tightening girdles above.
 From under the Ponniyat Banian
 tree
 The noise of the crowd assembled,
 The sound of swords clashing upon
 targets
 Were heard, and Odenan said
 To his brother and comrades

That Kurikkal and his party had taken the field.
 Odenan, from his waist cloth,
 Took sixteen silver Fanams,
 And, presenting the same
 To Kottakkal Ahamad Marakkar,
 Prostrated himself at his feet.
 In the name of Allah he blessed him
 "The plot you stand in," said he
 To Odenan, "shall be the Kalari—
 "The seat of the God of war."
 In like manner did he receive
 blessings
 Of Kalleri Kunga Kurup and
 Of his brother Koma Kurup.
 With the latter's permission,
 Odenan tied his girdle
 One end to a mango tree
 The other to his loins.
 In one pull the tree's leaves came
 down,
 A second pull brought down the
 branches.
 Then took he in his right and left
 The sword and shield,
 And ran off, crossing the new river,
 To the Ponnayat Banian tree,
 Where, in formidable array, people
 stood;
 But to Odenan and his party they
 gave open way.
 On his glaring at them
 The Mathilur Kurikkal and pupils
 were startled.
 Leaving his waist dagger behind,
 Odenan jumped into the arena
 Like a cock running to fight
 And combat ensued.
 It was then about noon.
 Odenan took his enemy's sword
 seven times
 On looking up to the tree at these
 times
 He saw the yellow bird—
 The Lokanar Kavu Goddess.
 On looking up again,
 It was in vain
 And Odenan retired from the arena
 instantly,
 And marched home triumphantly.
 But, as ill fate would have it,
 When Ponniam new river was
 arrived at
 He found his dagger had been lost.
 At once sayeth he—

"Hark! my brother!
 "I left my dagger in the arena
 "And I forgot to take it.
 "What shall I do now?"
 "If that is lost," replies the
 brother,
 "I shall give you another like it."
 "It's all true, my brother,
 "But go and take my dagger I
 must."
 The brother's remonstrance had no
 effect.
 Odenan ran back to the arena;
 The Kurikkal seeing this said
 To Chundanga poyilil Mayan
 Pakki—
 "The Tachcholi who went away,
 is coming again;
 "Now he will not allow us to
 survive."
 Hearing words to this effect,
 Pakki took up his gun, and
 Loaded it with two shots,
 And concealed himself behind a
 tree.
 On Odenan coming near,
 The Mappilla, taking good aim,
 shot
 At Odenan's forehead.
 He fell down on his knees,
 But would not let his mean enemy
 escape.
 He threw his sword at him,
 Which cut not only the tree
 But Pakki himself into two.
 Tearing off his silk turband,
 Odenan dressed his wound on the
 forehead.
 The Kurup, his brother, seeing this
 Burst into tears.
 But Odenan remained bold and
 said:—
 "Brother! don't you show your
 weakness
 "In the midst of these thousands
 of men.
 "How simple you are!
 "Has anybody as yet died
 "From arrows on the neck?
 "Or from bullets on the forehead?"
 They then began to retreat
 Through the Chambat field
 And reached home—Meppayil in
 Kadattanad—that day.

The common people still compose ballads in memory of passing events, and one of the most remarkable relates the circumstances attending one of the Mappilla outrages, and recalls with graphic power and a great deal of exaggeration of course, the chief incidents that occurred.

Translation of some Mappilla Gitans.

The first part relates the cause of the murder of a Hindu by a fanatic Mappilla and the circumstances attending the outrage down to the time when the fanatic, joined by six others, selected a place in which to make a stand against the troops. The song then proceeds as follows :—

The news now spread, and a petition from the taluk reached the huzur cutcherry. Then the chiefs were angry and assembled officers, subadars at the huzur ; a company was got ready, the Feringees gave the order to go quickly ; there were many Mussulmen in the company ; the drums beat, and Pallakar Raman went with the company ; the Kafirs were all delighted at its going out, and many persons accompanied it to assist and see to the fun.

“ The Mussulmen in the company said to one another, ‘ *The Feringee’s order is given to fight ; if we do not fight we shall be brought to ‘ Kott-mashal ’ (court-martial) ; go along quickly* ’ (sic). The sepoy with belts on and guns on their shoulders, Pallakar Raman Menon with his people marched away !

“ The officers in palkis, etc., cried out, ‘ *Chal ! chalol (sic Get on ! get on !)* ’ The Pallakar’s people said ‘ *Keep together, and do not separate.* ’ Kassim, subadar of the company, said, ‘ *Do not fear ! we shall soon catch them !* ’

“ On hearing Kassim, all the men of the company were pleased and went on. The bugle went ‘ *Didi ! didi !* ’ and the drum ‘ *Dado dado do !* ’ All kept step with the music, but in their hearts they were afraid !

“ The officers’ bearers called out ‘ *Tukkadu dam tukkada dam dim, dim, dim !* ’

“ The sound of the bugle and the tramp of the sepoy’s foot were very stirring ! Our Commanding Officer was on a horse ; he instructed the men and called out ‘ *Chal ! chal !* ’ (Get along, get along).

“ The sepoy began to think, ‘ *Here is trouble on our heads ; Kassim Subadar is taking us, poor Mussulmen, along with him !* ’ The Jemadar Mallikappen also told the men to go along rapidly, and they would be rewarded if they caught them ; he said, ‘ *Cannot we, a hundred men, seize seven ? ! There is nothing to be afraid of. My sword tells me we shall be victorious to-day !* ’

“ Going along altogether, about 2,000 persons may have joined.

“ They reached Achali Pannikar’s house and surrounded it ; nobody knew how many persons were inside.

"As a man in the jungle approaches a tiger's lair cautiously, so did these men go up to the house. They were as wary as if they were walking into a lion's mouth !

"Pallakar Raman (wearer of a ball of hair, i.e., a Nayar) called out '*Are you afraid of seven half-starved wretches? We know all about them; they are not demons from another world. Here you have arms! This is not a fort you have to take; these men must die if not taken by us alive!*'

"All went close to the house. They wanted to take the Mappillas alive, but on getting close their intention vanished as an image from a glass !

"Pallakar Raman called out, '*Why do not you seven come outside? Your time is up!*' The men inside replied, '*Wait a bit; as soon as we finish a prayer or two we will come. Get ready for us! We have done this by Syed Alwi's order, and with his blessing, to remove the slur from our religion.*' Then saying '*Praise to God the highest, etc., etc.*!' the seven kissed each others hands and came out. It was a rainy day and the guns fired at them missed their marks; the Mappillas got into the midst of the sepoys; all balled as a snake makes for its hole when men assemble and attack it. Of all the persons who had been standing outside not one remained. The number of men killed by tiger Hussein's blows and the number who fell by Bookari's strokes—heads down, feet up, broken necked (an immense number)—we know not, and the number of heads and arms separated by Ali Hussein's blows we cannot tell, neither can we estimate the number who, on hearing Mussa Kutti's voice, fell down, or the number destroyed by the lion-child Mohidin. The Mappillas called out to the sepoys, '*You have come to fight us; why do not you stay?*' and to the company officers '*Kum hir! Kott-mashal! Koni loff ysholder! Kumpani! Shrut! phayr!*' (sic—Come here! Court-martial! Company left shoulders! Company Shoot! Fire!)

"Then all stopped and loaded again, firing from different places. Kassim Subadar seized Bookari, who was pursuing the fugitives. Bookari released himself and stabbed Kassim, cutting him in half. An officer came in front; he was cut into two also: after that Mussa Kutti killed eight persons and wounded nineteen. The sepoys formed up, all the cutcherry people with them, but the Mappillas broke them again. Then the Mappillas congratulated each other and said '*We are now contented; the disgrace to our religion is far removed.*' The Mappillas called out to the regiment, '*Do not run away; we are all badly wounded and cannot fight any more; you may now come and take our lives!*' Then the Pultun people fired again and killed them.

"The seven died as martyrs, and houris of paradise comforted them and their bodies remained where they fell in a place pleasant for them.

"The names of the seven were notorious over the world, and I also write these praises on their behalf. All Mussulmen should remember these martyrs and should hold them in veneration over

their nearest relatives. I have made this poem by order of certain Sahiban, viz., Kadir Sahib Markar, Kunji Mohidin, inhabitants of Vettatt Pudiangadi, and they highly approve of these verses.

"May God give courage to all Mussulmen to remove disgrace from their religion, and let all persons pray that in similar cases the martyrs may be admitted into paradise!!"¹

Malayalam is rich in *proverbs*, in "wise saws and modern instances," and there is nothing the Malayali loves better than to give a turn to conversation by an apt saying. The proverbs depend as much on rhythm and alliterative and other affinities as on terseness of expression, and on sarcasm, wit, and humour as much as on common sense. The second, for instance, of those that are to be found printed in Appendix X runs thus: "*Akattu kattiyum—purattu pattiya*": literally "knife inside, plaster outside," reminding one of the Old Testament verse: "The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart: his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords." *Ps.* 55, 21.

The fifty-fifth is also very terse in its expression, and though it is wholly Sanskrit it is in common use in Malabar: "*Artham anartham*": literally, "riches (are) ruin."

In the hundred and eighty-fourth the Malayali gives expression to his scorn of the sordidness of foreign Brahmans: "*Uttu ketta pattar—attu ketta panni*," meaning the *Pattar* runs as fast to a rice distribution as the wild pig runs from its pursuers. The *Pattar* is often the butt for a Malayali's wit and sarcasm, and in one proverb he classes him with black beetles and bandicoots (a kind of large rat) as among the plagues of Keralam. The proverbs translated in the appendix are only a few out of hundreds, and are taken from the beginning of a small pamphlet of them published in Malayalam at Mangalore in 1868 and containing nine hundred and ninety such phrases.

Malayalam is written in more than one *alphabet*, and that employed in the most ancient written documents extant—the Jews' and Syrians' copper-plate grants—is known as the *Vatteluttu*. Besides it there is its derived alphabet called *Koleluttu*, chiefly used in keeping the records in Rajas' houses. And lastly, there is the modern Malayalam alphabet introduced by *Tunjatta Eluttachchan*.

Dr. Burnell styles the *Vatteluttu* "the original Tamil alphabet which was once used in all that part of the peninsula south of Tanjore, and also in South Malabar and Travancore." In a modern form it is still known, but if used at all its use is very limited. Its origin has not hitherto been traced. Dr. Burnell said of it: "The only possible conclusion, therefore, is that the S. Acoka and *Vatteluttu* alphabets are independent adaptations of some foreign character the first to a Sanskrit, the last to a Dravidian language." And he thought that both had "a common Semitic origin." The

¹. Most of the facts related are of course without foundation, but the sepoy troops were so often broken by the fanatics that the authorities decided at last not to employ them again in such expeditions.

Vatteluttu alphabet "remained in use" in Malabar, Dr. Burnell wrote, "up to the end of the seventeenth century among the Hindus, and since then in the form of the *Koleluttu* (= sceptre writing), it is the character in which the Hindu sovereigns have their grants drawn up."

The modern Malayalam alphabet introduced by Tunjatta Eluttachchan comes from the *Grantha*—the Tamil-Sanskrit character—and Dr. Burnell says of the application by Tunjatta Eluttachchan of the *Aryaeluttu* (as it is sometimes called) to the vernacular Malayalam that "beyond adopting the *Vatteluttu* signs for *r*, *l* and *l* (o, e, and a) he did nothing whatever to systematize the orthography, which till lately was most defective, or to supply signs for letters (e.g. u) which are wanting in most of the other Dravidian languages."

It will be seen from the above account that there is but little of interest or of importance in Malayalam literature, and the scholars who have of late years studied the language have been attracted to it rather by the *philological interest* attached to it than by anything else. Mr. F. W. Ellis in his essay, from which numerous quotations have been taken, long ago saw the importance of comparative philology, and the following further quotation from his essay on Malayalam is very interesting from a historical point of view:—
 "He who shall conquer the difficulties which the absurd speculations of the idle or the ignorant have thrown in his way, and establish etymology on the firm basis of truth and reason, will suggest to the philosopher new and important speculations on mankind, and open to the historian views of the origin and connection of nations which he can derive from no other source." Commenting on this and the essay generally Dr. Burnell observes: "It was not till 1816 that Bopp published his 'Conjugation system,' which was the beginning of Comparative Philology in Europe," so that Mr. F. W. Ellis had, probably by some years, anticipated in his Malayalam researches the importance to which this science would rise, and Dr. Burnell justly adds: "His unfortunate end—he was poisoned by accident—prevented his doing much, for he was only forty when he died, but he cannot be robbed of his due fame by the success of others more lucky than he was." Among those who have followed in the path traced out for them by Mr. Ellis, not the least successful is the author of the standard Dictionary of Malayalam and English—Dr. H. Gundert. The lavish industry, research, and ability displayed in this work, which was published in 1872, are beyond all praise, and have opened up to the enquirer, as Mr. Ellis foresaw, new and truthful explanations of what was in former days all mystery and doubt. There is hardly a page in this present work which in one way or other does not derive authority or enlightenment from Dr. Gundert's labours and scholarship.

Besides Malayalam there is one other territorial language in Malabar—*Mahl* to wit—the language of the Minicoy Islanders. Owing to the remoteness of the island, its small size, and the scanty means of communication with it, very little progress has been made in the knowledge of its language; but in Appendix XI will be found a vocabulary taken down at odd times from the lips of

Ali Malikhan, the late headman of the island. The vocabulary was taken down in Malayalam, and it has been transliterated in the method used in this volume. But it has not been carefully revised or even arranged, and any conclusions to be drawn from it should therefore be accepted with caution. There is no doubt, however, that their system of notation is the duodecimal modified by the introduction of various foreign terms. There also seem to be, as in Malayalam, no personal suffixes to the verbal tenses. It is singular that living in an island, they have no word for such a thing except "country." They have names for each day of the week, chiefly Sanskrit derivatives, but no word apparently for "week" itself. They use Dravidian words for quarter and three-quarters, while for "half" there seems to be an indigenous term.

It only remains to speak of the state of education among the people, and the chief facts are contained in the subjoined statement taken from the census (1881) figures :—

Taluks.	Under instruction.	Instructed.	Illiterate, including not stated.	Total.
Chirakkal	9,486	17,772	245,411	272,669
Kottayam	5,567	12,764	147,444	165,775
Kurumbranad	7,944	20,206	232,874	261,024
Wynad	1,370	3,853	82,868	88,091
Calicut	6,384	18,721	180,857	205,962
Ernad	5,114	14,823	276,206	296,143
Walluvanad	7,117	19,149	281,836	308,102
Palghat	11,018	25,703	305,733	342,454
Ponnani	12,760	27,762	352,123	392,654
Cochin	1,799	4,046	15,515	21,360
Islands	246	2,377	8,178	10,801
Total ..	68,814	167,176	2,120,045	2,365,035

Of those "under instruction" 59,264 were males and 9,550 were females; of the "instructed" 147,167 were males and 20,009 were females; and of the "illiterate and not stated" 967,173 were males and 1,160,471 were females.

To cope with this dense mass of ignorance a good deal of attention has been bestowed in the last twenty-five years on schools and education, and the progress obtained will be seen from the following figures :—

Years.	University pupils.	High school pupils.	Middle school pupils.	Elementary pupils.	Normal school pupils.
1857-58	..	205	580	116	..
1862-63	..	381	577	..	32
1867-68	10	753	2,012	1,013	26
1872-73	32	562	3,696	11,671	22
1877-78	55	295	1,180	27,527	90
1882-83	149	431	1,431	37,136	120

Of the pupils in 1882-83, 5,270 were girls. Many Malayali youths proceed to Madras and elsewhere to complete their education, and if the numbers of these were added, there would be a considerable increase in the numbers shown in the column headed "University pupils."

The above includes only such pupils as attend schools brought under inspection and control by the Educational Department. There are, as a comparison of the two statements will show, numerous other scholars educated after a fashion in indigenous schools. Of the system of teaching adopted by the educational authorities it is unnecessary to say anything here, but of the Hindu system which it is gradually supplanting—the indigenous methods—the following notes may be of interest. The first step in such schools is to teach the boys, and girls too—for the indigenous schools are freely attended by girls—the alphabet: some sand is spread on the floor and the letters are learnt by tracing them in the sand with the forefinger. The teacher next writes on a cadjan leaf some *slogams* (verses) relating to Ganapati and other gods. These are spelt out by the boys and girls and learnt by heart and sung. The next stage is the reading (singing) of the *Amaram*, a collection of *slogams* (verses) telling the names of all things in heaven and on earth and under the earth—gods, and men and living animals, trees and stocks and stones. After this comes grammar, taught on cadjan leaves, and also by means of *slogams* (verses) which are sung. Finally, the pupils who have advanced thus far are set to read (sing) the *Ramayanam*, *Bhagavatam*, etc., written in the "maccaronic verse" described above by Mr. F. W. Ellis. The *Vyagaranam* and other *sastrams* follow on this. A pupil who has advanced thus far is considered very far advanced in learning, but those who get so far as to be able to read and understand the *Ramayanam* and the other epics are usually considered quite learned enough, and the generality of people do not get further than spelling out the *Amaram*. It will be seen that reciting or singing plays a very important part in this system. For indigenous Brahmans there are three Sanskrit colleges, two of which—Tirunavayi in Ponnani taluk and *Pulayi* in Kurumbranad taluk—are in Malabar, and the third is at Trichchur (Tirusivapperur) in the Cochin Native State. Each college is presided over by a *Vadhyan* or teacher. The generality of the Brahmans educated in these places are taught to repeat their particular Veda without understanding it. It is only a very small number who can both read and interpret the Vedas, and the proportion in which these are studied by the Nambutiri families is as follows:—

Rik Vedists	..	..	..	..	532 families.
Yajur do.	..	..	..	..	407 do.
Sama do.	..	..	..	..	7 do.
Excluded from reading the Vedas or					
uncertain	..	..	..	..	71 do.

Total .. 1,017 do.

But it must not be supposed that the teaching which the Nambutiri Brahmans receive is wholly religious. The study of the different sciences seems to have descended in particular families, and astronomy in particular has had great attention paid to it, and the knowledge of it is fairly exact. These Brahmans had a monopoly of learning for many centuries, and doubtless this was one of the ways in which they managed to secure such commanding influence in the country.

Muhammadan children are likewise taught to repeat, without understanding, the Koran, and in addition to this elementary Malayalam writing is taught. But at Ponnani there exists a Muhammadan college, founded, it is said, some six hundred years ago by an Arab named Zeyn-ud-din. He took or received the title of Mukhaddam, an Arabic word meaning the first or foremost in an assembly, etc. He married a Mappilla (indigenous Muhammadan) woman, and his descendants *in the female line* have retained the title. The present Mukhaddam at Ponnani is the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth in the line of succession. The students at the college are supported by the Ponnani towns people, the custom being to quarter two students in each house. The students study in the public or Jammāt or (as it is sometimes called) Friday Mosque, and in their undergraduate stage they are called *Mullas*. There is apparently very little system in their course of study up to the taking of the degree of *Mutaliyar*, i.e., elder or priest. The word is sometimes pronounced *Musaliyar*, and very often by ignorant people as *Moyaliyar*. There is no examination, but the most diligent and most able of the *Mullas* are sought out by the *Mukhaddam* and are invited by him to join in the public reading with him at the "big lamp" in the Jammāt Mosque. This invitation is considered as a sign of their fitness for the degree, which they assume without further preliminaries. Genuine Arabs, of whom many families of pure blood are settled on the coast, despise the learning thus imparted and are themselves highly educated in the Arab sense. Their knowledge of their own books of science and of history is very often profound, and to a sympathetic listener who knows Malayalam they love to discourse on such subjects. They have a great regard for the truth, and in their finer feelings they approach nearer to the standard of English gentlemen than any other class of persons in Malabar.

SECTION D.—CASTE AND OCCUPATIONS.

In Chapter XI of the Madras Census (1871) Report, in treating of caste, Surgeon-General Cornish wrote as follows: "The subject of caste divisions among the Hindus is one that would take a lifetime of labour to elucidate. It is a subject on which no two divisions or subdivisions of the people themselves are agreed, and upon which European authorities who have paid any attention to it differ hopelessly. The operation of the caste system is to isolate completely the members of each caste or sub-caste; and whatever

a native may know of his own peculiar branch, he is, as a rule, grossly ignorant of the habits and customs, or the origin, of those outside the pale of his own section of the community."

To reduce the subject to something like order and method, the Madras Town Census Committee proposed, in 1869, a system of classification, which was adopted in the census 1871, and this system is thus described by Surgeon-General Cornish: "The committee started with the assumption that the present Hindu castes must all have branched out from a few parent stems; that from the first there must have been a primitive division of labour, and hence of caste, corresponding to the great divisions of labour now existing, *i.e.*, *Professional, Personal Service, Commercial, Agricultural, Industrial and Non-productive.*" They are probably correct in stating that in "early times the present almost innumerable sub-divisions of castes did not exist, and that a large number are mere repetitions of castes in another tribe and language. Long separation and infrequent communication have led to insulation so complete that former union is forgotten and intermarriage is prohibited. Another very large aggregate of the population has sprung from a few root castes, simply because of local variations in the mode of labour. Length of time has fossilized minute changes, and new castes have grown up. These also, from an ethnic and social point of view, remain one and the same caste." The committee accepted, without question, the divisions of the Hindu community into (1) *Brahmans*, (2) *Kshatriyas*, (3) *Vaisyas*, (4) *Sudras*, and (5) *Out-castes*.

After examining, at some length, the Hindu sacred writings Dr. Cornish observed: "It is plain that in a critical inquiry regarding the origin of caste we can place no reliance upon the statements made in the Hindu sacred writings." The tendency of these writings was too obviously the exaltation of the Brahman at the expense of the other castes. He concluded, moreover, that "the whole caste system, as it has come down to us, bears unmistakable evidence of Brahmanical origin;" and finally arrived at a "natural explanation" of the origin of caste which he thus described: "The later Aryan colonists evidently saw that if they were to preserve their individuality and supremacy, they must draw a hard-and-fast line between themselves, the earlier and partly degenerated Aryans, and the brown and black races of the country, and hence probably we get a natural explanation of the origin of caste."

As bearing upon this important subject of the origin of the caste system the evidence of the early Syrian Christians' deed, translated by Dr. Gundert in *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII, Part I, deserves, it would seem, a prominent place, but a few preliminary remarks are necessary before setting forth this evidence.

If it were necessary to sum up in one word the law of the country as it stood before the Muhammadan invasion (1766 A.D.) and British occupation (1792 A.D.), that word would undoubtedly be the

word "*Custom*". In Malayalam it would be "*Maryada*," "*Marg-gam*," "*Acharam*," all signifying established rule and custom, and all of them Sanskrit words. There can hardly be a doubt that the high degree of civilization to which the country had advanced at a comparatively early period was due to Aryan immigrants from the north, and these immigrants brought with them Aryan ideas of method and order in civil government which became the law of the land.

Among other things which they imported was "*jati*" (caste). There is no indigenous word either in Malayalam or in any other of the Dravidian languages to signify caste. *Jati* itself, like all other Malayalam words beginning with "j", is a foreign word and expresses a foreign and not a Dravidian idea. The root of the word is the Sanskrit "*jan*," and it simply means "birth." As applied in the law of the land, it was the "custom" connected with "birth."

But of course Malayalis have an indigenous word for "birth," and, in common with Tamil, Canarese and Tulu, they use a verb signifying to bring forth, and from it the Tamils and Malayalis form a verbal noun *peru* (birth). And this word *peru* occurs in the well-known compound word *nir-atti-peru*, signifying the "water-contact birthright" in land, equivalent to the later Sanskrit word *janmam* (birthright) used for the same purpose. The indigenous word for "birth" seems thus to have acquired at a very early period a peculiar signification of its own for it occurs in this sense in the Cochin Jews' deed—of date about the beginning of the eighth century A.D.—and it was thus perhaps not available for the purpose of defining "caste."

The word *Jati* (caste) was not, however, the only Sanskrit word used in the development of the caste system, and the words *Karalar* and *Karanmei* (modern *Karayma*)—the former used twice and the latter once in the second (of date about the first quarter of the ninth century A.D.) of the Syrians' deeds—deserve attention. These are not pure Sanskrit words, but they come from a Sanskrit root with a Dravidian termination, and they originally implied a trust and correlative duty. Certain classes of citizens were, according to that deed, entrusted with certain functions, *which functions it was their duty, as an organized community in the body politic, to fulfil*.

A certain class called the planters—that is to say, the caste now known as the *Tiyar* (*Dwipar* = islanders) or *Iluvar* (*Simhalar*, *Sihalar*, *Ihalar* Cingalese)—were entrusted with the *duty* of planting up the waste lands. They are specifically referred to elsewhere in the same deed as the *Islanders* with a headman of their guild. Two of their specific privileges are also mentioned in the deed, namely, the "Footrope right (for mounting trees)" and the "Ladder right (for a similar purpose)." Curiously enough, although the word *Karanmei* (modern *Karayma*) has come in the course of ages ordinarily to signify something very different, yet the ancient

meaning is still occasionally to be met with by the diligent observer. He will find it, however, not in the mouths of the learned or the well-to-do, but in the mouths of the poor cultivators in out-of-the-way parts of the country, where archaic forms of words and archaic ideas still survive. The *Iluvar* or planters in these parts still look upon it as their *duty* in the body politic to form gardens and to plant up the wastes with trees.

So it was with the "setters," whose *duty* it was to "set" the rice plants. This class or caste is also specifically named in the deed as the *Vellalar* (that is, irrigators), a caste which subsists to the present day, but which, for reasons to be presently alluded to, has not kept itself as distinct as the planters in the body politic.

Again it was declared to be the *duty* of the Jewish and Syrian guilds assembled in their respective corporate headquarters at Anjuvannam and Manigramam to protect the church peoples' (*Palliyar*) town. This duty of "protection" was a most important function in the body politic. The Jews and Syrians were by other deeds incorporated in the Malayali nation, and in the second of the Syrians' deeds it is clear that the position assigned to them was that of equality with the "Six Hundred" of the *nad* (that is, of the county). The "Six Hundred" are both in this deed and in another ancient one referred to as the protectors, and in the latter they are also referred to as the supervisors (the *Kanakkar*), a word which has come down to modern days and which has been much misunderstood. The *Nayars* (so styled from a Sanskrit word signifying *leader*, in the honorific plural *lord*, and in ordinary sense *soldier*) were the "protectors" of the country, and, as such, crystallized readily into the existing caste of *Nayars*, with numerous branches. Their other function of *supervision* (*Kanam*) still also remained with them almost unimpaired down to the time of the British occupation; but of recent years, owing to the ignorance of the British courts of justice, the term has quite lost its proper signification. The *Nayars* were, if we may credit tradition, also *Vellalar* (that is, irrigators), but of course their most important, most consequential, and most acceptable function was the *protection* duty and trust, and so there are comparatively few of the original *Vellalar* (irrigator) caste in the district.

Then, again, it was the *duty* of the heads of the Syrian Church (*Palliyar*) to render to the powers above them—who were respectively the *Kon* or king, or *Perumal* or emperor, and the Jewish and Syrian protector guilds in their corporate capacities—a trustworthy account of the shares of produce of the land which respectively fell to them. But it seems very doubtful if the shares which respectively fell to the powers above them were shares of the land produce alone: it would, of course, in an agricultural country be the chief source of their revenues, and probably as regards the protector guild the only one. The word *Varakkol*, used in the deed, means, however, simply "sharing staff of office," and the wording of some of the clauses seems to point to a share in all

gains, however made, being paid to the central authority—the *Kon* (that is, shepherd or king). As a matter of fact this system of sharing gains has not survived in Malabar in any other industry but agriculture, but the history is peculiar as will be seen further on, and fully accounts for this fact. On the other hand, of course, the sharing system in a pure Hindu State is well known and exists to the present day, and extends to all classes of the community, no matter how humble or how despised their callings may be.

Finally, the *Palliyar* themselves were on the precise footing of members of the “protector guild” established in out-of-the-way parts of the country. Their “sharing staff” duty would ordinarily have constituted of them a distinct caste, but as members of the “protector guild” the protectors’ duty would overshadow their minor duty as “sharing staff” office holders. And this seems to have been what actually happened to the *Nayars* who were scattered over the face of the country not only as supervisors holding the “sharing staff” of office, but as local militia and “protectors.” Down to recent times the *Nayars* were primarily the “protecting” caste, but as a matter of fact also they inherited the “sharing staff” office functions as *Kanakkar*. In this way, there came to be therefore no distinct caste of “sharing staff” office holders, or at least none are traceable now.

If this reasoning and the facts on which it is founded are correct, then it follows that the origin of the caste system is to be sought, not so much in any ethnic circumstances of blood connection as Dr. Cornish suggests, as in the ordinary every-day system of civil government imported into the country by Aryan immigrants, and readily adopted by the alien peoples among whom the immigrants came, not as conquerors, but as peaceful citizens, able by their extensive influence elsewhere to assist the people among whom they settled.

The idea in fact embodied in the *caste system of civil government* was the idea which permeates Hindu society—the idea of the family household. The Aryans thought, and to a certain extent wisely thought, that they could not do better in organizing their State than to copy the example continually before their eyes and to organize it on the model of a well-regulated household. There they saw each member of it told off to perform certain clear and distinct functions. The clearer and more distinct those functions were, the better were the household affairs managed. The cook must attend to the kitchen, the lady’s maid to her mistress’ attire; the sweeper must not interfere with the food, nor the water-man with the lady’s muslins. In no country under the sun has the efficient organization by households—by families—been better understood or more extensively carried out than in India. And when questions of civil administration were under consideration it was the most natural thing to turn to the family as a model. The soldier was told off to his especial calling, the merchant to his accounts and trade, the cultivator to his plough. Nothing strikes

the fancy more strongly in the old Hindu world stories than the picture presented of fighting men killing each other in one field, while the husbandman peacefully tilled the one adjoining, and the Brahman sat silently contemplating creation under a neighbouring sacred tree. Busy each in their own spheres, it mattered very little to them how it fared with others having other and distinct functions.

Society organized on these lines was capable of easy and rapid development, and this no doubt accounts for the advanced state of the people in early times, on which it is unnecessary here to dwell.

A time came of course, and came quickly too, when development ceased, when *custom* became lord paramount, and when society, turned in (as it were) upon itself, began to waste its energies in multiplying distinctions of caste and in searching out hair-splitting differences. This followed, of necessity, for the bonds of caste being inherited at birth are as rigid as they are strong. Even criminals at last set up as civic corporations, as witness the powerful thief or robber caste in Southern India. Even now, when custom is no longer sole lord of the land, castes continue to multiply, nor will it be otherwise till British freedom evokes, as it is sure to do in good time, a national sentiment, and forms a nation out of the confusing congeries of tribal guilds at present composing it.

Looked at from this point of view, it is clear that questions of *caste* and questions of *hereditary occupation* ought to be considered together. The census figures unfortunately give insufficient data for an analysis of the extent to which castes have fallen away from their hereditary trades as professions, but something may be learnt from the returns. It is unfortunate, however, that such an essentially *European* classification of occupations has been adopted in the census returns, for it is only confusing to suppose (as the Madras Town Census Committee supposed) that castes naturally ranged themselves at first under the heads adopted in the census tables of *Professional, Personal Service, Commercial, Agricultural, Industrial, and Non-productive*. Some of these divisions are right, but others are not merely wrong, but misleading. What ought to have been done was to have adopted the four great divisions into which the Hindus themselves say they were originally divided, viz :—

- (1) The sacrificers (God-compellers) and Men of Learning ;
- (2) The protectors and governing classes ;
- (3) The traders and agriculturists ;
- (4) The servile classes ;

and to have added to this a fifth class of apparently later origin—

- (5) The mechanics and handicraftsmen ;

and all other classes now existing would have fallen under a separate class of—

- (6) Miscellaneous.

It would have been interesting to have noted to what extent persons belonging to one or other of these great caste divisions had encroached upon the hereditary occupations of persons belonging to other divisions; but occupations have been treated in the census 1881 returns as something quite unconnected with caste.

Foreigners (such as the British and Parsis) and people of foreign religions (such as the Muhammadans) should then have been separately treated in order to show to what extent they too had encroached upon the hereditary occupations of the Hindus.

The census returns do not permit of such a comparison being made, nor are the returns even of castes so distinct as could be desired, so that the following is merely an attempt to classify the Hindu castes under the indigenous hereditary occupation or *caste* guilds:—

DIVISION I.

The sacrificers (God-compellers) and Men of Learning.

	Totals.
<i>Brahman</i> (Malayali and foreign)	47,683

DIVISION II.

The Protectors and Governing Classes.

<i>Maravan</i> (Tamils—Watchers) ..	136	
<i>Mutratcha</i> (Tamils—Watchers) ..	6	
<i>Nayars</i> (Militia)	321,674	
<i>Rajput</i> (Foreigners)	362	
		322,178

DIVISION III.

(a) *The Traders.*

<i>Balija</i> (Telugus)	1,466	
<i>Komati</i> (Tamils)	1,096	
<i>Shetti</i> (Tamils)	20,945	
<i>Vaniyan</i> and <i>Gandlu</i>	42,781	
<i>Vanniyan</i> (Tamils)	1,259	
		67,547

(b) *The Agriculturists.*

<i>Agamudayan</i> (Tamils)	184	
<i>Golla</i> or <i>Idaiyar</i> (Herdsman) ..	2,889	
<i>Gouda</i> (Herdsman)	1,062	
<i>Kurumbar</i> (Shepherds, Junglemen)	2,062	
<i>Kuruba Golla</i> (Herdsman)	16	
<i>Padayachi</i> (Tamils)	1,008	
<i>Reddi</i> (Telugus)	119	
<i>Shanan</i> or <i>Idiga</i>	} 559,717	
<i>Tiyan</i> or <i>Ilavan</i> (Plantors) ..		

DIVISION III—*cont.*(b) *The Agriculturists—cont.*

		Totals.
<i>Telugalu</i> or <i>Vadugar</i> (North country-men)	7,811	
<i>Vellalan</i> (Irrigators)	7,525	
<i>Yadavulu</i> (Telugus)	24	
		582,417

DIVISION IV.

The Servile Classes.

<i>Palli</i> (Ploughmen)	40,809	
<i>Parayan</i> (Slaves)	93,612	
<i>Ambattan</i> (Barbers—Serving all castes, but not indiscriminately). ..	8,347	
<i>Oddar</i> (East Coast tank-diggers) ..	1,682	
<i>Upparavan</i> (East Coast tank digger)	1	
<i>Vannan</i> (Washorman—Serving all castes, but not indiscriminately). ..	37,556	
		182,007

DIVISION V.

Mechanics and Handicraftsmen.

<i>Devangulu</i> (Telugus)	10	
<i>Kaikalar</i> (Weavers)	20,465	
<i>Kamsalar</i> or <i>Kammalar</i> (Carpenters, Braziers, Stone-masons, Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths)	51,553	
<i>Kummara</i> or <i>Kushavan</i> (Potters) ..	11,770	
<i>Madigu</i> (Workers in leather ?) ..	181,614	
<i>Sale</i> (Weavers)	21,589	
<i>Seniyan</i> (Tamils—Weavers)	486	
		287,487

DIVISION VI.

Miscellaneous.

<i>Ambalakaran</i> (Tamils—Chiefs of the <i>Kallar</i> ?)	27	
<i>Besta</i> or <i>Valayan</i> (Fishermen) ..	16,024	
<i>Lingadhari</i> (Lingavites—No caste). ..	71	
<i>Kallan</i> (Tamils—Thief, Robber caste)	47	
<i>Shembadavan</i> (Fishmongers) ..	167	
Others	162,175	
Not stated	1,441	
		179,952

Grand total ..

1,669,271

The names of the different castes in the above list have been adopted from the census tables but they are not strictly applicable to Malabar.

It will of course be urged against this table that such castes as the planters—the *Tiyar* or *Ilavar*—should not find a place in the division corresponding to the agriculturists of original Aryan organization, but it must be remembered that the Aryans were, in dealing with the aboriginal population of Malabar, not dealing with their own people but with an alien race. They had no sufficient body of “protectors” of their own race to fall back upon, so they had perforce to acknowledge as “protectors” the aboriginal ruling race,—the *Nayars*—whom they designated as “*Sudras*,” but in reality treated as *Kshatriyas*. If their “protectors” were called *Sudras* (servile classes), then the castes below *Sudras* would not have any footing in the original Aryan organization. This is so, and it is moreover, most strenuously maintained to the present day. Nevertheless it is perfectly clear from the wording of the Syrians’ deed that the planters—the islanders—who are still the most numerous body of Hindus in the district, were originally an organized agricultural caste with a distinct function in the body politic. The real fact seems to have been that the Aryans who introduced the political system of caste into Malabar were unwilling to raise even the aboriginal ruling race to the dignity of the pure *Kshatriya* caste of Aryans. Very possibly they were *Kshatriyas*¹ themselves who introduced the system. And yet the State organization required that there should be a protector or *Kshatriya* caste, so they solved the difficulty by inventing a term—*Nayan, plu. Nayar* (*Sans.* leader, soldier)—and by applying it to the caste whom they constituted protectors and yet treated as “*Sudras*” (servile caste). In this way the real agriculturists except the *Vellalar* (irrigators) out of whom the caste of *Nayars* seems to have been originally formed, came to be treated as being outside the caste system altogether. To the present day the higher castes maintain most strenuously that the *Tiyar*—the islanders, the planters of the community—are outcastes.

The final organization of castes in Malabar probably took place about the eighth century A.D., simultaneously with the rise of the *Nambutiri* Brahmans to power and influence. The Aryan Jains who had preceded the latter had probably already organized the community in the Aryan fashion into corporate guilds, and it only needed the idea of *caste as a religious institution* to be imported into the country by the Vedic Brahmans to bring about the crystallization (so to speak) of the various caste elements.

¹ *Conf.* the Dutch Chaplain (but a Tamil by birth) P. de Melho’s account of the tradition current in his time. He said that the Chera, Chola and Pandya rulers were all *Kshatriyas* and belonged respectively to the races of the fire, of the sun, and of the moon. *Ind. Ant.* X, 85.

In the census 1881 returns the population has been classed according to actual occupations as follows :—

	Males.	Females.	Total
<i>I.—Professional.</i>			
1. Government	7,206	57	7,263
2. Defence	2,274	..	2,274
3. Learning, literature, etc. ..	27,657	14,588	42,245
Total ..	37,137	14,645	51,782
<i>II.—Domestic.</i>			
4. Wives	..	866	866
5. Personal offices	5,793	6,001	11,794
Total ..	5,793	6,867	12,660
<i>III.—Commercial.</i>			
6. Money, house, goods dealing ..	16,968	2,304	19,272
7. Carrying	32,299	2,133	34,432
Total ..	49,267	4,437	53,704
<i>IV.—Agricultural.</i>			
8. Occupancy of land and agriculture.	346,808	228,631	575,499
9. Care of animals	13,082	3,948	17,030
Total ..	359,950	232,579	592,529
<i>V.—Industrial.</i>			
10. Art and mechanics	19,673	417	20,090
11. Textile fabrics and dress ..	30,097	61,973	92,070
12. Food and drinks	72,632	52,998	125,630
13. Animal substances	705	1,599	2,304
14. Vegetable substances	27,830	14,030	41,860
15. Mineral substances	65,708	6,742	72,450
Total ..	216,645	137,759	354,404
<i>VI.—Indefinite and Non-productive.</i>			
16. Labour (specified)	29,066	18,081	47,147
17. Rank and property (without occupation).	31	30	61
18. No specified occupation ..	476,385	776,336	1,252,721
Total ..	505,482	794,474	1,299,956
Grand total ..	1,174,274	1,190,761	2,365,035

Of the different *castes* in Malabar much information has been collected and a great deal might be written, but it will probably suffice to notice here the chief peculiarities of the more noteworthy among the Malayali castes.

And first it may be noticed that the Malayalis distinguished two kinds of *pollutions*, viz., by people whose very approach within certain defined distances causes atmospheric pollution to those of the higher castes, and by people who only pollute by actual contact.

Among the first class may be mentioned the following, and the prescribed distances at which they must stand, viz.

	Feet.
The <i>Nayadi</i> (dog-eaters)	72
The <i>Pulayan</i> (agrestic slave)	64
The <i>Kanisan</i> (astrologer)	36
The <i>Mukkuvan</i> (fisherman), etc.	24

But women, even of equal caste-rank, pollute if at certain times they come within certain distances, and this custom seems to prevail even among the lowest castes. A newly confined woman has to stand at a distance of eighteen feet and a menstruating woman at twelve feet; hence the necessity in all respectable houses for special buildings set apart for special use by the women.

Among the second class are ranked Muhammadans, Christians and foreign Hindus, who defile only by touch. And it is a sufficiently remarkable fact that a corpse even may be defiled by touching it. This feeling on the part of the Hindus leads to various inconveniences, for it is only in the very last resort that a European or a low-caste medical man is permitted to touch a sick person.

Pollution, however acquired, by the near approach of a low-caste man or by touch, can only be washed out by complete immersion in water. Even to use hot water seems to be against the canon. And great are the perplexities of the strictly conservative, and noteworthy are some of the devices by which the better castes try to turn the flank (so to speak) of this law, now that greater freedom in moving about the country is necessitated by modern requirements. The water must be in a natural tank or stream: even Ganges water if confined in a tub would perhaps fail to wash away pollution. The strictly orthodox are sometimes driven to emptying big kettles of boiling water into the stream above the place of bathing in order that the health of the bather may not suffer when on a journey in a cold climate. The orthodox fashion is to hold the nose with finger and dip completely under the surface when nothing more loathsome has to be washed off than the polluting touch of a European's friendly shake of the hand. This bath is necessary before food can be partaken, or a sacred place entered, or several other acts performed.

The highest castes are naturally the greatest sticklers for this observance, and although British freedom has made inroads on the Hindu custom in this respect, chiefly through the influence of education and extended knowledge, it is too soon yet to look forward to the final extinction of this anomalous custom.

Of the Malayali castes the most exclusive, and the most conservative, and in the European sense, nearly the most unenlightened is that of the indigenous Malayali Brahmans called *Nambutiris*. If they did not introduce caste, as a political institution, into the country, they at least seem to have given to it its most recent development, and they are its staunchest upholders now. They seem to have embodied in the Sanskrit language rules of life regulating their most trivial actions, and at every step their conduct is hampered and restrained by what appear to European eyes absurd customs. They shun publicity, and it is exceedingly difficult to obtain exact knowledge of what they do, or think, or feel.

In ancient times their influence seems to have been supreme in the State councils, as indeed their caste name implies, for Dr. Gundert derives the word from the Dravidian verb *nambuka* (= to confide, desire) and the common Sanskrit affix *tiri*¹ (= office, dignity). There are several other derivations, but all are more or less fanciful, and the above may be accepted as the correct one since it not only has the authority of so distinguished a Dravidian scholar as Dr. Gundert, but because the character of confidential adviser and trusty friend of Rajas and people of influence is even now the peculiar character which this caste bears.

The *Nambutiris* are Vedic Brahmans. It has been conjectured from the use of the phrase *Aryya Brahmanar* that they are of pure Aryan descent, but the fact requires proof, and is certainly not borne out by personal appearances. The bulk of them are followers either of the *Rik* or of the *Yajur Veda*, while a very few follow the *Sama Veda*, and some are excluded from studying the Vedas altogether.

The existing actual distribution of the several schools is shown in the following table which was prepared a year or two ago :—

Taluks.	Number of Nambutiri families settled in each taluk.	Of whom there are			
		Rik Vedists.	Yajur Vedists.	Sama Vedists.	Excluded from Vedas or uncertain.
1 Chirakkal ..	79	3	76	..	..
2 Kottayam ..	30	4	26	..	..
3 Kurumbranad.	70	51	19	..	..
4 Wynad ..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Calicut ..	152	8	144	..	..
6 Ernad ..	120	10	85	..	25

¹ *Tiru*, blessed, fortunate = *sri*.

Taluks.	Number of Nambutiri families settled in each taluk.	Of whom there are			
		Rik Vedists.	Yajur Vedists.	Sama Vedists.	Excluded from Vedas or uncertain.
7 Valluvanad ..	277	192	40	2	43
8 Palghat ..	..	..	..	..	..
9 Ponnani ..	289	204	17	5	3
10 Cochin ..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	1,017	532	407	7	71

It is asserted that the *Panniyur* (literally, pig village) Gramam is totally excluded from the Veda. In that case twenty-one of the families in Kurumbranad, shown as of the *Rik Veda* school, and one of the *Yajur Veda* school, should be transferred to the last column of the statement; and similarly, in the returns for Ponnani, forty-five of the *Rik Vedists* and one of the *Sama Vedists* should be transferred to the last column.

In the early history of the caste there was a split into two factions, the Panniyur Gramam adopting the Vaishnavite faith with the Vaishnavite emblem, the pig or boar, and the Chovur Gramam that of Saiva. It will be noted in the historical chapter that a more or less successful resistance, probably with Brahman aid, was made by the Malayalis against the aggressions of the Western Chalukya dynasty, and as the boar was also the Chalukya emblem, it is probable that the decline of the Panniyur Gramam and the ascendancy of the Chovur Gramam was brought about at this time. At any rate, the Chovur Gramam had the best of the quarrel. The whole caste has, however, since adopted the Vedantist doctrines of Sankara Acharya, himself believed to have been a Nambutiri.

Their organization is by *Gramams* (villages), just as the Nayars were organized by *taras* and *nads*, and *Tijars* and other foreigners by *cheris*. The principal pure *Nambutiri* Gramams now extant are—

1. Sukapuram or Sivapuram (probably identical with the original *Chovur* or *Chovaram* = Sivapuram).
2. Peruvanam.
3. Irinyalakuda.
4. Panniyur (the other original village).
5. Karikkad.
6. Trissivaperur.
7. Perinchellur.
8. Venganad.
9. Alattur.
10. Edakkad.

The only two villages mentioned in the Syrians' deed of A.D. 774 are Panniyur and Chovur (*Chovaram*, i.e., Sivapuram = Siva's town); so it is difficult to resist the conclusion that there

were but two organized villages of Brahmans in Malabar at that time, both Vedic, but of opposite religious views. The other Gramams, besides others now extinct, probably either branched off from the two original villages or settled in the country subsequently. The mythical story of Parasu Raman reclaiming the land of Keralam from the sea, for the benefit of sixty-four Brahman villages, and in expiation of his sins in slaying twenty-one heroic dynasties of Kshatriyas (as the Malayali tradition runs) is not in accordance with such scraps of history as have come down, nor with facts as they exist, but this matter will be better dealt with in the subsequent chapters.

Besides these there are several classes of inferior Brahmans styled *Nambidīs*, *Elayads*, and in one instance *Embrantiri*, who have succeeded in later times in securing, or being thought fit to assume, the name of *Nambutiri*, and there is yet another class, the *Mussat*, or more properly the *Urilparisha Mussat*, who are privileged to eat with *Nambutiris*, but who do not intermarry with them, nor are they entitled to perform *yagams* (sacrifices). The hereditary *Veidyān* (physician) family is also styled *Mussat*, and this family's only disqualification for the rank of *Nambutiri* lies, it is said, in the fact that they were originally surgeons as well as physicians.

The conclusion seems to be that the original Brahman families divided among themselves the learned professions and the privilege of making sacrifices, and never lost an opportunity of protecting their monopolies by every art in their power, and in particular by forbidding the study of Sanskrit to other castes. There are hereditary magician or sorcerer families; a few are well versed in astronomy; some are preservers of the sacred fire (*adittiri*); others are doctors or surgeons; others again actors. It is only the poorest of them who will consent to act as priests, and of these the highest functionary in a large temple is condemned to three years of celibacy while holding office; some are celibates for one year of office, and allow their hair to grow.

It is traditionally alleged that some portion of the Brahmans did at one time arm themselves. The numbers who did so are said to have been thirty-six thousand, and they are known as *Ayudhapani* or weapon-bearers. The heads of this class were styled *Nambiyattiri*, and the *Idappalli Nambiyattiri* is still pointed out as the chief of them. There was therefore probably some foundation in fact for the tradition, but arms to a Brahman, under the old regime, was not a congenial employment.

The *Gramams* are presided over by six *Smarthas*, who are presidents of the assemblies at which caste offences are tried. Such assemblies in former times required the sanction of the ruling chieftain, who, on representation made that a caste offence had been committed, issued orders to the local *Smartha* to hold an enquiry. There seems to have been in former days no appeal from the decision of the *Gramam* assembly to any other authority, but

within the last few years the decision of such an assembly was called in question, and the attempt that was subsequently made to overrule its decision greatly exercised the minds of the "twice born" in all the Malayali countries.

The episodes in the *trial of a caste offence* among *Nambutiris* are so curious, and throw such light on their ways of thinking and acting, that it is worthwhile to go into the matter in some detail.

The local chieftain's sanction for the trial of the offence was, as already said, first of all necessary. The *Nambutiri* family (*Bhattatiri*) which has the privilege of furnishing the president (*Smartha*), and the number of members (*Mimamsakas*) required to form a tribunal, are different in different parts of the country.

When a woman is suspected by her own kinsmen or by neighbouring Brahmins of having been guilty of light conduct, she is under pain of ex-communication of all her kinsmen, placed under restraint. The maid-servant (*Dasi* or *Vrshali*), who is indispensable to every *Nambutiri* family, if not to every individual female thereof, is then interrogated, and if she should criminate her mistress, the latter is forthwith segregated and a watch set upon her. When the family can find a suitable house¹ for the purpose, the *sadhanam* (the *thing* or *article* or *subject*, as the suspected person is called) is removed to it; otherwise she is kept in the family house, the other members finding temporary accommodation elsewhere.

The examination of the servant-maid is conducted by the *Nambutiris* of the *Gramam*, who, in the event of the servant accusing her mistress, proceed without delay to the local chieftain who has the power to order a trial. And authority is granted in writing to the local *Smartha*, who in turn calls together the usual number of *Mimamsakas* (persons skilled in the law).

They assemble at some convenient spot, generally in a temple not far from the place where the accused may be. All who are interested in the proceedings are permitted to be present. Order is preserved by an officer deputed by the chief for the purpose, and he stands sword in hand near the *Smartha* and members of the tribunal. The only other member of the court is a *Nambutiri* called the *Agakkoyma*, whose duties will be described presently.

When all is ready the chief's warrant is first read out and the accused's whereabouts ascertained.

The *Smartha*, accompanied by the officer on guard and the *Agakkoyma Nambutiri*, next proceeds to the accused's house: the officer on guard remains outside while the others enter. At the entrance, however, they are met by the maid-servant, who up to this time has never lost sight of the accused and who prevents the men from entering. In feigned ignorance of the cause for thus being stopped, the *Smartha* demands an explanation, and is told

¹ It is called the "fifth house", i.e., the building next to the usual "four houses" or northern (*Vadakkini*), southern (*Tekkini*), eastern (*Kilakkini*), and western (*Padinyattini*) rooms or houses.

that a certain person is in the room. The *Smartha* demands more information, and is told that the person is no other than such and such a lady, the daughter or sister or mother (as the case may be) of such and such a *Nambutiri* of such and such an illam. The *Smartha* professes profound surprise at the idea of the lady being where she is and again demands an explanation.

Here begins the trial proper. The accused, who is still strictly *gosha*, is questioned through the medium of the maid, and she is made to admit that there is a charge against her. This is the first point to be gained, for nothing further can be done in the matter until the accused herself has made this admission.

This point, however, is not very easily gained at times, and the *Smartha* has often to appeal to her own feelings and knowledge of the world and asks her to recollect how unlikely it would be that a *Nambutiri* female of her position should be turned out of her parent's house and placed where she then was unless there was some cause for it.

In the majority of cases this preliminary stage is got over with little trouble, and is considered a fair day's work for the first day.

The *Smartha* and his colleagues then return to the assembly and the former relates in minute detail all that has happened since he left the conclave. The *Agakkoyma's* task is to see that the version is faithful. He is not at liberty to speak, but whenever he thinks the *Smartha* has made a mistake as to what happened, he removes from his shoulders and lays on the ground a piece of cloth as a sign for the *Smartha* to brush up his memory. The latter takes the hint and tries to correct himself. If he succeeds, the *Agakkoyma's* cloth is replaced on his shoulders, but if not the *Smartha* is obliged to go back to the accused and obtain what information is required.

When the day's proceedings are finished, the members of the tribunal are sumptuously entertained by the accused's kinsmen, and this continues to be done as long as the enquiry lasts. A trial sometimes lasts several years, the tribunal meeting occasionally and the accused's kinsmen being obliged to entertain the members and any other *Nambutiris* present on each occasion, while the kinsmen themselves are temporarily cut off from intercourse with other Brahmans pending the result of the trial, and all *sraddhas* (sacrifices to benefit the souls of deceased ancestors) are stopped. The reason for this is that, until the woman is found guilty or not, and until it is ascertained when the sin was committed, they cannot, owing to the probability that they have unwittingly associated with her after her disgrace, be admitted into society until they have performed the expiatory ceremony (*Prayaschittam*).

The tribunal continues its sittings as long as may be necessary, that is, until either the accused confesses and is convicted, or her innocence is established. No verdict of guilty can be given against her except on her own confession. No amount of evidence is sufficient.

In former days, when the servant accused her mistress and there was other evidence forthcoming, but the accused did not confess, various modes of torture were had recourse to in order to extort a confession, such as rolling up the accused in a piece of matting and letting the bundle fall from the roof to the court-yard below. This was done by women, and the mat supplied the place of the *purdah*. At other times live rat-snakes and other vermin were turned into the room beside her, and even in certain cases cobras, and it is said that if after having been with the cobra a certain length of time and unhurt, the fact was accepted as conclusive evidence of her innocence.

In cases when the accused offers to confess, she is examined, cross-examined, and re-examined very minutely as to time, place, person, circumstances, etc., etc., but the name of the adulterer is withheld (though it may be known to all) to the very last. Sometimes a long list of persons is given and similarly treated.

Innocent persons are sometimes named and have to purchase impunity at great expense. In one case a woman who had indicated several persons was so nettled by the continual "who else?" "who else?" of the zealous scribe who was taking down the details, that she at last, to his intense astonishment, pointed to himself as one of them, and backed it up by sundry alleged facts.

The persons accused by the woman are never permitted to disprove the charges against them, but the woman herself is closely cross-examined and the probabilities are carefully weighed. And every co-defendant, except the one who, according to the woman's statement, was the first to lead her astray, has a right to be admitted to the boiling-oil ordeal as administered at the temple of *Suchindram* in Travancore. If his hand is burnt, he is guilty; if it comes out clean he is judged as innocent. The ordeal by weighment in scales is also at times resorted to. The order for submission to these ordeals is called a *pampu* and is granted by the president (*Smartha*) of the tribunal. Money goes a long way towards a favourable verdict or towards a favourable issue in the ordeals.

The tribunal meets at the accused's temporary house in the *Pumukhan* (drawing-room) after the accused has admitted that she is where she is because there is a charge against her. She remains in a room, or behind a big umbrella, unseen by the members of the tribunal and other inhabitants of the *desam* who are present, and the examination is conducted by the *Smartha*. A profound silence is observed by all present except by the *Smartha*, and he alone puts such questions as have been arranged beforehand by the members of the tribunal. The solemnity of the proceedings is enhanced to the utmost degree by the demeanour of those present. If the accused is present in the room, she stands behind her maid-servant and whispers her replies into her ear to be repeated to the assembly.

Sometimes the greatest difficulty is experienced in getting her to confess, but this is usually brought about by the novelty of the

situation, the scanty food, the protracted and fatiguing examination, and the entreaties of her relatives, who are being ruined, and by the expostulations and promises of the *Smartha*, who tells her it is best to confess and repent, and promises to get the chief to take care of her and comfortably house her on the bank of some sacred stream where she may end her days in prayer and repentance. The solemnity of the proceedings too has its effect. And the family often come forward, offering her a large share of the family property if she will only confess and allow the trial to end.

When by these means the woman has once been induced to make a confession of her weakness everything becomes easy. Hitherto strictly *gosha*, she is now asked to come out of her room or lay aside her umbrella and to be seated before the *Smartha* and the tribunal. She sometimes even takes betel and nut in their presence.

When the trial is finished, a night (night-time seems to be essential for this part of the trial) is set apart for pronouncing sentence, or, as it is called, for "declaring the true figure, frame, or aspect" of the matter. It takes place in the presence of the local chieftain who ordered the trial. A faithful and most minutely detailed account of all the circumstances and of the trial is given by the *Smartha*, who winds up with the statement that his "child" or "boy" (a term¹ applied by *Nambutiris* to their east coast *Pattar* servants) will name the adulterer or adulterers. Thereupon the servant comes forward, steps on to a low stool, and proclaims the name or names.

This duty is invariably performed by a man of the *Pattar* caste. It is essential that the man who does it should himself be a Brahman, and as no *Nambutiri* or *Embrantiri* (Canarese Brahman) would do it for love or money, a needy *Pattar* is found and paid handsomely for doing it. Directly he has performed the duty, he proceeds to the nearest piece of water, there to immerse his whole body and so wash away the sin he has contracted.

The next proceeding, which formally deprives the accused woman of all her caste privileges, is called the '*Keikkottal*' or hand-clapping ceremony. The large palmyra leaf umbrella with which all *Nambutiri* females conceal themselves from prying eyes in their walks abroad is usually styled the "mask umbrella" and is with them the outward sign of chastity. The sentence of ex-communication is passed by the *Smartha* in the woman's presence, and thereupon the accused's umbrella is formally taken from her hands by a Nayar of a certain caste, the pollution-remover of the *desam*. With much clapping of hands from the assembly the woman is then instantly driven forth from her temporary quarters and all her family ties are broken. Her kinsmen perform certain rites and formally cut her off from relationship. She becomes in future to them even less than if she had died. Indeed, if she happens to die in the course of the enquiry, the proceedings go on as if she were

¹ *Kutti* = Child or boy. The phrase *Kutti Pattar* is sometimes used,

still alive, and they are formally brought to a conclusion in the usual manner by a verdict of guilty or of acquittal against the men implicated.

The woman thus driven out goes where she likes. Some are recognized by their seducers; some become prostitutes; not a few are taken as wives by the Chettis of Calicut. A few find homes in institutions specially endowed to receive them.

Those last-named institutions are of a peculiar character. Perhaps the best known, because it has formed the subject of judicial proceedings, is that of the Muttodatta Aramanakal in the Chirakkal Taluk with extensive jungly land endowments. The members of this institution are respectively styled as *Mannanar* or *Machchiyar*, according as they are men or women. They have baronial powers and keep up a sort of baronial state, for which purpose two hundred Nayars of the *Edavakutti Kulam* (or clan) were in former days bound to follow the *Mannanars* when out on active service. The members of the institution are recognized as of the *Tiyan* (or toddy-drawer) caste, and the sons of *Machchiyars* become in turn *Mannanars* (or barons). The women take husbands from the *Tiyan* community. The women who are sent to this institution are those convicted of illicit intercourse with men of the *Tiyan* or of superior castes. If the connection has been with men of lower caste than the *Tiyan* (toddy-drawer), the women are sent on to another institution called *Kutira Mala*, still deeper in the jungles of the Western Ghats.

Following on the *Keikkottal* (hand-clapping) ceremony comes the feast of purification (*prayaschittam*) given by the accused's people, at which for the first time since the trial commenced the relatives of the accused woman are permitted to eat in company with their caste fellows, and with this feast, which is partaken of by every Nambutiri who cares to attend, the troubles of the family come to an end.

Apart altogether from the scandals which are thus dragged into the light, it is a very serious matter to a family to have to incur the expenses of such an enquiry, for the cost rarely comes to less than one thousand rupees and has been known to amount to as much as twelve thousand rupees.

Nothing but the dread of being deprived of their caste privileges by the general body of their community would induce a family to incur the odium and expense of such a trial, and this feeling prompts them unhesitatingly to cast out their erring members.

The caste may be divided into two classes: *Nambutirippads* and *Nambutiris*. The former, as their name implies¹, are of superior rank. They are expected to be more strict than the latter in their religious duties, and among them the eldest son alone may marry, his brothers being expected to refrain even from concubinage with

¹ *Nambutiri* and *pad* — authority.

Nayar females. This latter practice is, however, now often set aside. The common *Nambutiris* are not expected to be so strict, and they, as a rule, form fugitive connections with *Nayar* women. Those *Nambutiris* who have performed a public sacrifice (*yagam*) are called *Chomatirippads* (i.e., persons who have sacrificed with Soma juice).

As a rule the people of this caste lead very simple lives ; and the simplicity of character of a *Nambutiri* is in some places proverbial. They rise very early in the morning, 3 A.M., and immediately bathe in the cold water of their tanks. They spread their cloths out to dry and proceed almost naked to their religious exercises in the temple. After this and till eleven o'clock the more religious of them read or recite their *Vedas*. At eleven o'clock they dine, and after that devote themselves to various employments including the keeping of a solemn silence. In the evening they bathe in oil, and again resort to the temple till about 9 P.M., when they sup and retire for the night.

Their *dress*, too, is very simple, and consists of an under and of an upper cloth ; on extraordinary occasions the long upper cloth is twisted round the loins and each leg separately. They wear no ornaments except finger rings and waist-strings. They are very particular about their caste marks made with sandalwood saw-dust and ashes.

The women are styled *antarjjanunum* or *agattummamar* (in-doors people), appropriate names, as, after attaining majority, they are rarely seen abroad. They must not look on the face of a human being of the male sex except their husbands, and, when compelled to travel, they are invariably preceded by a crier in the person of a *Nayar* woman called a *Vrshaki* who warns off male travellers by a long-drawn shout of *Ahayi*. Besides this they are protected by their large cadjan umbrellas as already alluded to above.

Like the men they are very simply dressed in an under-cloth round the loins and passed between the legs and an upper cloth wrapped round the breasts under the arm-pits and reaching as far as the thighs. Both cloths have coloured gold-embroidered borders. They have metal—generally silver—ear-rings, and they wear brass bracelets in profusion on their arms from the wrist to the elbow. They are not allowed to wear gold ones. On their foreheads they wear sandal paste marks after bathing.

The men exact great reverence from the low-caste people whom they address, and are most punctilious in this respect. They in everything endeavour to make it appear in their conduct and conversation that all the excellences are the birthright of the *Nambutiris*, and that whatever is low and mean is the portion of the lower orders of society. A *Nayar* speaking to a *Nambutiri* must not call his own food “rice”, but “stony or gritty rice”, his money he must call his “Copper cash,” and so on. In approaching a *Nambutiri*, low-caste people, male and female, must uncover

to the waist as a token of respect. But with all this self-assertion, a Nambutiri who is true to the best traditions of his race in respect to unworldliness, gentleness, simplicity and benevolence, presents himself to the Hindu mind as a model of Hindu piety coupled with a charming innocence and a noble simplicity. "His person is holy; his directions are commands; his movements are processions; his meal is nectar; he is the holiest of human beings; he is the representative of God on earth." (Travancore Census Report, 1874-75, page 191.)

As the eldest son only of a family may marry into his own caste the younger brothers cohabit with Nayar females, and many Nambutiri women necessarily never get a chance of *marriage*. It is on this account that the caste rules against adultery are so stringent. But to make tardy retribution—if it deserves such a name—to women who die unmarried, the corpse, it is said, cannot be burnt till a tali string (the Hindu equivalent of the wedding ring of Europe) is tied round the neck of the corpse while lying on the funeral pile by a competent relative. Nambutiris are exceedingly reticent in regard to their funeral ceremonies and observances, and the Abbe Dubois' account of what was related to him regarding other observances at this strange funeral pile marriage requires confirmation.

In order to get his daughters married at all, a Nambutiri must be rich, for with each of them he has to pay the bridegroom a heavy dowry and many an illam's resources have been drained in this way.

The details of the marriage ceremonies are too long for insertion here. The horoscopes of the pair must agree, then the dowry is settled, formal sanction to marry his daughter is asked by the bridegroom from the bride's father, the bridegroom proceeds in state to the bride's house, there is much feasting and ceremony, the bridegroom has a bamboo staff in his right hand and a string tied to his right arm, the bride's emblems are an arrow and mirror and a sacred thread round her neck, the dowry and the daughter are handed over simultaneously to the bridegroom by the father, the pair then take seven steps forward and seat themselves, then follows a sacrifice, and the final act at the bride's house is the father's delivery of her to the groom with a solemn injunction to "treat her well". Then comes the procession back to the bridegroom's house, where again feasting and ceremonies occur, and finally the pair are escorted to the nuptial couch, a blanket spread on the floor with a white robe over it and hemmed in by ridges of rice and paddy. The priest leads in the pair and seats them on the couch, and then withdraws and locks the door and continues outside reciting appropriate passages, which are repeated and followed by the bridegroom from within. The wife then serves to the husband his first meal, and on the fifth day the ceremonies end by the husband laying aside his staff and untying the sacred thread on his right arm. One remarkable proceeding in the marriage ceremonies is, it is said, that bride and bridegroom stand beside a tub of water in which several small live fishes are placed and by means of a cloth capture these fishes. The significance of this custom is uncertain; some allege that

it is done in remembrance of the fisher origin of the caste, as sarcastically alleged by the Mahratta Brahmans; another interpretation is that the fishes are captured as emblems of the fertility wished for by the parties to the union.

In the third month of the first pregnancy a solemn sacrifice is performed, emblematic of the offering of the first fruits of wedlock to the Supreme Being. In the fifth and ninth months other ceremonies take place: in the one the husband draws with a porcupine quill a straight line from the tip of his wife's nose to the crown of her head, and in the other he pours into his wife's nostrils a few drops of the essence extracted from the barks of the five sacred trees—*Ficus Indica*, *Ficus racemosa*, *Tamarind*, *Spondias mangifera* (Hog-plum) and *Coorg tamarind*(?). Immediately after confinement both mother and babe are bathed in cold water.

On the eleventh day after birth the father names the child; in the sixth month he is fed on sweet rice; in the third year tonsure takes place; in the fifth year the boy is initiated by his father in the alphabet on the last day of the Dasara feast; in the seventh year the boy is invested with the sacred thread (*punnul*) and his ears are bored. For three years he next leads a holy life and pays visits only to his teacher.

As already said, the Nambutiris are very reticent on the subject of their funeral ceremonies. The dead body having been laid on the pile, rice is scattered over the deceased's face and mouth by all blood relations, and pieces of gold are placed in the nine openings of the body, apparently to provide the deceased's soul with money for its journey by whatever exit it leaves the body, thus recalling the somewhat similar practice of the Roman world. After fire has been applied to the pile the company retires and bathes. They observe pollution for ten days, and during that time abstain from supper and the use of salt in curries. On the twelfth day a grand feast is given to all relatives, and on the recurrence of the fatal day two men are feasted in honour of the deceased.

Of the east coast or foreign Brahmans it is unnecessary to say much as they differ in no respect from ordinary east coast Brahmans. They are called *Pattars*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *Bhatta*. They engage in trade and agriculture and in domestic and other service. In former times they were used as confidential messengers and spies. One class of them are styled *Choliya* or *Aryya Pattars*, and instead of wearing the top knot of hair (*kudumi*) on the back of the head, as other east coast Brahmans do, these wear it on the top of the head like the Nambutiris and *Nayurs*.

The great *Pattar* settlements in Malabar lie in the Palghat Taluk, a taluk which, if it ever was occupied by the Nambutiris, has for a very long time past been deserted by them. The *Pattars* live in *gramams* or villages, the houses being arranged in rows and streets like those of east coast villages.

A class of Brahmans peculiar to Malabar are the *Ilayavar* or *Ilayathu*, the progenitor of whom is traditionally said to have been a *Nambutiri*, and to have been turned out of caste for communicating to a *Nayar* the details of the funeral rites (*sraddha*) to be performed for the benefit of departed ancestors. These do not eat nor keep company with ordinary Brahmans, nor will they eat or associate with Nayars. They officiate as the family priests (*purohit*) of Nayar families. In customs they are still Brahmans and their women are strictly *gosha*.

Another very small class of Brahmans is to be found in North Malabar. They are called *Pidaranmar*. They drink liquor, sometimes exercise devils, and are worshippers of *Bhadrakali* or of *Sakti*. The name is also applied to snake-catchers, and it was probably conferred on the caste owing to the snake being an emblem of the human passion embodied in the deities they worship. This caste wears the sacred thread, but their women are not *gosha*.

Another class of *pseudo*-Brahmans derive their name from the ceremony of jumping through fire before temples. These are the *Tiyattunni* or *Tiyadi* (*Ti* = fire, *attam* = play). They differ but little from the caste last named, except that they follow the *Marumakkatayam* system of inheritance.

The *Pisharodi* class do not wear the sacred thread. The legend of their extraction is that a *Sanyasi* had educated a *Nambutiri* pupil to fit him as a member of his holy order. But when the time came for him to receive the distinctive marks of asceticism, he fled from his preceptor and from the prospect of a life of penance and austerities. His descendants were called those "who ran away," and to commemorate the event their bodies are after death buried with salt, as in the case of *Sanyasis*. They are chiefly temple servants. Whether they and the *Pidaran* class above described were more closely connected originally it is not easy to say, but *pisharan* and *pidaran* appear to be identical, and *pisharodi* may well be those who deserted ("ran away from") the worship of the sexual passion and became ascetics.

Besides the three classes last named there are several others whose distinctive function is temple service. As a class they are known as *Ambalavasis* (i.e., dwellers in *ambalams* or temples), and they form a sort of intermediate class between the *Nambutiris* and the *Nayars*.

Of these *temple servants* the following may be named.

One class of the *Nambudis* wears the sacred thread, another subdivision does not, and the class in general is said to have been originally *Nambutiri*. Their progenitor, it is said, was degraded for having murdered with a knife one of the *Perumals* or Emperors of Keralam. They follow the *Marumakkatayam* system of inheritance.

The *Gurukkal* class wears the sacred thread. The name seems to suggest that they were originally teachers, but their proper functions,

as understood now-a-days, are to supply milk, ghee, and flowers to temples and to sweep and clean them. They are governed by the *Marumakkatayam* system of inheritance.

The *Muttatu* class ought perhaps to have been placed at the head of the *Ambalavasis* or temple servants. Their functions are to sweep the steps of the temples, to carry the idols in procession on their heads, and to do other temple services. They wear the sacred thread and do not follow the *Marumakkatayam* system of inheritance. Their women, too, are free from concubinage with the superior castes. They adopt the customs and rites of Brahmans, and it is said that Brahmans may cook their food in *Muttatu* houses, and in turn the food cooked by the *Muttatus* may, it is said, be eaten by other *Ambalavasis*. Some of them are styled *Potuvals* and do not wear the thread.

The *Pushpakan* class, as their name implies (*pushpam* = a flower), are employed in bringing flowers and garlands to the temples, and follow the *Marumakkatayam* law of inheritance.

The *Chakkiyars* sing and play in the temples, and sometimes, on occasions of festivals, improvise verses of their own and make the characteristics of the community "the butt of their sarcasm and satire" (Travancore Census 1874-75 Report). Their women are called *Nangiyar*. "Their wives are *Illodammammar*. The *Nangiyar* sounds the cymbal to the time of the *Chakkiyar's* play, and is seated by his side while he is engaged in dramatic representations. Their law of succession is *Marumakkatayam*" (*Ibid*, pages 220, 221).

The *Variyars* perform the lower temple services and funeral ceremonies. In Malabar they follow the *Marumakkatayam* system of inheritance.

The *Nambiyars* are in some parts of the country a very influential body, as in the ancient *Iruvalinad*, of which they were the chieftains. They follow *Marumakkatayam*, and their functions in a temple are said to be helping the *Chakkiyar* in their play acting by beating the big drum (*milavu*).

The *Marans* or *Marayans* are the temple sweepers and musicians, and play on five different kinds of instruments, chiefly drums, viz., (1) *Chenda* = kettle-drum, (2) *Kurunkulal* = short flute or pipe, (3) *Timilu* = another kind of drum, (4) *Idakka* = a double drum, and (5) *Dhamanam* = another kind of kettle-drum. These do not eat with the other *Ambalavasis*. They follow *Marumakkatayam*. One section of the class perform purification for Brahmans.

Of *Rajputs*, or foreign Kshatriyas, there are in Malabar (census 1881) only three hundred and sixty-two all told. The families of the Kottayam and Parappanad chieftains belong to this class, and the former of these chieftains used sometimes to be called the *Puranatt* (i.e., foreign) Raja. The Parappanad family supplies consorts to the Ranis of Travancore, and also forms similar connections with the families of other chieftains in Malabar. They follow the *Marumakkatayam* law of inheritance.

Something has already been said under this section of the next great division of the Hindu population—the *Nayars*—who are 321,674 strong. The *Nayars* were, until the British occupied the country, the militia of the district. Their name itself implies, as already said, that they were the “leaders” of the people. Originally they seem to have been organized into “Six hundreds,” and each “Six hundred” seems to have had assigned to it the protection of all the people in a *nad* or county. The *nad* was in turn split up into *taras*, a Dravidian word signifying originally a foundation, the foundation of a house, hence applied collectively to a street, as in Tamil (*teru*), in Telugu (*teruvu*), and in Canarese and Tulu (*teravu*). The *tara* was the *Nayar* territorial unit of organization for civil purposes, and was governed by representatives of the caste, who were styled *Karanavar* or elders. The “Six hundred” was probably composed exclusively of these *Karanavar* or elders, who were in some parts called *Mukhyastans* (= chief men), or *Madhayastans* (= Mediators), or *Pramanis* (= Chiefmen), and there seem to have been four families of them to each *tara*, so that the *nad* must originally have consisted of one hundred and fifty *taras*.

This *tara* organization of the protector caste played a most important part in the political history of the country, for it was the great bulwark against the tyranny and oppression of the *Rajas*. Something has already been said about it in the section treating of towns, villages, etc. The evidence of the Honourable East India Company's linguist (interpreter, agent) at Calicut, which appears in the Diary of the Tellicherry Factory under date 28th May 1746, and which has already been quoted (*ante* p. 89), deserves to be here reproduced. He wrote as follows: “These *Nayars*, being heads of the Calicut people, resemble the parliament, and do not obey the king's dictates in all things, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts.” The “parliament” referred to must have been the “*kuttam*” (assembly) of the *nad*. The *kuttam* answered many purposes when combined action on the part of the community was necessary. The *Nayars* assembled in their *kuttams* whenever hunting, or war, or arbitration, or what not was in hand. And this organization does not seem to have been confined to Malabar, for the *koot* organization of the people of South Canara gave the British officers much trouble in 1832–33. In so far as Malabar itself was concerned the system seems to have remained in an efficient state down to the time of the British occupation, and the power of the *Rajas* was strictly limited. Mr. Murdoch Brown, of Anjarakandi, who know the country well, thus wrote to Dr. Francis Buchanan in the earliest years of the present century regarding the despotic action of the *Rajas* when constituted, after the Mysorean conquest, the revenue agents of the Government of Haider Ali: “By this new order of things, these latter (the *Rajas*) were vested with despotic authority over the other inhabitants instead of the very limited prerogatives that they had enjoyed by the feudal system, under which they could neither exact revenue from the lands of their vassals nor exercise any direct authority in

their districts." And again, "The Raja was no longer what he had been, the head of a feudal aristocracy with limited authority, but the all-powerful deputy of a despotic prince whose military force was always at his command to curb or chastise any of the chieftains who were inclined to dispute or disobey his mandates." (Buch. Mysore, Canara and Malabar, II, pages 189-90). From the earliest times therefore down to the end of the eighteenth century the Nayar *tara* and *nad* organization kept the country from oppression and tyranny on the part of the rulers, and to this fact more than to any other is due the comparative prosperity which the Malayali country so long enjoyed, and which made of Calicut at one time the great emporium of trade between the East and the West.

But besides protection the *Nayars* had originally another most important function in the body politic. Besides being protectors they were also *supervisors or overseers*, a duty which, as the very ancient deed (No. IV in Appendix XII) testifies, was styled *kanam*—a Dravidian word derived from the verb *kunaka* (= to see, etc.). The original meaning of this word *kanam* has been very greatly misunderstood by the British courts and British administrators, and this point will be dwelt on hereafter under land tenures. *Parasu Raman* (so the tradition preserved in the *Keralolpatti* runs) "separated the *Nayars* into *Taras* and ordered that to them belonged the duty of supervision (*lit. kan* = the eye), the executive power (*lit. kei* = the hand, as the emblem of power), and the giving of orders (*lit. kalpana* = order, command) so as to prevent the rights from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse." The *Nayars* were originally the overseers or supervisors of the *nad*, and they seem to have been employed in this capacity as the collectors of the share of produce of the land originally reserved for Government purposes. As remuneration for this service, and for the other function as protectors, another share of the produce of the soil seems to have been reserved specially for them. It would be well worth the study of persons acquainted with other districts of the Presidency to ascertain whether somewhat similar functions to these (protection and supervision) did not originally appertain to the *Kavalkars* of Tamil districts and the *Kapus* in the Telugu country, for both of these words seem to have come from the same root as the Malayalam *kanam*. And it is significant that the Tamil word now used for proprietorship in the soil is *Kani-yatchi*, to which word the late Mr. F. W. Ellis in his paper on "Mirasi Rights" assigned a similar derivation.

There are, of course, numerous subdivisions among the *Nayars*. The distinctions between the customs of these subdivisions is often whimsical, but the more capricious they seem the more persistently are they observed. The chief distinction seems to be in the preparation and eating of food. Food cooked in one house will not be partaken of by the members of a different subdivision to that to which the house belongs, and different classes object to eating

while seated in the same row with members of other subdivisions. The following subdivisions may be mentioned :—

1. *Nayar* (Leader, soldier, lord).
2. *Menon* or *Menavan* (*mel* = above, and *avan* = third personal pronoun ; superior N., generally writers, accountants).
3. *Menokki* (*mel* = above, and *nokki* from *nokkennu* = to look, look after ; supervisor, superintendent N.).
4. *Muppil Nayar* (Chief N.).
5. *Pada Nayar* (Fighting N.).
6. *Kuruppu* (? Fort N.).
7. *Keimal* (*kei* = hand as emblem of power ; hence powerful or chief N.).
8. *Panikkar* (Fencing master N.).
9. *Kiriyatta Nayar* (House N., stewards).
10. *Muttar* (Elder, chief N.).
11. *Ore* (for plural third personal pronoun *avar*, honorific title of N.).
12. *Kidavu* (child, young person, N. ; considered honorifically as child of the king, Raja).
13. *Kartavu* (Lord).
14. *Eradi* (N. of *Eradu* or *Ernad* = taluk of that name, the bullock country).
15. *Nedungadi* (N. of *Nedunganad* in taluk of Valluvanad).
16. *Vallodi* (N. of *Valluvanad*).
17. *Mannadiyar* (N. of Palghat, originally from the Chola country).
18. *Manavalan* (? Cultivating N.).

The Nayars follow the *Marumakkatayam system of inheritance*, with the sole exception of some of the Mannadiyars in Palghat taluk. These latter seem to have come into the country from the east coast at a later date than the great body of Nayars, and only some of them, having mixed with the Nayars, have adopted the distinctive Nayar system of inheritance.

The national *dress* of the Nayars is extremely scanty. The women clothe themselves in a single white cloth of fine texture reaching from the waist to the knees, and occasionally, while abroad, they throw over the shoulders and bosom another similar cloth. But by custom the Nayar women go uncovered from the waist ; upper garments indicate lower caste, or sometimes, by a strange reversal of western notions, immodesty. The men wear a white cloth in like fashion, and another cloth is also occasionally thrown over the shoulders. The ornaments of the women consist chiefly of a huge cylinder, gold plated, finely worked, and inserted in the lobe of the ear, which is artificially enlarged for the purpose of receiving it. Several kinds of massive gold necklaces rest on the bosom, while bangles for the wrist, rings for the fingers and nose

and a waist string of elaborate construction, complete the list of ornaments. The men content themselves with ordinary ear-rings, finger rings, and a waist string. In childhood they also wear bangles and one or two neck ornaments.

Both men and women are extremely neat, and scrupulously particular as to their cleanliness and personal appearance. The women in particular enjoy a large measure of liberty, and mix freely in public assemblies. The men wear their *kudumi* or tuft of hair on the top of the head. The women have long black locks which they keep neat and clean and tidy by constant bathing and combing. When returning from the bath the hair is coquettishly allowed to hang loose down the back to dry. When dry it is oiled and gathered up neatly into a knot on the left side of the head in front.

The most characteristic custom of the Nayers is connected with their *marriages*. Every Nayar girl is married in one sense at a very early age. The *tali* is tied round her neck before she attains puberty, and it is considered to be disgraceful in her relations not to have this ceremony performed before that event takes place. The tying of the *tali* is a great event in each household, and frequently several girls go through this ceremony simultaneously. When this can be managed it enables the family to make a greater display than they would probably be able to afford if there was a separate ceremony for each girl. The marriage pavilion in the case of influential families very often magnificent in its decorations—bright-coloured rows of columns supporting gothic arched or Saracenic roofs resplendent in tinsel and colours, with an extremely ingenious and pretty device of domes revolving slowly at intervals and showering down at appropriate moments sweet-smelling flowers on the guests and bridal party. The auspicious day and hour are carefully selected beforehand in consultation with the astrologers: friends, relations and neighbours all flock to the ceremony, and at the selected auspicious moment the *tali* is tied round the girl's neck amid much tom-tomming and shrill music accompanied by deafening shouts from the assembled people. Then follows the usual distribution of betel and areca nut, and the guests afterwards sit down to a banquet. The ceremony is prolonged over four days in the case of well-to-do families. The strange thing about it all is that the girl is not really married to the man who performs the *tali*-tying ceremony. In the case of good families the man selected for this duty is usually either an *Ilayattu* or an east coast Brahman, and in the case of others a man of their own kindred. After the ceremony he receives a suitable present and departs. When the girl comes of age he cannot claim her as his wife, nor solicit her favours in after life.

After attainment of the age of puberty the girl chooses her real husband of her own free will, though in this she is often guided by the opinions of her elders. The man she selects is called the "*Guna-doshakkaran*," *gunam* being good and *dosham* being bad and *karan* being the doer. This designation may be exactly reproduced by the phrase from the English wedding service in which the mutual

contract of the parties is "for better for worse, for richer for poorer." The ceremony of instalment of her husband is exceedingly simple. All that is necessary is that the husband should give, and that the girl should receive, a cloth in the presence of relations and friends. If the pair are dissatisfied with each other the woman in like simple fashion returns the cloth and their connection thereupon ends. Sometimes a woman accepts the favours of many lovers, but this is generally now-a-days scouted by all respectable people, and the fashion is daily becoming more and more prevalent for the woman to leave her ancestral home for that of the husband of her choice, although, as matter of law, the husband occupies no recognized¹ legal relation involving rights and responsibilities in regard either to his wife or his children.

The statement that the younger cadets of *Nambutiri* families live with *Nayar* women merely reproduces in English the Malayali mode of describing the married life of these people and of the *Nayars*. It is part of the theory that the women they live with are not wives, that they may part at will, and that they may form new connections. This part of the Malabar law has, in the hands of unenquiring commentators, brought much undeserved obloquy on the morality of the people. The fact, at any rate of recent years, is that, although the theory of the law sanctions freedom in these relations, conjugal fidelity is very general. Nowhere is the marriage tie—albeit informal—more rigidly observed or respected, nowhere is it more jealously guarded or its neglect more savagely avenged. The very looseness of the law makes the individual observance closer; for people have more watchful care over the things they are most liable to lose. The absence of ceremonial has encouraged the popular impression; but ceremonial, like other conventionalities, is an accident, and *Nayar* women are as chaste and faithful as their neighbours, just as they are as modest as their neighbours although their national costume does not include some of the details required by conventional notions of modesty.

In former times, however, there was perhaps a better foundation for the popular impression. One Sheikh Zin-ud-din, the author of a work² which in a more or less abridged shape has a large circulation, chiefly in manuscript, in Malabar, noticed the *Nayar* custom of marriage as one which they possessed distinguishing them from other races. He wrote about the middle and latter half of the sixteenth century. He seems to have had exceptionally good opportunities for observing facts. He said that each woman had two or four men who cohabited with her, and the men, he said,

¹ As this work is being passed through the Press (July 1884) a Committee (President—Raja Sir T. Madava Row, K.C.S.I., Members—Messrs. Logan, Wigram, P. Karunakara Menon, and C. Sankaran Nayar) is busy drafting a Bill to legalise marriage among people governed by the *Marumakkattayam* system of inheritance.

² *Tahafat-ul-Mujahidin* or "Hints for persons seeking the way to God," as it is frequently translated, or more literally "An offering to warriors who shall fight in defence of religion against infidels;" Translated by Rowlandson: London, 1832.

CASTE AND OCCUPATIONS

“seldom” quarrelled, the woman distributing her time among her husbands just as a Muhammadan distributes his time among his women. Hamilton, too, in his “New account of the East Indies” (Edinburgh, 1727) wrote: “The husbands,” of whom, he said, there might be twelve, but no more at one time, “agree very well, for they co-habit with her in their Turns, according to their Priority of Marriage, ten Days, more or less according as they can fix a Term among themselves, and he that co-habits with her maintains her in all things necessary for his Time, so that she is plentifully provided for by a constant Circulation.” “When the Man that co-habits with her goes into her House, he leaves his Arms at the Door, and none dare remove them or enter the House on Pain of Death.” “When she proves with Child she nominates its Father, who takes care of his Education, after she has suckled it, and brought it to walk or speak, but the Children are never Heirs to their Father’s Estate, but the Father’s Sisters’ Children are.”

Many fanciful reasons are assigned for this peculiar custom, but there can be little doubt that the custom was adopted to prevent alienation of property, as Shiekh Zin-ud-din, the earliest observer, himself specifically sets forth. The custom had also much to commend it in a society organized as it then was, when the Nayars were the “protectors” of the State and could seldom, except in old age, settle down to manage their family affairs.

In Johnston’s “Relations of the most famous Kingdom in the world” (1611 Edition) there occurs the following quaintly written account of this protector guild: “It is strange to see how ready the Souldiour of this Country is at his Weapons: they are all gentile men, and tearmed Naires. At seven Years of Age they are put to School to learn the Use of their Weapons, where, to make them nimble and active, their Sinnewes and Joints are stretched by skilful Fellows, and annointed with the Oyle Sesamus: By this annointing they become so light and nimble that they will winde and turn their Bodies as if they had no Bones, casting them forward, backward, high and low, even to the Astonishment of the Beholders. Their continual Delight is in their Weapon, perswading themselves that no Nation goeth beyond them in Skill and Dexter-rity.” And Jonathan Duncan, who visited Malabar more than once as one of the Commissioners from Bengal in 1792–93, and afterwards as Governor of Bombay, after quoting the following lines from Mickle’s *Camoens*, Book VII—

“Poliar the labouring lower clans are named:
“By the proud Nayrs the noble rank is claimed;
“The toils of culture and of art they scorn:
“The shining faulchion brandish’d in the right—
“Their left arm wields the target in the fight”—

went on to observe:

“These lines, and especially the two last, contain a good description of a Nayar, who walks along, holding up his naked sword with the same kind of unconcern as travellers in other countries

carry in their hands a cane or walking staff. I have observed others of them have it fastened to their back, the hilt being stuck in their waist band, and the blade rising up and glittering between their shoulders." (*Asiatic Researches*, V, pages 10, 18.) M. Mahe de la Bourdonnais, who had some experience of their fighting qualities in the field, thus described them : " Les Nairs sont de grands hommes basanes, legers, et vigoureux ; Ils n'ont pas d'aturo profession que celle des armes, et seraient de fort bons soldats, s'ils etaient disciplines : mais ils combattent sans ordre, ils prennent la fuite des qu'on les serre de pres avec quelque superiorite ; pourtant, s'ils se voient presses avec vigueur et qu'ils se croient en danger, ils reviennent a la charge, et ne se rendent jamais." (M. Esquer, "*Essai sur les Castes dans l'Inde*," page 181, quotation.) Finally the only British General of any note—Sir Hector Munro—who had ever to face the Nayars in the field thus wrote of their modes of fighting :—

" One may as well look for a needle in a Bottle of Hay as any of them in the daytime, they being lurking behind sand-banks and bushes, except when we are marching towards the Fort, and then they appear like bees out in the month of June." " Besides which," he continued, " they point their guns well and fire them well also." (*Tellicherry Factory Diary, March, 1761*.) They were, in short, brave light troops, excelling in skirmishing, but their organization into small bodies with discordant interests unfitted them to repel any serious invasion by an enemy even moderately well organised. Among other strange Malayali customs Sheikh Zin-ud-din also noticed the fact that if a chieftain was slain, his followers attacked and obstinately persevered in ravaging the slayer's country and killing his people till their vengeance was satisfied. This custom is doubtless that which was described so long ago as in the ninth century A.D. by two Muhammadans whose work was translated by Renaudot (Lond., 1733) : " There are kings who, upon their accession, observe the following ceremony." A quantity of cooked rice was spread before the king, and some three or four hundred persons came of their own accord and received each a small quantity of rice from the king's own hands after he himself had eaten some. " By eating of this rice they all engage to burn themselves on the day the king dies, or is slain, and they punctually fulfil their promise." Men who devoted themselves to certain death on great occasions were termed " Amoucos " by the Portuguese ; and Barbosa, one of the Portuguese writers, alluded to the practice as a prevalent custom among the Nayars. Purchas (II, 1708) has also the following : " The King of Cochin hath a great number of Gentlemen, which he calleth *Amocchi*, and some are called *Nairi* : these two sorts of men esteem not their lives anything, so that it may be for the honor of the king." The proper Malayalam term for such men was *Chaver*, literally, those who took up, or devoted themselves to death. It was a custom of the Nayars which was readily adopted by the Mappillas, who also at times—as at the great Mahamakham, twelfth-year feast, at Tirunavayi—devoted themselves to death

in the company of Nayers for the honor of the Valluvanad Raja. And probably the frantic fanatical rush of the Mappillas on British bayonets, which is not even yet a thing of the past, is the latest development of this ancient custom of the Nayers.

The martial spirit of the Nayers in these piping times of peace has quite died out for want of exercise. The Nayar is more and more becoming a family man. Comparatively few of them now-a-days even engage in hunting. With a large increase in their numbers, and with comparative poverty for the large body of them, the race is fast degenerating.

A caste who are hardly to be distinguished from the Nayers except by their inheritance customs, is that of the *Kadupattars* or *Eluttachchans*, that is, *professional village schoolmasters*. They follow a modified *Makkatayam* system of inheritance in which the property descends from father to son but not from father to daughter. The girls are married before attaining puberty, and the bridegroom who is to be the girl's real husband in after life arranges the dowry and other matters by means of mediators (*Enangan*). The *tali* is tied round the girl's neck by the bridegroom's sister or female relative. At the funeral ceremonies of this class, the barber caste (*Ambattan*) perform priestly offices, giving directions and preparing oblation rice. A widow without male issue is removed on the twelfth day after her husband's death from his house to that of her own parents. And this is done even if she have female issue. But on the contrary, if she has borne sons to the deceased, she is not only entitled to remain at her husband's house, but she continues to have, in virtue of her sons, a joint right over his property.

When she goes to her parents' house widowed, two other women bear her company as far as the gate of her destination and then retire. Loud lamentations are exchanged when the parents receive the poor widow. On her way home she is clad in a new cloth and veiled. But she can remarry.

The *Astrologers*, who come next in turn to be noticed, deserve a somewhat detailed description. The caste is styled *Kaniyan*, *Kanisan* and *Kaniyar Panikkar*, the last designation being the title of their office. They are a polluting caste, and have to stand at the distance already described. And yet their caste functions (astrology, and astrology coupled with teaching children to read and write) can be classed only among the learned professions. Native tradition is never at a loss to account for such a fact as this, and there is a traditional myth regarding the origin of the caste which may have some historical foundation in fact. The tradition runs that astrology as a profession was once exclusively practised by the Nambudiri Brahmans, and this is most probably historically correct, for the Brahmans seem to have had originally a monopoly of all the learned professions. One *Palur Bhattiri*, one of the greatest of the Brahman astrologers, is said to have foreseen an evil conjunction of the planets which would certainly bring him into disgrace and prove calamitous, and to avoid this adverse

fate he forsook his home and friends and set out on a journey. In the course of this journey he had to cross the dry bed of a river, when sudden freshes came down and swept him off to an unknown region. He scrambled ashore in torrents of rain and in darkness, and, espying a light in a house near where he landed, he made for it, and in an exhausted state lay down in the verandah of the hut musing on the untoward events of the day and on his affectionate family whom he had left. The hut was the dwelling of a man of the *Tiyan* caste, and as it happened this man had that day quarrelled with his wife and left the hut. The wife anxiously, it is said, expecting his return, opened the door about midnight, and seeing a man lying in the verandah, mistook him for her husband, and the Brahman was so wrapt up in his thoughts of his home that he in turn mistook the *Tiyatti* for his own wife. In the morning the truth was revealed, and the Brahman then accepted his degradation and lived with the woman, who bore him a son. This son the Brahman in due course educated in all the lore of his profession, and by his influence obtained for him an important place in the Hindu constitution as *Ganakan*, that is, astrologer. The name was subsequently corrupted into *Kanikan* or *Kanisan*. Stripped of its improbabilities the story just amounts to this, that a Brahman astrologer of good position and influence conceived an attachment for a woman of the *Tiyan* caste, and educated the son born of this *mesalliance* in all the secrets of his own profession and thus founded the caste of *Kanisans*. The probability of this story being in part at least true is that the most noteworthy family of *Kanisans* in the Malayali country is still known as the *Pakur Kanisans* who are still reputed to be the most skilful of the caste in foretelling future events.

However this may be, it is certain that the *Kanisans* as a caste have spread over the face of the land and have in large measure superseded the Brahmans in this profession. This is easily accounted for by the store which is set upon their services as diviners of future events. They occupied in the ancient Hindu constitution a place of importance in every village, and along with the *Asari* or carpenter, the *Tattan* or goldsmith, the *Malayan* or musician, conjuror, the *Vannan* or washerman, the *Velan* or midwife, accoucheur, and the *Vilakkattaravan* or barber, they were styled *Uherujanmakkarar*, that is, small birthright holders, and as such were entitled to hereditary rights and perquisites within certain well-defined local limits.

This organization is to a certain extent still preserved, and most probably the *Kanisan's* profession will survive all other relics of the ancient Hindu constitution as his services are still considered of essential importance in all matters of everyday life.

Indeed it would be difficult to describe a single important occasion in everyday life when the *Kanisan* is not at hand as a guiding spirit, foretelling lucky days and lucky hours, casting horoscopes, explaining the causes of calamities, prescribing remedies

for untoward events, and physicians (not physis) for sick persons. Seed cannot be sown nor trees planted unless the *Kanisan* has been consulted beforehand. He is even asked to consult his shastras to find lucky days and moments for setting out on a journey, commencing an enterprise, giving a loan, executing a deed, or shaving the head. For such important occasions as births, marriages, tonsure, investiture with the sacred thread, and beginning the A. B. C, the *Kanisan* is of course indispensable. His work in short mixes him up with the gravest as with the most trivial of the domestic events of the people, and his influence and position are correspondingly great. The astrologer's finding, as one will solemnly assert with all due reverence, is the oracle of God himself, with the justice of which every one ought to be satisfied, and the poorer classes follow his dictates unhesitatingly.

There is no prescribed scale of fees for his services, and in this respect he is like the native physician and teacher. Those who consult him, however, rarely come empty-handed, and the gift is proportioned to the means of the party and the time spent in serving him. If no fee is given, the *Kanisan* does not exact it, as it is one of his professional characteristics and a matter of professional etiquette that the astrologer should be unselfish and not greedy of gain. On public occasions, however, and on important domestic events, a fixed scale of fees is usually adhered to.

The astrologer's busiest time is from January to July, the period of harvest and of marriages, but in the other six months of the year his is far from being an idle life. His most lucrative business lies in casting horoscopes, recording the events of a man's life from birth to death, pointing out dangerous periods of life, and prescribing rules and ceremonies to be observed by individuals for the purpose of propitiating the gods and planets and so averting the calamities of dangerous times. He also shows favourable junctures for commencement of undertakings, and the Grantham or book written on palmyra leaf sets forth in considerable detail the person's disposition and mental qualities as affected by the position of the planets in the Zodiac at the moment of birth. All this is a work of labour, and of time; there are few members of respectable families who are not thus provided, and nobody grudges the five to twenty-five rupees usually paid for a horoscope according to the position and reputation of the astrologer.

Two things are essential to the astrologer, namely, a bag of cowries and an almanac. When any one comes to consult him he quietly sits down, facing the sun, on a plank seat or mat, murmuring some *mantrams* or sacred verses, opens his bag of cowries and pours them on the floor. With his right hand he moves them slowly round and round, solemnly reciting meanwhile a stanza or two in praise of his *guru* or teacher and of his deity, invoking their help. He then stops and explains what he has been doing, at the same time taking a handful of cowries from the heap and placing them on one side. In front is a diagram drawn with chalk on the floor

and consisting of twelve compartments. Before commencing operations with the diagram he selects three or five of the cowries highest up in the heap and places them in a line on the right-hand side. These represent *Ganapati* (the Belly God, the remover of difficulties), the sun, the planet Jupiter, *Sarasvati* (the Goddess of speech), and his own *guru* or preceptor. To all of these the astrologer gives due obeisance, touching his ears and the ground three times with both hands. The cowries are next arranged in the compartments of the diagram and are moved about from compartment to compartment by the astrologer, who quotes meanwhile the authority on which he makes such moves. Finally he explains the result, and ends with again worshipping the deified cowries who were witnessing the operation as spectators.

Like the Pandava brothers, as they proudly point out, the *Kanisans* used formerly to have one wife in common among several brothers, and this custom is still observed by some of them. Their custom of inheritance is consequently from father to son, and the son performs the funeral ceremonies. But in all other respects their marriage and death ceremonies seem to have a *Marumakkatayam* origin.

The marriage and other important ceremonial expenses of the village (*desam*) astrologer and schoolmaster are always provided by the people of his village and the headman and others take a proper pride in celebrating the marriage and other ceremonies in good style. At his wedding he is decked out for the occasion in valuable ornaments conspicuous among which is the combined style (for writing on palmyra leaves) and knife, which is thrust into the girdle, and which is highly embellished with inlaid silver and gold work. On setting out on his wedding journey he is accompanied by a party of Nayars as escort who fire guns, blow horns and beat tom-toms as the procession sets forth from the bridegroom's house, and the same proceeding is followed on arrival at the bride's house. One of the bride's female relatives, who is styled *Enangatti*, has a conspicuous part to play in the ceremony. She seats the bride on seven and a half measures of white rice spread on the floor. The bride is either carried or led in by her with her eyes closed, two betel leaves being held firmly pressed by her against her eyelids. The *tali* is placed round her neck by the *Enangatti* while the bride is seated on the rice, with her back to the bridegroom, and the bridegroom knots the string at the back of the bride's neck at the precise moment when a neighbouring astrologer called in for the occasion declares that the moment is auspicious. The phrase he uses is as follows: "The auspicious time is come and it greets you with offers of beauty long life, wealth, sweet wedlock, posterity, and happiness. Seize thou the occasion and marry the bride, and prosperity will attend you." The wedding guests here break in with a solemn twang of "Aha! Aha!" The *tali* string is thereupon promptly tied by the bridegroom. After reading of a portion of the *Ramayanam* the *Enangatti* seats the bride beside the groom and joins their hands.

The rice on which the bride was seated becomes the astrologer's fee, with eight annas added in money. The *Enangatti* next feeds the youthful pair with sweets, and practices on the bridegroom various little jokes while so doing. Finally she comes behind the pair with rice in both hands and sprinkles it over their heads with prayers and good wishes, and this is done in turn by all the relations beginning with the parents. The wedding ceremony concludes with the pair making obeisance to their elders. The festivities, however, last for four days, and on the third day the party adjourns to the bridegroom's home, and on the fifth day it finally disperses.

Without the consent of the people of the village the parties are not permitted to divorce each other. With this consent the parties have simply to pronounce the divorce in a caste assembly. The children, if any, in that case belong to the father.

Their other ceremonies are not of sufficient interest to merit detailed description.

The *Tiyar* or *Ilavar* caste is the numerically strongest section of the Hindu population, numbering in all 559,717.

They were, as already noticed in this section, the *planters* of the ancient Hindu constitution, and this character they still to a very large extent retain, as they hold to the present day a practical monopoly of tree climbing and toddy drawing from palm trees.

One of their caste names (*Tiyan*) denotes that they came originally from an island, while the other caste name (*Ilavan*) denotes that that island was Ceylon. *Tiyan* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Dvipan* passing through *Tivan*, a name which is even now sometimes applied to the caste. In the records of the Tellicherry Factory the caste is generally alluded to as "*Tivee*." *Simhala* was the ancient name for Ceylon, and the other caste name of the planters must have passed through *Simhala* to *Sihalan* and *Ihalan* and finally to *Ilavan*.

In their migration into Malabar they are traditionally stated to have brought with them the *Tenkay-maram*, that is, the southern fruit-tree, *alias*, the coconut¹ palm. The coconut palm was perhaps grown in India at a very early period for in *Photios*' abridgement of the *Indika* of *Ktesias* reference is made to "palm trees and their dates" which were said to be "thrice the size of those in Babylon," and in another abridged passage of the same work by another writer the palm fruits are referred to as "the largest of nuts." Both passages however belong to times long subsequent to that of the original work. There is no doubt however that *Kosmas Indiko pleustes* described most accurately the coconut palm under the appellation of *Argellia*, an erroneous transliteration probably of the word *narikelum* or *nalikeram* usually applied to the fruit by the Malayali Brahmans. It is not at all improbable that *Tiyans* had arrived in Malabar before the time of *Kosmas Indiko pleustes*. (A.D. 522—547.)

¹ See *ante*, foot-note, p. 79.

The former caste name is used on the coast and in North Malabar generally, the latter is applied to them chiefly in the Palghat and Valluvanad taluks.

In North Malabar the caste generally follows the *Marumakkathayam* system of inheritance, while in South Malabar the descent of property is generally from father to son. Not unfrequently, however, two brothers, or more even, marry one wife. If she have but one son the child is fathered on the elder brother.

Both men and women of the North Malabar caste are remarkably neat in appearance, although, like the *Nayars*, their clothing, both of men and women, is extremely scanty, and they are besides extremely careful as to personal cleanliness. The headquarters of the caste may be said to lie at and round the ancient European settlements of the French at Mahe and of the English at Tellicherry. The women are not as a rule excommunicated if they live with Europeans, and the consequence is that there has been among them a large admixture of European blood, and the caste itself has been materially raised in the social scale. In appearance some of the women are almost as fair as Europeans, and it may be said in a general way that to a European eye the best favoured men and women to be found in the district are the inhabitants of ancient Kadattunad, Iruvalinad, and Kottayam, of whom a large proportion belong to the *Tiyan* or planting community.

In the facility of their marriage relations they differ but little from the *Nayars*, but with them the real marriage ceremony is much more formal. It is usual for the girl to have her *tali* tied, as in the *Nayars* caste, before attaining the age of puberty, but the system of having the *tali* tied by the man who is to be her future husband is always resorted to when a suitable husband can be found before the girl attains to that age. At the betrothal ceremony, which is managed by two relatives, and by a *Tandan* (headman or priest) on each side the bridegroom's party tender payment of four fanams, apparently for the food they have partaken, and then five and a quarter rupees in cash and two new pieces of cloth as an *adayalam* or mark or sign of the conclusion of the bargain. At the end of this part of the proceedings the groom's *Tandan* gives to the bride's *Tandan* two betel leaves with the remark, "We shall be coming for the marriage with a party of so many on such and such a date," to which the bride's *Tandan* replies, "If you satisfy our claims with (say) ten and a half rupees in cash and six pieces of new cloth and two fanams for uncle's son, we shall hand over the girl to you." The allusion here to "uncle's son" will be explained presently.

Before the wedding day the bridegroom goes and visits all his relations accompanied by five women all well clad and bedecked. If he accepts food in any house it is a sign that the inmates are invited to the wedding.

The bridegroom¹ with his relations and friends sets out for the bride's house on the wedding day on observing a favourable omen. He goes accompanied by two other youths dressed exactly like himself, and with others of his male relations and friends armed with swords and targets playing in front of him. On arrival at the wedding pavilion² the bride's *Tandan* wisely collects the swords and keeps them in his own charge. The three youths dressed exactly alike sit together and have rice strewn over them in common. The bridegroom's sister brings in the bride and seats her behind the groom; the other female relatives stand behind, and the bride's mother is conspicuous in a special red cloth thrown over her shoulders. If the bride has not already had her *tali* tied, the groom now puts it round her neck, and his sister ties it at the auspicious moment pronounced by the astrologer present for that purpose. After this the bride moves back to her seat behind the groom, and the groom's sister then asks permission of the assembly to pay the bride's price (*kanam*), and the bride's mother then, in similar fashion, seeks permission to receive at her hands the cloths and ten and a half rupees in cash.

The groom and his two groomsmen are then served with food, etc., which they in dumb show pretend to take, and at the conclusion of this they rise up and march straight home with the bride, who must be held by the groom's sister all the way.

As they step out of the wedding pavilion they are met by *Machchan* or "uncle's son," prepared to contest with them for the bride as prize, he having, according to *Marumakkatayam* ideas, a better claim to her than anyone else. It is on this account that the two groomsmen are dressed up like the groom himself in order to puzzle the *Machchan* at this juncture as to who's who. The *Machchan's* claims are bought off with the two fanams brought for the purpose, and he in turn presents betel leaf in token of conciliation. On reaching the bridegroom's house the bride and groom must enter the door placing their right feet simultaneously on the door step. The feasting is kept up for two days at the groom's home and for two more days at the bride's, the parties assisting each other and also making presents to the couple.

This caste is much given to devil-charming, or devil-driving as it is often called. The washermen (*Vannan*) are the high-priests of this superstition, and with chants, ringing cymbals, magic figures, and waving lights they drive out evil spirits from their votaries of this caste at certain epochs in their married lives. One ceremony in particular, called *Teyyattam*—a corrupt form of *Deva* and *Attam*, that is, playing at gods—takes place occasionally in the fifth month

¹ As this work is being passed through the Press (July 1884) a Committee (President Raja Sir T. Madhava Row, K.C.S.I., Members—Messrs. Logan, Wigram, P. Karunakara Monon, and C. Sankaran Nayar) is busy drafting a bill to legalise marriage among people governed by the *Marumakkatayam* system of inheritance.

² *Tahafat-ul-Mujahidin* or "Hints for persons seeking the way to God," as it is frequently translated, or more literally "An offering to warriors who shall fight in defence of religion against infidels." Translated by Rowlandson: London, 1833.

of pregnancy. A leafy arbour is constructed and in front of it is placed a terrible figure of *Chamundi*, the queen of the demons, made of rice-flour, turmeric powder, and charcoal powder. A party of not less than eighteen washermen is organized to represent the demons and furies—*Kuttichattan* (a mischievous imp) and many others. On being invoked, these demons bound on to the stage in pairs, dance, caper, jump, roar, fight, and drench each other with saffron-water. Their capers and exertions gradually work up their excitement, until they are veritably possessed of the devil. At this juncture fowls and animals are sometimes thrown to them to appease their fury. These they attack with their teeth, and kill and tear as a tiger does his prey. After about twenty minutes the convulsions cease, the demon or spirit declares its pleasure, and much fatigued, retires to give place to others, and thus the whole night is spent with much tom-tomming and noise and shouting, making it impossible, for Europeans at least, to sleep within earshot of the din.

Their funeral ceremonies are peculiar in certain respects. The deceased is furnished with money and food for his journey by each blood-relative holding in his right hand in turn a piece of gold and some white rice, and pouring over these some drops of water into deceased's mouth as he lies at the grave side or on the funeral pyre as the case may be. Early too on the morning of the third day after death the *Kurup* or caste barber adopts measures to entice the spirit of the deceased out of the room in which he breathed his last. This is done by the nearest relative bringing into the room a steaming pot of savoury funeral rice. It is immediately again removed and the spirit after three days' fasting is understood greedily to follow the odour of the tempting food. The *Kurup* at once closes the door and shuts out the spirit. Boiled rice is thrown to the crows daily while the ceremony lasts. The barber or *Kurup* is fed most liberally for the duties which he has to perform, and which are looked on as entailing great sin. And it is a common saying that the *Kurups* never increase in numbers owing to these sinful earnings.

The *Kurup* just referred to belongs to *Panan* caste. He is the barber of the polluting castes above *Cherumars*, and by profession he is also an *umbrella-maker*. But curiously enough, though an umbrella-maker, he cannot make the whole of an umbrella. He may make only the framework; the covering of it is the portion of the females of his caste. If he has no female relatives of his own capable of finishing off his umbrellas, he must seek the services of the females of other families in the neighbourhood to finish his for him.

In the ceremonies of this caste there is nothing particular worth mentioning except that the village astrologer is not expected to be present at their weddings, and the usual part played by him in such ceremonies among other castes is taken by an elder of the caste itself.

The *basket-makers* of society are called *Kavaras*. Their origin is obscure, but it is clearly Dravidian as they speak a corrupt kind of Tulu. Nothing will induce them to take hold of an umbrella, as they have a rule or motto: "Do not take hold of a *Panan's* (umbrella-maker's) leg." They have no fashion about wearing their hair: some shave in the Hindu fashion, leaving a top knot, others shave their heads clean, others again wear their hair long and matted and not over clean.

Though the village astrologer will not work for the barbers (umbrella-makers) of polluting castes, yet he attends the wedding ceremonies of the basket-makers. The basket-makers in turn have barbers of their own. The polluting castes' barber—the *Panan*—does not serve them.

The most remarkable custom of the basket-makers is that as soon as the pains of delivery come upon a pregnant woman she is taken to an outlying shed and left alone to live or die as the event may turn out. No help is given to her for twenty-eight days; even medicines are thrown to her from a distance; and the only assistance rendered is to place a jar of warm water close by her just before her child is born. Pollution from birth is held as worse than that from death. At the end of the twenty-eight days the hut in which she was confined is burnt down. The father, too, is polluted for fourteen days, and at the end of that time he is purified, not like other castes by the barber, but by holy water obtained from Brahmans at temples or elsewhere, and on this point the *Kavara* is most particular.

The next caste to be noticed is formed of the *Cherumar* or *agrestic slaves*. These were in all probability the aborigines of the country when it passed under the rule of the *Nayars*. The name is now written as above *Cherumar*, and as such is supposed to be derived from *cheru*, small, an adjective which correctly describes the appearance of this caste now-a-days; but size and stature depend more upon conditions of food than upon anything else, and a race which has for centuries on centuries continued to be fed by its masters on a minimum of what will keep body and soul together is pretty sure in the long run to degenerate in size. The Hindu mind, moreover, seems to be peculiarly liable to adopt superficial views on historical matters, and the fact that the race of *Cherumar* is of small stature is just one of those superficial facts which would be accepted by a Hindu (with the clearest conscience) as proof positive that the name was given because the people were of small size and stature. On the other hand there is ample evidence that the Malabar coast constituted at one time the kingdom or empire of *Chera*, and the *nad* or country of *Cheranad* lying on the coast and inland south-east of Calicut remains to the present day to give a local habitation to the ancient name. Moreover the name of the great Emperor of Malabar who is known to every child on the coast as *Cheraman Perumal*, although the first of these names is now

written with the dental instead of with the cerebral *r*—was undoubtedly the title and not the name of the emperor, and meant the chief (literally, big man) of the *Chera* people.

Finally, from a census taken in 1857 of the slave population it appears that they were then distributed as follows :—

1. Chirakkal	13,380
2. Kottayam	2,859
3. Kurumbranad	16,590
4. Wynad	16,561
5. Calicut	14,082
6. Ernad	35,419
7. Valluvanad	34,902
8. Palghat	25,280
9. Ponnani	28,668
10. Cochin	71
Total ..	187,812

That is to say, the bulk of them were located in the ancient *Cheranad* (part of the Ernad taluk) and in the neighbourhood of it. Moreover Ernad and Valluvanad and Ponnani are the three great Mappilla taluks of the district, and the converts to Islam have in Malabar been drawn chiefly from the slave population, so that originally the slave population in those three taluks, which seem to have been about the heart of ancient *Chera*, was denser still. There is therefore a good deal to be said in favour of the view that the *Cherumans* were the aborigines of Malabar.

The *Cherumar* are of two sections, one of which, the *Iraya Cherumar*, are of slightly higher social standing than the *Pulayar*. As the names denote, the former are permitted to come as far as the eaves (*ira*) of their employers' houses, while the latter name denotes that they convey pollution (*pula*) to all whom they meet or approach, the former class belongs chiefly to Palghat taluk, and it is said that the only houses which they may approach as far as the eaves are the houses of the *Ilavan* caste.

The caste is very scantily clad ; in many places the men do not wear cloth at all round their waists, but substitute for it a fringe of green leaves. Their women used at one time to go similarly clad, but this practice has fallen into disuse in Malabar at least, although it is still maintained in the Native States. In the latter also, in outlying parts, both men and women are still afraid to avail themselves of the privilege of using the public roads. In passing from one part of the country to another they tramp along through the marshes in mud, and wet often up to their waists, rather than risk the displeasure of their lords and masters by accidentally polluting them while using the public roads.

They work very hard for the pittance they receive ; in fact nearly all the rice-land cultivation used to be in former days carried on by them. The influx of European planters, who offer good wages,

has had a marked effect in releasing this class from some of their bonds, and the hold which their masters had over them has been proportionately relaxed. It is said that the difficulty of providing for their women is the chief obstacle to their complete release from their shackles. The women must have dwellings of some sort somewhere, and the masters provide the women with huts and allow the men to go to work on plantations on condition that they return in good time for the rice cultivation and hand over a considerable portion of their earnings.

Conversion to Muhammadanism has also had a most marked effect in freeing the slave caste from their former burthens. By conversion, a *Cheruman* obtains a distinct rise in the social scale, and if he is in consequence bullied or beaten the influence of the whole Muhammadan community comes to his aid. With fanaticism still rampant, the most powerful of landlords dares not to disregard the possible consequences of making a martyr of his slave.

The questions of *slavery* and the *slave trade* attracted the early attention of the Honorable Company's Government. So early as 1792, the year in which British rule commenced, a proclamation was issued by the Commissioners against dealing in slaves. A person offering a slave for sale was to be considered as a thief. The slave was to be forfeited and the person offering him for sale was to be fined five times his value. The purchaser was to be similarly treated. The houses of suspected slave traders were to be well watched and entered and searched on the smallest suspicion, and the traders caught *in flagrante delicto* were to be handed over to the Rajas to be dealt with. Fishermen and Mappillas conveying slaves were to be "severely flogged and fined at the rate of ten rupees each slave." Vessels used in trade (except fisher-boats) were to be confiscated. But the proclamation was not to prevent the privileged superior castes from purchasing the children of famine-stricken parents, as had been customary, on condition that the parents might repurchase their children, as had also been customary, on the advent of better times.

This proclamation was, however, directed chiefly against the practice, then prevalent, of bands of robbers carrying off by force from their houses the children of "the most useful inhabitants, the *Tiyars* and other cultivators." This practice was kept alive by the facility with which the slaves could be sold on the coast to the agents of vessels engaged in the trade sailing from the French settlement at Mahe and from the Dutch settlement at Cochin. These ships "in general carried them (the slaves) to the French Islands."

The subject of *agrestic slavery* did not come forward for some years, but on 20th July 1819, Mr. Warden, the Principal Collector, wrote an interesting report on the condition of the *Cherumar*, and on the 23rd December of that year the Principal Collector received orders desiring "that the practice of selling slaves for arrears of

revenue may be immediately discontinued." The matter in this and other ways reached the ears of the Court of Directors, and in their despatch of 12th December 1821 they expressed considerable dissatisfaction at the lack of precise information which had been vouchsafed to them regarding the cultivators in general, and in particular said: "We are told, indeed, that part of them (an article of very unwelcome intelligence) are held as slaves; that they are attached to the soil and marketable property." A report was called for, and Mr. Vaughan in his letter of 24th August 1822 merely said that the slaves were under the protection of the laws.

The general question of slavery was not, however, allowed to drop—as, indeed, at that time it was not likely to be—for the British public mind was in great excitement on a question of the kind nearer home. It was, perhaps, fortunate for Malabar that West Indian slavery was receiving so much notice at home as it served to divert attention away from the Indian question, and at any rate the solution of the difficulty was thus set about with greater regard for the individual interests both of the slave and of his master.

On 15th November 1836, the Government ordered the remission in the Collector's accounts of Rs. 927-13-0, which was the "annual revenue" from slaves on the Government lands in Malabar, and the Government was at the same time "pleased to accede to the recommendation in favour of emancipating the slaves on the Government lands in Malabar." Their freedom was not, however, to be proclaimed, and the measure was to be carried out in such manner "as not to create any unnecessary alarm or aversion to it on the part of other proprietors, or premature hopes of emancipation on that of other slaves." This was a wise step on the part of Government, for it strengthened their hands in future years in recommending others to do as they themselves had already done. But at the same time they need not have been under any apprehension as to the effects of such an emancipation on the minds of other slaves. It is only people with *initial* ideas of liberty who fret under a system of compulsory customary employments.

The Directors on learning what had been done "entirely approved" of the measures adopted, and requested the Government to consider how to extend similar measures to the slaves of private owners, and urged the necessity of carrying out the measures with "extreme caution". This was contained in the Directors' despatch of 17th August 1838, and in penning it they evidently had before their eyes the fear of being heavily mulcted after the West Indian fashion in compensation to owners if any overt act was taken towards publicly recognizing a general emancipation of slaves.

The Collector on 7th January 1839 submitted his report, and noticed the fact that there were "few or no slaves" in North Malabar. He also stated that their condition was ameliorated since 1822. On this, nothing more was done just then, except that the Government issued orders on 12th March 1839 "to watch the

subject of the improvement of the condition of the *Cherumar* with that interest which it evidently merits, and leave no available means untried for effecting that object."

Nothing more would likely have been done had not Mr. E. B. Thomas, the Judge at Calicut, written in strong terms on 24th November 1841 a letter to the Sudr Adalat, in which he pointed out a number of facts which had come judicially under his notice. Women in some taluks fetched higher prices in order to *breed* slaves. The average cost of a young male under ten years was about Rs. 3-8-0, of a female somewhat less. An infant ten months old was sold in a court auction on 10th August 1841 for Rs. 1-10-6 independent of the price of its mother. And in a recent suit, the right to twenty-seven slaves was the "sole matter of litigation, and it was disposed of on its merits."

In a second letter, dated 24th August 1842, Mr. E. B. Thomas pointed out that the slaves had increased in numbers from 144,000 in census 1835 to 159,000 in census 1842, and he observed that "no gradual extinction of slavery is really going on in Malabar."

It was apparently these letters of Mr. E. B. Thomas which eventually decided the Board of Directors to send out orders to legislate in the matter, for in their despatch of 27th July 1842 they first sent orders "for the entire abolition of slavery", and in a second despatch of 15th March 1843 they called the special attention of the Government of India to the question of slavery in Malabar where the evils, as described by Mr. E. B. Thomas, were so aggravated "as compared with other portions of India".

The Government of India thereupon passed Act V of 1843. On the passing of the Act, its provisions were widely published throughout Malabar by Mr. Conolly, the Collector, and he explained to the *Cherumar* that it was their interest as well as their duty to remain with their masters if treated kindly. He proclaimed "The Government will not order a slave who is in the employ of an individual to forsake him and go to the service of another claimant; nor will the Government interfere with the slave's inclination as to where he wishes to work." And again, "Any person claiming a slave as *janmam*, *kanam* or *panayam*, the right of such claim or claims will not be investigated into at any of the public offices or courts." In the other portions of the proclamation, he closely adhered to the language of the Act.

These measures in due course received the cordial approval of the Court of Directors, who, in their despatch of 30th July 1845, wrote as follows: "It would defeat the very object in view to create any estrangement between them and their masters, and moreover would be an act of injustice and bad faith of which the masters would be entitled to complain."

The appointment of a Protector of the *Cherumar* was sanctioned but never carried out, and various industrial and educational schemes organized for their benefit failed because of their lack of

industry in the one case, and their lack of application and adaptability in the other.

In 1852 and again in 1855 the fact that traffic in slaves still continued was brought incidentally on the first occasion, and specially on the second, to the notice of Government, but on full consideration no further measures for the emancipation of the *Cherumar* were deemed to be necessary. The *Cherumar* even yet have not realized what public opinion in England would probably have forced down their throats fifty years ago, and there is reason to think that they are still, even now, with their full consent, bought and sold and hired out, although, of course, the transaction must be kept secret for fear of the penalties of sections 370, 371, etc., of the Indian Penal Code, which came into force on 1st January 1862 and which was the real final blow at slavery in India. The slaves, however, as a caste will never understand what real freedom means until measures are adopted to give them indefeasible rights in the small orchards occupied by them as house sites.

Like the *Tiyar* or *Ilavar*, the *Cherumar* purchase their wives, and the bridegroom's sister is the chief performer in the wedding ceremony. It is she who pays the girl's price and carries off the bride.

The consent of the parents on both sides to a marriage is signified by an interchange of visits at which sips of rice-water are partaken, the visitors in each case signifying assent by dropping a fanam coin into the rice-water before partaking of it. When the wedding party sets out, they form a large gang of people, and at intervals the men set to at stick-play, the women singing in chorus to encourage them "Let us see—let us see—the stick-play (*Puditallu*), oh! *Cherumar*." At their weddings too, men and women mingle indiscriminately in dancing. On the return to the bridegroom's hut, the bride is expected to weep loudly and deplore her fate. On entering the bridegroom's hut, the bride must tread on a pestle placed across the threshold.

A divorce presents no difficulties beyond the necessity of returning half of the bride's purchase value.

Like the other castes, the *Cherumar* observe pollution for a number of days when a relative dies. The number of days in this case is fourteen, but as they cannot at certain seasons afford to be idle for fourteen days together—for fourteen days' idleness very often with them means fourteen days' starvation—they resort to an artifice to attain this end. They mix cowdung and paddy and make it into a ball and place this ball in an earthen pot, the mouth of which they carefully close with clay. The pot is laid in a corner of the cottage, and as long as the pot remains unopened they remain free from pollution and can mix among their fellows. On a convenient day they open the pot and are instantly seized with pollution, which continues for forty days. Otherwise fourteen days' consecutive pollution is all that is required. On the forty-first or fiftieth day, as the case may be, rice is thrown to the ancestors and a feast follows.

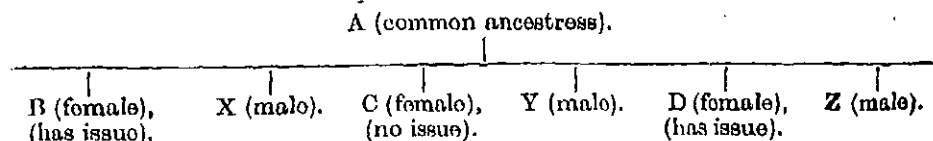
The village astrologer is above being consulted by the *Cherumar* who therefore resort to a Pariah. The process of divination is performed by turning some paddy in a basket, and in this way the good and the bad times of a *Cheruman* are reckoned.

Of the *Nayadis* or lowest caste among the Hindus—the dog-eaters—nothing definite is known. They are most persistent in their clamour for charity, and will follow at a respectful distance for miles together any person walking, driving or boating. If anything is given to them it must be laid down, and after the person offering it has proceeded a sufficient distance the recipient comes timidly forward and removes it.

SECTION E.—MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ETC.

The most important of the customs in which the people of Malabar differ from people elsewhere is that connected with the inheritance of property. It is a sufficiently perplexing thought to a person brought up in western modes of life and with western ideas that a father can stand in no recognized legal¹ relation to his own children, and that a father's property does not as a matter of course descend to his offspring. And yet that is how the law stands at present in regard to the vast majority of the inhabitants of the district.

This law of inheritance, usually styled *Marumakkattayam* (literally, sister's son's inheritance), may be shortly described thus. A Malayali *taravad* corresponds pretty closely to what the Romans called a *gens*, with this important distinction, however, that whereas in Rome all members of the *gens* traced their descent in the male line from a common ancestor, in Malabar the members of a *taravad* trace their descent, in the female line only, from a common ancestress. All *taravads* of influence set apart property for the common use, and indeed it seems to have been for purposes of thrift that this system of inheritance was at first devised. So long as that common property exists any number of families may hang together and form one *taravad*. To explain what is here meant by a "family" as distinguished from a *taravad*, take the following example:—



X, Y and Z are A's sons, and, as such, are members of A's *taravad*, but however many children may be born to them, those children never come into A's *taravad* nor stand in any recognized legal relation either to their fathers, or to the property of their fathers' *taravad*. But the daughters B and D have each a family, and their daughters may in turn have further families, and so on. The word "family" was used in the sense of the issue (both male and female)

¹ See foot-note to p. 136.

of any female descendant in the *female* line *only* of A. Every member, whether male or female, and whether of age or not, has an equal interest in the common stock of the *taravad*; but no member can claim his share of it. The *taravad*, however, as a body, can of course make any division, it pleases of the common stock, and among the more influential families it is customary to set aside certain portions of it, for the life enjoyment only, of members who attain to *Sthanams* or dignities hereditary in the family. The portions so set apart are intended to help them in maintaining the dignity of their positions, and in respect to them they are to a great extent in the position of trustees. When a partition of the whole stock takes place, the *taravad* becomes disintegrated, and dissolves into so many fresh *taravads* as the members may have settled to form among themselves. This process of disintegration goes on continually except among the highest classes, who pride themselves on maintaining a large common stock. But even among them the *taravad* gets split up into subordinate divisions, known as *tavalis* or branches. One way in which this occurs is, that a member with perhaps some assistance from the common stock, but more usually with the assistance obtained from his father (who, as already said, stands in no recognized legal relation to his son), sets out from his *taravad* house and lives apart, taking with him one or more female relatives (usually a sister or sisters) and thus founds a separate branch (*tavali*) of the *taravad*. Or, more usually still now-a-days, a female of the *taravad* leaves the *taravad* house to live with the husband of her choice in a separate house prepared on purpose for her by her husband. This house is usually conveyed to her in free gift by her husband, and there she settles down to rear her family, who constitute a *tavali* of their *taravad*. The property acquired by such a *tavali* has been usually regarded as the separate property of the members who compose the *tavali*, and not as part of the common stock of the *taravad*, even when there has been no formal deed declaring what is, and what is not, common property; but the High Court has of recent¹ years held otherwise, and the tendency of the courts is now to regard all property as common property until a formal division thereof has taken place.

A man's own acquisitions during his lifetime, therefore, descend at his death to his *taravad* and not to his own children. In the days when the *Nayar* male population were all soldiers and the marital tie was not much regarded this did not matter much, but things are changed now that a *Nayar* usually marries one wife, lives apart with her in their own home, and rears her children as his own also. His natural affections come into play, and there is a strong and most laudable desire for some legal mode, other than those at present recognized, for conveying to his children and to their mother all his self-acquired property. At present he can only convey to them this property by stripping himself of it and making it over to them in free gift during his own lifetime. And this he is naturally

¹ I.L.R., Madras III, p. 212, and IV, p. 150, and Madras H.C. Reports, II, p. 162, and VI, pp. 401 to 415.

reluctant to do for many and obvious reasons. He is in a thoroughly false position, for if he obeys his natural instincts and gives away his property during his lifetime to his wife and children, he becomes a beggar and is taken to task by his legal heirs; whereas, if he hesitates to do it, he incurs the displeasure of his own household. This false position is fatal to individual industry and thrift, and it is to be hoped that the law will soon¹ be changed by permitting of the testamentary disposal of self-acquisitions.

Dr. Gundert gives the following list of the castes who follow this system of inheritance: (1) Seventeen Brahman illams in *Payanur*, Chirakkal taluk; (2) *Kshatriya*; (3) *Tirumulpad*; (4) *Nayar*; (5) *Urali*; (6) *Andor*; (7) *Pallichan*; (8) *Kushavan*; (9) *Vyabari*; (10) *Kolayan*; (11) *Chembotti*; (12) *Pisharodi*; (13) *V. Variyan*; (14) *Nambi*; (15) *Teyambadi*; (16) *Marun*; (17) *Poduval*; (18) *Kuttunambi*; (19) *Attikurichi*; (20) *Unnitiri*; (21) *Eradi*; (22) *Vallodi*; (23) *Nedungadi*; (24) *Veluttedan*; (25) *Chaliyan*; (26) *Tiyan* in north, and in Travancore.

Of the other system of inheritance, usually styled *Makkattayam* (literally, sons' inheritance), very little needs to be said, but many castes have peculiar customs in regard to it of which a few have already been noticed in the caste section. As a rule it may be said that these special customs have for foundation a desire to keep the property of the family together. It is this desire which prompts the *Nambutiris* to allow only their eldest sons to marry wives of their own caste, and which prompts the *Ilavar* to have one wife in common among several brothers.

Dr. Gundert gives the following list of castes who follow this *Makkattayam* system of inheritance: (1) *Nambutiri*, (2) *Pattar*, (3) *Embran*, (4) *Mussad*, (5) *Ilayad*, (6) *Tangal*, (7) *Nambidi*, (8) *Komatti*, (9) *Veishyan*, (10) *Nambiachan*, (11) *Chakyar*, (12) *Adigal*, (13) *Pidaran*, (14) *Poduval*, (15) *Vilakkattaravan*, (16) *Irunkolli*, (17) *Mutta Chettiyan*, (18) *Kammalar*, (19) *Tandan*, (20) *Ilavar*, (21) *Cherumar*,—also some of the following castes: (22) *Chaliyar*, (23) *Jedar*, (24) *Kaikolar*, (25) *Kaniyan*, and (26) *Tiyar* in Kadattunad and Travancore.

Of other customs peculiar to *Malabar* there is a list of sixty-four, of which, however, there is more than one version. One version of the list will be found in the "Indian Antiquary," Vol. IV, p. 255, based, it is said, on precepts given by the great Samkara Acharya in twenty-six Sanskrit slogans. Another version, derived from personal communication with men learned in such matters, is subjoined. These sixty-four rules are called the *Kerala Anacharam*, that is, the irregular customs of *Keralam*: and one tradition alleges that Samkara Acharya promulgated them at Kollam on 25th August 825 A.D., the first day of the first year of the Kollam era followed on the coast. There is some colour for this tradition in the well

¹ See foot-note, p. 116.

known chronogram marking the commencement of the Kollam era, viz. :—

0	6	1	4	3	4	1
Ach	ar	ya	va	ka	bhod	ya

which means, Acharya's (*i.e.*, Samkaracharya's) word or law is unalterable, or must not be changed. The syllables represent figures as shown above, and those *written backwards* give the age in days of the Kali Yuga on the first day of the first Kollam year. It is perhaps unnecessary to observe that Samkaracharya was, according to the most recent authorities, not alive on 25th August 825 A.D., so he could not have promulgated them as alleged. The sixty-four rules are evidently of Brahman origin, and are concerned chiefly with Brahman usages.

Customs for Malabar Brahmans, etc., not observed elsewhere.

1. You must not clean your teeth with sticks.
2. You must not bathe with clothes worn on your person.
3. You must not rub your body with the clothes worn on your person.
4. You must not bathe before sun-rise.
- ✓ 5. You must not cook your food before you bathe.
6. Avoid the water kept aside during the night.
7. You must not have one particular object in view while you bathe.
8. The remainder of water taken for one purpose must not be made use of for another ceremony.
9. You must bathe if you touch another.
10. You must bathe if you happen to be near another.
11. You must bathe if you touch polluted wells or tanks.
12. You must not tread over a place that has been cleaned with a broom, unless it is washed.
13. A particular mode of marking the forehead with ashes.
14. You must repeat charms yourself.
- ✓ 15. You must avoid cold-rice, etc.
- ✓ 16. You must avoid leavings of meals by children.
17. You must not taste anything that has been offered to Siva.
- ✓ 18. You must not serve out food with hands.
19. You must not make use of the ghee of buffalo-cows for burnt offerings, etc.
20. You must not make use of the ghee of buffalo-cows for anniversary, etc.
- ✓ 21. A particular mode of taking meals.
22. You must not chew betel while you are polluted.
23. You must observe the conclusion of Bramhachari (an unmarried man).
24. You must give presents to your guru (preceptor)
25. You must not repeat Vedas at the road.
26. You must not sell women.
27. You must avoid any vow which you observe in anticipation of getting your desires fulfilled.
28. Bathing is all that a woman should observe if she touches another in her monthly course.

29. Brahmans should not spin cotton.
30. Brahmans should not wash clothes for themselves.
31. Kshatriyas should avoid worshipping in Siva Lingam.
32. Brahmans should not accept the anniversary of Sudras.
33. Perform the anniversaries of your fathers, etc.
34. Anniversaries should be performed on the day of the new moon.
35. The funeral ceremony should be performed at the end of the year from the day of death.
36. The ceremony to be performed till the end of the year from the day of death.
37. Sraddha should be performed with regard to the stars.
38. The funeral ceremony should be performed after the pollution caused by a child-birth at that time has been removed.
39. A particular mode of performing Sraddha by an adopted son.
40. The corpse of a man should be burnt in his own compound.
41. Sanyasis (devotees) should not look at females.
42. You must always be seeking for the next world.
43. Sraddha should not be performed in honour of dead Sanyasis.
44. Brahman females must not look at any other persons besides their own husbands.
45. Brahman females must not go out unaccompanied by female servants.
46. Should wear only white clothes.
47. Noses should not be pierced.
48. Brahmans ought to be put out of their caste if they drink any liquor.
49. They ought to be put out of their caste if they have intercourse with other Brahman women besides their wives.
50. The consecration of evil spirits in temples should be avoided.
51. Sudras, etc., are prevented from touching an image.
52. Anything offered to one god should not be offered to another.
53. Marriages, etc., should not be done without a burnt-offering.
54. Brahmans should not pour blessings upon each other.
55. They should not bow down to another person.
56. Sacrifice with a cow should be avoided.
57. Do not cause distraction, some by observing the religious rite of Siva and others those of Vishnu.
58. Brahmans should wear only one sacred thread.
59. Eldest son only is entitled to legal marriage.
60. Ceremony in honour of the dead ancestors should be performed with boiled rice.
61. Ceremony to be performed in honour of an uncle.
62. The right of inheritance among Kshatriyas, etc., goes towards nephews.
63. Widows should lead the lives of Sanyasis.
64. Sati should be avoided.

The Malayalis compute¹ their time, as observed above, by the *Kollam era*, which commenced on 25th August 825² A.D., but it is not generally known that there are *two Kollam years*, just as it is not generally known that there are two well-known Kollams or Quilons, as already described in Chapter I, p. 72. The Northern Kollam year commences on the 1st of Kanni, the month (September) in which the sun enters the Zodiacal sign of *Virgo*. The Southern Kollam year, on the other hand, commences on the 1st of Chingam, the Zodiacal month of *Leo* (August-September).

It is uncertain how this difference of a month was imported into the era. The most natural explanation seems to be that there are two eras, and not merely one, but here history is at fault, for it is certain that the dates could not have been fixed as those of the founding of the two Kollams, as very often supposed, one of the Kollams having already been in existence for two centuries at least at the date of the commencement of the era. (As. Res., X, 69; Caldwell's Drav. Gram., p. 27.). Another theory is that the two dates mark the acquisition of independence of the Perumal (emperor) by the two Kolattiri families. There is much to be urged in favour of this view, only it is unlikely that the dates of acquiring independence should have fallen precisely on the first days of two successive months. The matter is explained more fully in the historical Chapter, Section (a). A third theory is that the dates denote respectively the epochs when Sankaracharya's Vedantist doctrines were embraced respectively by the Brahmans of the south and the Brahmans of the north portions of Keralam. There is some colour for this in the chronogram already explained above (page 156) marking in the Kali Yugam era the commencement of the Kollam era. But there is no historical evidence so far as yet discovered in favour of this view.

The other two explanations proceed on the assumption that originally there was but one era, that it marked an event in the history of the country, and that as this event fell in the middle of a month the initial day of the Kollam year was arbitrarily transferred by the respective suzerains of the north and south (in all

¹ Another Era which is in use, but only to a very limited extent, near Cochin is the *Vypeen Era*. In Malayalam it is called *Putuveppu* (*literally*—now deposit) and it dates from A.D. 1341, the year in which a new island (Vypeen) was formed by deposit of sand and silt between the mouths of the Cranganore and Cochin rivers—or in which perhaps this island was first inhabited.

² The data for fixing this day may be thus stated :—

(a) Up to midnight of 14th September 1882 A.D. there had elapsed 687,280 days of the Christian era.

(b) On 15th September 1882, the first day of the Northern Kollam year 1058, the age of the Kali Yugam in days was 1,820,238.

(c) The age of the Kali Yugam on the first day of the first year of the Kollam era was as fixed by the chronogram "*Acharya vakabhodya*," 1,434,160 days.

(d) Therefore 301,202 days of the Christian era had elapsed when the Kollam era began.

(e) And this corresponds with the 236th day of the 825th year.

(f) The 237th day of 825 A.D. was 25th August.

(g) The same date is assigned in the Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, 271, but the date in that case are not stated.

probability the two Kolattiri dynasties), the one to the beginning of the Zodiacal month next following (1st *Kanni*), and the other to that of the Zodiacal month next preceding (1st *Chingam*), the exact date of the event, and this is probably the true explanation of the difference.

The two historical events from which is supposed to date the commencement of the Kollam era are respectively the institution of the Onam festival, the great annual festival of the Malayalis, and the departure of the last emperor (*Perumal*) of Keralam for Arabia, whence he never returned. The evidence in favour of this latter event having taken place at this time will come more appropriately hereafter. As regards the former, the facts on which the assumption, for it is nothing more, rests is that the Onam festival falls on varying days at or about this time of the year, and that in title-deeds, horoscopes and other writings in North Keralam the year is still sometimes written as having ended on the day preceding the *Tiru Onam* day. This fact is quite reconcilable with the other explanation which alleges that the commencement of the era coincides with the day of the *Perumal's* departure for Arabia if it is assumed that, as is not improbable, the day on which he sailed was the *Tiru Onam* day—the day on which acknowledgments of fealty should have been made.

As there are two initial days of the Kollam year, so there are *two systems of astronomy and two calendars* in use on the coast. The differences between the two systems are, however, of minor importance, and the chief difference will be presently set forth.

The system in vogue both in the north and in the south is that founded on *Arya Bhattacharya's* dictum:—"All the heavenly bodies¹ enter the sign *Aries* and rise above the horizon at one and the same moment on a certain day,² which moment is reckoned as the commencement of a *Kalpam*³, of a *Yugam*⁴, of a year, of a month, and of a day. Time is duration with no beginning nor end, but capable of being computed by means of the relative positions of the planets and stars."

It is accordingly by the sun's position in the heavens that the lengths of the Malayali *months* and years are determined. Hence the months correspond with the signs of the Zodiac:—

Months in Mal.	Signs of the Zodiac.	Corresponding English month.
<i>Medham</i>	<i>Aries</i>	April—May.
<i>Idavam</i>	<i>Taurus</i>	May—June.
<i>Midhunam</i>	<i>Gemini</i>	June—July.
<i>Karkadagam</i>	<i>Cancer</i>	July—August.
<i>Chingam</i>	<i>Leo</i>	August—September.

¹ Sun, moon and planets.

² Here must be understood: at Lanka (Ceylon), supposed to be on the Equator:

³ The period commencing with this phenomenon and ending with its recurrence.

⁴ One seventy-second part of a *Kalpam* according to one school, and one seventy-first part according to another.

Months in Mal.	Signs of the Zodiac.	Corresponding English month.
<i>Kanni</i>	<i>Virgo</i>	September—October.
<i>Tulam</i>	<i>Libra</i>	October—November.
<i>Vrikshikam</i>	<i>Scorpio</i>	November—December.
<i>Dhanu</i>	<i>Sagittarius</i>	December—January.
<i>Makaram</i>	<i>Capricornus</i>	January—February.
<i>Kumbham</i>	<i>Aquarius</i>	February—March.
<i>Minam</i>	<i>Pisces</i>	March—April.

The Malayali names, chiefly of Sanskrit origin, correspond precisely to the names of the Zodiacal signs used in European countries.

The Malayalis again divide their *day* into 60 *naligas* (= 24 minutes), and each *naliga* into 60 *vinaligas* (= 24 seconds), and each *vinaliga* into 60, what they call, "long letter utterance times" (the time taken to pronounce a consonant and a long vowel = $2/5$ of a second).

There are two other fanciful measures of time shorter than this, one of which (*matra*) is $1/4$ of a "long letter utterance time," and another (*noddi*) which is $1/8$ of a *matra*; but for practical purposes the day is divided into *naligas*, *vinaligas*, and "long letter utterance times."

The chief difference between the northern and southern systems of astronomy is that if the sun enters a sign of the Zodiac (*Sankramam*) during the day time, that day is reckoned in the northern calendars as the first day of the month corresponding to that sign; whereas in the south, in order that a day may be reckoned as the first day of the month corresponding to any Zodiacal sign the sun must have entered that sign within the first three of the five parts into which they have divided the day. If the entry takes place in the latter two of the five parts of the day, the day next following is accepted as the first day of the month.

According to both systems the months are of the following durations:—

Months.	Days	Naligas	Vinaligas.	Long letter utterance times.
<i>Medham</i>	30	55	30	13
<i>Iddavam</i>	31	24	3	31
<i>Midhunam</i>	31	36	26	5
<i>Karkadagam</i>	31	28	4	30
<i>Chingam</i>	31	2	4	59
<i>Kanni</i>	30	27	23	15
<i>Tulam</i>	29	54	11	55
<i>Vrikshikam</i>	29	30	31	6
<i>Dhanu</i>	29	21	2	13
<i>Makaram</i>	29	27	23	36
<i>Kumbham</i>	29	48	30	14
<i>Minam</i>	30	20	10	38
Total ..	365	15	31	15

These numbers are noted in the chronogram.

5 1 1 3 5 1 5 6 3
 " *Mu khyah Ka lo ma ya ma tu lah* "

a phrase with a fanciful and apparently inappropriate meaning.

As the fractional parts of the day set forth above correspond to 6 hours 12 minutes and 30 seconds, it is clear that the Malayali year is too long by 23 minutes odd, and this is no doubt due to the omission in the above calculations, as in all other Hindu astronomical systems, of any compensation for the error caused by the precession of the equinoxes. The astronomers, it is understood, did recognize the fact of precession (*ayanamgah*), but they failed to utilize it to obtain a correct computation of the solar year.

The *calendars* are prepared by taking every fourth year as of 366 days and every hundred and sixteenth year as of 367 days in order to make up the fractional part of a day over and above 365 days.

A great deal more might be said as to the infinity of uses to which those skilled in astronomical and astrological questions put the elaborate almanacs issued afresh every year, but enough has already been said about this matter in connection with the professional caste of astrologers.

Of the Malayali festivals only a very short account can be given.

It was usual in former days, and it is to some extent still prevalent, for superiors to be visited twice a year by their inferiors or dependents with gifts in hand—once at the time of the vernal equinox called *Vishu*, and once at the time of new moon in August—September, called *Onam*.

Vishu is the astronomical new year day. In 1883 it occurred on the 13th of April. It is supposed to be the vernal equinox, but as its position in the calendar has shifted about twenty-one days from the exact date of that event, it marks the time when Hindu astronomy attained its present development, for the Malayali year is too long by twenty-three minutes forty seconds, and an easy sum in compound division shows that the Malayali vernal equinox began to be diverted from its true position some thousand three hundred years ago, or (say) about the middle or end of the sixth century A.D. This is of course due, as already said above, to the error imported by failure to observe the effects of precession.

But however this may be, the Malayali is very superstitious about his conduct on this day of *Vishu*, and the first thing that comes under his observation on the morning of that day is believed to be significant of the luck that will attend him throughout the year then commencing. Hence the collection beforehand, sometimes in houses of temporary structure expressly built, of costly and auspicious objects, hence the annual presents to superiors, etc.

At *Onam*, which is perhaps the greatest national feast in Malabar, the houses are made gay with wild flowers. which are collected

for the purpose by bands of children singing shrilly the appropriate Onam hymn. This is the day on which Parasu Raman or Vishnu is supposed to descend to earth to see his people happy.

To understand aright the significance of this feast to the people now-a-days it must be remembered that the good old days when perfect justice, perfect trust, and perfect truth prevailed upon the earth, are believed to have been during the reign of *Mahabali*. And the people attempt in a joyous way to reproduce, if only for one night, a vivid remembrance of the millennium, to which they look back with fond longings.

Next to these, perhaps the most popular feast in Malabar is that of the *Bharani* or cock feast in the month of *Minam* (March-April). It takes the people in great crowds away from their homes. The whole country near the lines of march rings with the shouts "*Nada-a-Nada-a*" of the pilgrims to the favourite shrines, chief of which is that at Cranganore (*Kodungallur*) in the Native State of Cochin. Of what takes place when the pilgrims reach this spot perhaps the less said the better. In their passage up to the shrine the cry of "*Nada-a-Nada-a*" (march, march away) is varied by terms of unmeasured abuse levelled at the goddess (a *Blagavati*) of the shrine. This abusive language is supposed to be acceptable to her. On arrival at the shrine they desecrate it in every conceivable way, believing that this too is acceptable: they throw stones and filth, howling volleys of opprobrium at her house. The chief of the fishermen caste, styled *Kuli Mullalla Arayan*, has the privilege of being the first to begin the work of polluting the *Bhoot* or shrine. Into other particulars it is unnecessary to enter. The cocks are slaughtered and sacrificed. The worshipper gets flowers only and no holy water after paying his vows. Instead of water he proceeds outside and drinks arrack or toddy, which an attendant *Nayar* serves out. All castes are free to go, including *Tiyars* and low caste-people. The temple was originally only a *Bhoot* or holy tree with a platform. The image in the temple is said to have been introduced only of recent years. The object of the pilgrimage is to secure immunity from severe diseases during the succeeding year.

Of the *Dasara* it is unnecessary to say much. The feast is called in Malabar the *Ayudhapuja* (weapon or tool worship) or *Sarasvati-puja*, and sometimes *Pujaveppu* (the opening day) and *Pujayeduppu* (the closing day). On the opening day, tools, weapons, implements, etc., are or ought to be laid aside (*veppu*), and on the closing day they are resumed, taken up (*eduppu*). It is a ten days' feast, and is called the feast of the autumnal equinox. The closing day has shifted, as in the case of *Vishu*, and for the same reason, about three weeks from the exact date of the equinox.

The other principal festivals are, *Siva Ratri* (Siva's night-watch), *Pongal* (the cooking of the new season's rice), *Sri Rama Navami* (Rama's birthday), *Vinyagachaturti* (birthday of Ganesa, the god of wisdom and wealth, worshipped in the image of a rat), and *Dipali*

or *Dipavali* (the feast of lamps at the new moon in the month *Tulam*, October-November).

There are also numerous *local festivals* which sometimes attract large crowds from long distances; of these the *Tiruchamaram* festival, held at Taliparamba in Chirakkal taluk, in March; the *Kottiyur* festival about May-June, held in the jungles of the Kottayam Taluk, at the foot of the mountains near the Periah Pass; the *Kilur Arat* festivals, held in December in the Kurumbranad taluk; the *Car* festival, held in November in Palghat Town; the *Konduvetti Takkujakal Nercha* (a Mappilla feast), Ernad taluk in April; the *Guruvayyur Ekadesi* feast, held in Ponnani taluk in April; and the *Kurumandham Kunnu* festival, held in April in Valluvanad taluk, are among the chief events.

Besides these, a festival which used formerly to be held every twelfth year at Tirunavayi temple in the Ponnani taluk deserves more than a passing reference although it has been discontinued for the past one hundred and forty years. This festival was called the *Mamakham* or *Maha Makham* which means literally *big sacrifice*. It seems to have been originally the occasion for a *kuttam* or assembly of all Keralam, at which public affairs were discussed and settled.

Hamilton thus alludes to the tradition current about it in his time (end of seventeenth and beginning of eighteenth centuries):—

“It was an ancient custom for the Zamorin to reign but twelve Years and no longer. If he died before his Term was Expired it saved him a troublesome Ceremony of cutting his own Throat on a public Scaffold erected for that Purpose. He first made a Feast for all his Nobility and Gentry, who are very numerous. After the Feast he saluted his Guests and went on the Scaffold, and very decently cut his own Throat in the View of the Assembly, and his Body was a little While after burned with great Pomp and Ceremony, and the Grandees elected a new Zamorin. Whether that Custom was a religious or a civil Ceremony I know not, but it is now laid aside.

“And a new Custom is followed by the modern Zamorins, that a Jubilee is proclaimed throughout his Dominions at the End of twelve Years, and a Tent is pitched for him in a spacious Plain, and a great Feast is celebrated for ten or twelve days with Mirth and Jollity, Guns firing Night and Day, so at the End of the Feast any four of the Guests that have a Mind to gain a Crown by a desperate Action in fighting their Way through thirty or forty thousand of his Guards and kill the Samorin in his Tent, he that kills him, succeeds him in his Empire.

“In Anno 1695 one of those Jubilees happened, and the Tent pitched near Pennany (Ponnani), a Sea Port of his, about fifteen Leagues to the Southward of Calicut. There were but three Men that would venture on that desperate Action, who fell in with Sword and Target among the Guards, and after they had killed and wounded many were themselves killed. One of the Desperadoes had a Nephew of fifteen or sixteen years of Age, that kept close by his

Uncle in the Attack on the Guards, and when he saw him fall the Youth got through the Guards into the Tent and made a stroke at his Majesty's Head, and had certainly despatched him if a large Brass Lamp which was burning over his Head had not marred the Blow: but before he could make another he was killed by the Guards: and I believe the same Zamorin reigns yet. I chanced to come that Time along the Coast, and heard the Guns for two or three Days and Nights successively." (New Account, etc., Vol. I, pages 306-8).

The *Kerala Mahatmya* so far corroborates Hamilton's story that it declares the king used to be deposed at this festival, but there is no mention of self-immolation, although it is quite possible the deposed kings may have occasionally adopted this mode of escape from the chagrin of not being re-elected by those who had hitherto been their adherents. Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, wrote about this festival in the first volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society to the following effect.—The installation of the first Perumal took place on "Pushya (8th Lunar Asterism) in the month Magha¹ in Karkadaga *Vijalam*" (the period during which Jupiter remains in *Cancer*) and this day in every cycle of Jupiter thus became important in the history of Malabar" because the reign of each Perumal terminated on that day, he being elected only for 12 years. "This great feast and the coronation occurring in the month Magha that month in every Karkadaga *Vyalam* was known as the great *Magha* or *Mahamagha* which was afterwards corrected into *Mamangam*." "At the end of this feast all prior leases of land were considered to be at an end and fresh grants were to be obtained at the beginning of the next reign." "In all the principal deeds the position of Jupiter is to be mentioned." "This practice is continued even up to the present day." Mr. Duncan seems to have obtained his information from the *Keralolpatti*. The fact seems to have been that at each recurring festival all feudal ties were broken, and the parties, assembled in public conclave at Tirunavayi, readjusted at such times all existing relations among themselves.

The tradition is that this festival was instituted in the days of the emperors (*Perumals*), that is, prior to the Kollam era, and that when the last emperor set out for Mecca and left the country without a head the duty of celebrating it devolved on the raja of the locality where the festival used to take place, that is, on the *Valluvanad* alias *Vellatri* alias *Arangott Raja*.³ And this arrangement seems to have continued up to the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D., when the power of the Zamorins (chiefly through Muhammadan influence

¹ There is no such month as that—*Magha*—mentioned by Mr. Duncan and the title of the festival is properly that above given, namely, *Maha* (=great) and *Makham* (=sacrifice). He evidently confounded *makham* with *Makaram*.

² *Vyalam* is the Tamil-Malayalam word for Jupiter, and a cycle of Jupiter is roughly speaking 12 years, more accurately 4,332 days odd.

³ So called in the Jews' deed of the eighth century A.D., on account of his territory lying beyond (*angotta*) the river (*ar*) from Cranganore, the emperor's headquarters.

and arms and trade) became supreme in all Keralam. From that time down to the last celebration of the festival in 1743 the Zamorins were present at this festival as Suzerains of all Keralam, including Travancore, which as a Malayali State only attained to the first rank shortly after the date of the last *Mahamakham* festival in 1743.

Those who acknowledged the Zamorin's suzerainty sent flags in token of fealty, and the places where these flags used to be hoisted at festival time are still pointed out. The Valluvanad Raja, who is still represented in the management of the Tirunavayi temple by one out of the four Brahman *Karalars*, instead of sending a flag used to send men called *Chavers* (men who have elected to die), whose office it was to endeavour to cut their way through the Zamorin's guards to his throne in a manner presently to be described. If they had succeeded in killing him—as on the occasion cited by Hamilton, whose statement, except as to the date, is moreover corroborated by tradition—it is uncertain what would have happened; but probably if a capable raja had been ruling in Valluvanad at such a time, popular opinion would have endowed him with the suzerainty, for the Nayar militia were very fickle, and flocked to the standard of the man who was fittest to command and who treated them the most considerately.

With the kind assistance of the present Zamorin, Maharaja Bahadur, the records of his family have been examined and a complete account obtained of the events attending the festival held in 1683 A.D., the festival next preceding that alluded to by Hamilton.

The festival used to continue for twenty-eight days every twelfth year, when the planet Jupiter was in retrograde motion in the sign of *Karkadagam* or Cancer or the Crab, and at the time of the eighth lunar asterism in the month of Makaram the festival used to culminate.

On the occasion in question the Zamorin some months beforehand sent orders for the preparation of the necessary timber and bamboos for the temporary buildings required at Tirunavayi, and the materials were floated down stream from the Aliparamba Chirakkal lands.

Then exactly two months before the opening day he sent out a circular to his followers worded as follows :—

“ Royal writing to the *Akampati Janam* (body-guards).

“ On the 5th Makaram 858 is *Mahamakha Tulpuyam* (time of the eighth lunar asterism in the festival season), and the *Lokars* (chief people of each locality) are required to attend at Tirunavayi as in olden times.

“ Mangatt Raman and Tinayancheri ¹ are sent to collect and bring you in regular order for the *Mahamakham*.

¹ Two of the hereditary ministers, the first being a *Nayar*, the second an *Ilaiyatu*.

"You must come to Tirunavayi on the 3rd of Makaram to fight and foil as usual. But *all* of you should come for the Mahamakham."

The Zamorin timed himself to arrive at Tirunavayi on the day after that appointed for the arrival of his followers, and the lucky moment for setting out on this particular occasion on the last day's stage of the journey was "at the rising of the constellation of *Aquarius*."

The *Tirunavayi* temple stands on the north bank of the Ponmani river close to the present line of railway. Passengers by train can catch a glimpse of it by looking across the level expanse of paddy-fields which lie south of the sixth telegraph post on the three hundred and eighty-second mile of the railway. There is a modest clump of trees on the river bank hiding the temple, the western gateway of which faces a perfectly straight piece of road a little over half a mile in length stretching from the temple gateway westwards to the elevated ridge hemming in the paddy-fields on the west. This road is but little raised above the level of the paddy flat. Directly facing this straight piece of road as the elevated ridge is reached there are three or perhaps four terraces, the outlines of which may still be traced in the face of the precipitous bank.

A little to one side of the upper terrace are the ruins of a strongly-built powder magazine, and on the flat ground above and on both sides of the fine avenue shading the public road at this place is ample space for the erection of temporary houses.

In a neighbouring enclosure under cultivation is a disused well of fine proportions and of most solid construction.

From the upper terrace alluded to a commanding view is obtained facing eastwards of the level rice-plain at foot, of the broad placid river on the right backed by low hills, of higher flat-topped laterite plateaus on the left, their lower slopes bosomed in trees, and, in the far distance, of the great chain of Western Ghats with the Nilgiris in the extreme left front hardly distinguishable in their proverbial colour from the sky above them. It was on this spot, on a smooth plateau of hard laterite rock, raised some 30 to 40 feet above the plain, that the Zamorin used several times in the course of the festival to take his stand with the sword of Cheraman Perumal, the last emperor, in his hand.

The sword is, and has been for centuries, slowly rusting away in its scabbard, but it is not alone on it that the Zamorin depends for his safety, for the plain below him is covered with the thirty thousand Nayars of Ernad, the ten thousand of Polanad, and numberless petty dependent chieftains, each counting his fighting men by the hundred or the thousand, or by thousands. Away on the right, across the river are the camps of the second prince of the Zamorin's family and of the dependent Punattur Raja; the third, fourth, fifth and sixth princes' camps too are close at hand in the left front

behind the temple, and behind the terrace itself is the Zamorin's own camp.

The whole scene is being made gay with flags as an elephant is being formally caparisoned with a chain of solid gold with "one hundred and fourteen small links and one clasp, making in all one hundred and fifteen"—as the record specifically testifies—and with golden bosses and other ornaments too numerous to be detailed. But this part of the festivities is not to be permitted to pass unchallenged, for it signifies in a formal manner the Zamorin's intention to assume the role of *Rakshapurashan*, or protector of the festivities and of the people there assembled. On the instant, therefore, there is a stir among the crowd assembled near the western gate of the temple directly facing at a half mile distance the Zamorin's standing-place on the upper-terrace.

From this post, running due east in a perfectly straight line to the western gate of the temple, is the straight piece of road already described, but the road itself is clear and the armed crowd on the plain, it is seen, are hemmed in by barred palisades running the full length of the road on both sides. Two spears' length apart the palisades are placed, and the armed crowd on either hand, consisting on this occasion of the thirty thousand Ernad Nayers, it is seen, are all carrying spears. The spearmen may not enter that narrow lane, and by the mere weight of their bodies present an impassable obstacle to the free passage of the foemen now bent on cutting down the Zamorin in his pride of place.

Amid much din and firing of guns the *morituri*, the *Chaver Nayers*, the elect of four Nayar houses in *Valluvanad*, step forth from the crowd and receive the last blessings and farewells of their friends and relatives. They have just partaken of the last meal they are to eat on earth at the house of the temple representative of their chieftain; they are decked with garlands and smeared with ashes. On this particular occasion it is one of the house of Putumanna Panikkar who heads the fray. He is joined by seventeen of his friends—Nayar or Mappilla or other arms-bearing caste men—for all who so wish may fall in with sword and target in support of the men who have elected to die.

Armed with swords and targets alone they rush at the spearmen thronging the palisades; they "wind and turn their bodies as if they had no bones; casting them forward, backward, high and low, even to the astonishment of the beholders" as worthy Master Johnson describes them in a passage already quoted (p. 137). But notwithstanding the suppleness of their limbs notwithstanding their delight and skill and dexterity in their weapons, the result is inevitable, and is prosaically recorded in the chronicle thus: "The number of *Chavers* who came and died early morning the next day after the elephant began to be adorned with gold trappings—be it *Putumanna Kattur Meon* and followers—were 18."

¹ (1) Chandrattil Panikkar, (2) Putumanna Panikkar, (3) Kolkat Panikkar and (4) Vorkot Panikkar.

At various times during the ten last days of the festival the same thing is repeated. Whenever the Zamorin takes his stand on the terrace, assumes the sword and shakes it, men rush forth from the crowd at the west temple gate only to be impaled on the spears of the guardsmen who relieve each other from day to day. The turns for this duty are specifically mentioned in the chronicle thus : " On the day the golden ornaments are begun to be used the body-guard consists of the Thirty Thousand ; of Ellaya Vakkayil Veltodi (and his men) the second day, of Netiyiruppu ¹ Muttarati Tirumalpad (and his men) the third day, of Itatturad ² Nambiyattiri Tirumalpad (and his men) the fourth day, of Ernad Munamkur ³ Nambiyattiri Tirumalpad (and his men) the fifth day, of Ernad Elankur ⁴ Nambiyattiri Tirumalpad (and his men) the sixth day, and of the Ten Thousand, ⁵ the Calicut Talachanna Nayar and Ernad Menon the seventh day."

The chronicle is silent as to the turns for this duty on the eighth, ninth and tenth days. On the eleventh day, before the assembly broke up and after the final assault of the *Chavers* had been delivered, the *Ernad Elankur Nambiyattiri Tirumalpad* (the Zamorin next in succession) and the *Tirumanisseri Nambutiri* were conveyed in palanquins to the eastern end of the narrow palisaded lane, and thence they advanced on foot, prostrating themselves four times towards the Zamorin, once at the eastern end of the lane, twice in the middle, and once at the foot of the terraces. And after due permission was sought and obtained they took their places on the Zamorin's right hand.

After this, so the chronicle runs, it was the duty of the men who had formed the body-guard to march up with music and pomp to make obeisance. On this occasion, however, a large portion of the body-guard seems to have been displeased, for they left without fulfilling this duty, and this story corroborates in a marked way the fact already set forth (p. 132) regarding the independence and important political influence possessed by the Nayers as a body.

The *Ernad Menon* and the *Calicut Talachanna Nayar* with their followers were the only chiefs who made obeisance in due form to the Zamorin on this occasion, and possibly by the time of the next festival (1695 A.D.), of which Hamilton wrote, the dissatisfaction 'may have increased among his followers, and the Zamorin's life even may have been endangered, as Hamilton alleges, probably through lack of men to guard him. Tradition asserts that the *Chaver* who manage, on one occasion to get through the guards and up to the Zamorin's seat belonged to the family of the Chandrattil Panikkar.

¹ The Fifth Prince of the Zamorin's family.

² The Fourth Prince of the Zamorin's family.

³ The Third Prince of the Zamorin's family.

⁴ The Second Prince and Heir Apparent of the Zamorin's family.

⁵ The Ten Thousand of Polanad, the district round about Calicut, formed the Zamorin's own immediate body-guard—*Conf.* the account contained in the *Keralolpatti* of how these men were originally selected—*Chap. III, Sect. (a).*

The chronicle winds up with a list of the *Chavers* slain on this occasion, viz. :—

When the Zamorin was taking his stand on the terrace apparently at the commencement of the festivities ..	5
On the day the elephant was adorned, as already related ..	18
"The next day of <i>Chandrattil Panikkar</i> and followers, the number who came and died	11
"Of <i>Verkot Panikker</i> and followers, the number that came and died the third day	12
"The number who came up to Vakkayur and died in the four days	4
"The number of <i>Chavers</i> who were arrested at the place where Kalattil Itti Karunakara Menon was, and brought tied to Vakkayur and put to death	1
"The number of <i>Chavers</i> arrested on the day of the sacrifice, when all the persons together made the obeisance below Vakkayur at the time when the Zamorin was taking his stand, and left tied to the bars, and who were afterwards brought to Vakkayur and after the ceremony was over and the Zamorin had returned to the palace were put to the sword.	4
Total ..	55

The chronicle does not mention the fact, but a current tradition says that the corpses of the slain were customarily kicked by elephants as far as the brink of the fine well, of which mention has been made, and into which they were tumbled promiscuously. The well itself is nearly filled up with *debris* of sorts, and a search made at the spot would probably elicit conclusive evidence of the truth of this tradition.

The martial spirit of the Nayers was in former days kept alive by such desperate enterprises as the above, but in every day life the Nayar used to be prepared and ready to take vengeance on any who affronted him, for he invariably carried his weapons, and when a man was slain it was incumbent on his family to compass the death of a member of the slayer's family. This custom was called *Kudippaka* (literally, *house feud*), or in an abbreviated form, *Kuduppu*. One curious fact connected with this custom was that the chieftain of the district intervened when a man was slain and the body of the deceased was by him taken to his enemy's house and the corpse and the house were burnt together. It is understood that an out-house was usually selected for the purpose, but it was a common phrase to say "the slain rests in the yard of the slayer."

Again, when mortal offence was given by one man to another, a solemn contract used to be entered into before the chieftain of the locality to fight a *duel*, the chief himself being umpire. Large sums (up to a thousand fanams or two hundred and fifty rupees) used to be deposited as the battle-wager, and these sums formed one source (*ankam*) of the chieftain's revenue, and the right to levy

them was sometimes transferred along with other privileges appertaining to the tenure of the soil. A preparation and training (it is said) for twelve years preceded the battle in order to qualify the combatants in the use of their weapons. The men who fought were not necessarily the principals in the quarrel—they were generally their champions. It was essential that one should fall, and so both men settled all their worldly affairs before the day of combat.

Besides this custom, which brought revenue into the chieftain's coffers, a *curious list of items also producing revenue* has been preserved in Mr. Graeme, the Malabar Special Commissioner's Report (1818-1822), and it may be here given as it illustrates in many lights the customs of Malabar in ancient times. The chieftain levied *customs duties* on imports, exports, and transports. He had a recognized *right to usurp the estates* of his decaying neighbouring chiefs: in fact the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest" was carried into practical politics in Malabar to a great extent. And he had the *right to force them*, by violence if necessary, *to contribute supplies* on emergencies. *Fines* of sorts were of course levied from subjects, and when they died their successors, particularly those who held offices or rights over land, had to contribute something in order to ensure recognition of their right to succeed to the deceased's estate or office. *Leud, adulterous women* were made over to the chiefs with a premium by the other members of their families in order that they might be taken care of, and the chiefs (at any rate the Zamorins) used in turn to sell the women to foreign merchants, thus making a double profit out of them.

No one might *quest for gold* without payment of a royalty, and in Mr. Dillon's "East Indies" the way this was managed at Calicut is thus described: "Among the sands of the shore, there is good store of gold dust, which is very fine; and everybody has the freedom to gather it at pleasure: the biggest piece that ere I saw was not worth above fifteen pence, and commonly they are not worth above four or five pence a piece: abundance of people get a livelihood by it; and with the consent of the Governor (which is to be purchased by a certain set price for the maintenance of a hundred poor people) you may have as much sand as you please carried to your dwelling-places in order to separate it with the more convenience."

Again, when *a man died without heirs*, the chieftain took his property; nor could a man *adopt an heir* without the chief's consent. Under various designations *fees for protection* were levied from dependants and from strangers, and this latter was doubtless one of the obstacles which prevented the Chinese traveller Fah Hian from penetrating into South India, for he wrote: "Those who desire to proceed thither should first pay a certain sum of money to the king of the country, who will then appoint people to accompany them and show them the way." *Presents of congratulation or of condolence* were always sent to the chieftains on the occasions of

weddings, funerals, births, opening of new palaces, of ascension to the throne, and on the occurrence of numerous other domestic and public events.

Then, again, *ships which came ashore* were annexed by the chieftain of the locality. Moreover, a more piratical custom than this even was observed, in ancient times at least, for thus wrote Marco Polo respecting the kingdom of "Eli" (*ante*, p. 7): "And you must know that if any ship enters their estuary and anchors there, having been bound for some other port, they seize her and plunder the cargo. For they say, 'you were bound for somewhere else, and 'tis God has sent you hither to us, so we have a right to all your goods.'" And they think it no sin to act thus. And this naughty custom prevails all over these provinces of India, to wit, that if a ship be driven by stress of weather into some other port than that to which it was bound, it is sure to be plundered. But if a ship come bound originally to the place they receive it with all honour and give it due protection." (Yule's Marco Polo, II, 374.) The custom of taking ships and cargoes wrecked on the coast continued down to recent times, for the English factors at Tellicherry entered into engagements with three of the country powers, for exempting English vessels from such seizure. But it was a custom which the Malayali chieftains broke through with extreme reluctance. The kings of *Bednur* were the first to grant immunity in 1736-37, and thence afterwards ratified it; then followed the *Kolattiri* prince, on 8th May 1749, ratified in 1760; and finally the *Kadatunad* Raja granted similar immunity in 1761. No others followed their examples.

Finally the chieftains had a *monopoly of various animals* produced or captured in their domains, cows having an abnormal number of dugs, cattle that had killed a human being or any animal (they were called "red horns"), cattle born with a white speck near the corner of the eye, buffaloes with white tips to their tails, wild elephants caught in pitfalls, the hind quarter of any wild hog or deer slain in hunting, the tails and skins of all tigers similarly slain, and wild hogs that had fallen into wells—an occurrence which must have been frequent to judge by the wide area in which this right of the chieftains was recognized:—all of these were their perquisites of office.

A few words may be added regarding the right to appropriate a portion of each wild game animal slain in *hunting*. This right was, and it still is, known as the *Urpalli* right, *ur* being a village, and *palli* a place of reverence or importance. The *village hunts*, like everything else in the daily life of a Hindu community, were conducted precisely according to ancient corporate customs. The *Urpalli* was the place where, according to custom, the game must be broken up. The man even who alone could perform this office had a hereditary right to officiate. He was called the *Keikkaran* or attendant (perhaps originally an older of the village). As perquisite, he had the other hind quarter of the animal. The hunter

who killed the animal had as perquisites the head and one fore quarter. A share of the flesh was given to each of the hunters engaged in the hunt, and three pieces were distributed among those who came to the *Urpalli* to see it cut up. The animal was methodically cut up into eighteen customary pieces. The *Urpalli* was a place in the jungle duly consecrated to the hunting deity *Ayyan* or *Ayyappan*, and it was in front of his shrine that the formal ceremony took place. The hunting season opens on the 10th or 11th of *Tulam* —൧൦൧൧— (October—November) of each year, and these days are still considered of importance in places where game is still to be found. The permission of the chieftain to hunt on his territory was not required and was never sought, and the idea of an exclusive personal right to hunting privileges in certain limits is entirely foreign to the Malayali customary law. Such an idea was only imported into Malabar with English courts and English law and lawyers. There was a fundamental difference in the ideas from which originated the Malayali law of land tenure and the English law of land, and this will be considered in the chapter on the land tenures and land revenue. This difference has never been properly understood in the courts, and the confusion and consequent strife among those interested has been very great and deplorable.

✓ So strong indeed was the hold that old observances and customs had upon the people, that “when *summary payment* was demanded of a *debtor*, the custom was to draw a circle round him with a green branch and imprecate on him the name of the particular divinity whose curse was to fall upon him if he left the circle before satisfying the claim of his creditor.” (I.A. VIII, 267.) Many writers have noticed the existence of this custom, and some have commented on and marvelled at the strictness of the arrest. But it must be remembered that of individual freedom there was very little as every person from his cradle to his grave was hemmed in by unyielding chains of customary observance.

In an *interdict* there were four kinds of twigs used for the four sides, viz., either the four *tali* plants—probably consisting of 1, *Convolvulus maximus*; 2, another kind of convolvulus called *Tirumadittali*; 3, a three-ribbed convolvulus (*Tirupantittali*); and 4, *Ipomœa setosa*;—or 1, a thorn with an edible fruit called *Rhamnus circumcissus*; 2, a medicinal tree called in Malayalam *nyallu*; 3, *Mussaenda frondosa* with white bracts called in Malayalam *Vellila*; and 4, the Malayalam *tum'a* (*Phlomis* or *Leucas Indica*), a common weed. A tuft of three green twigs tied to a doorway precluded persons from crossing the threshold of a house, and a similar tuft to the end of a staff stuck in the ground was, and still is, in some parts a sign that there is an interdict on the crops there growing.

The people must have been a very law-abiding and docile race if such simple formalities sufficed to govern them. But indeed custom, when once it has become law, arrays the whole community in arms

against the law-breaker, and is perhaps the safest form of law for a semi-civilized State.

Another curious custom has come down from ancient times and is still flourishing, though the mutual confidence on which it relies for its proper effects shows signs of breaking down and is cited as a degeneracy of Malayali manners. Any one desirous of raising a considerable sum of money for some temporary purpose invites his friends to join him in what is called a *kuri* or *lottery*: chance enters very little, however, into the arrangement, and it would be a better term to call the members a mutual loan society. The organizer of the *kuri* gets a certain number of his friends to subscribe a certain amount of money, or of rice husked or unhusked, as the case may be. The friends bring their contributions to his house, where they are hospitably entertained, and by lot the person is selected to whom similar contributions from all present, including the organizer of the *kuri*, are to be made at a certain date then and there fixed. This individual in turn hospitably entertains his friends when they come with their contributions. A third person is then selected, and the same thing comes off at his house. And so it goes on, until every one of the original members or his heir has in turn reaped the benefits of the contributions of his friends. The arrangement is of obvious benefit in several ways to those concerned.

Trials by ordeal were and still are very common, although some forms of them have necessarily disappeared. The Zamorin in 1710 entered into an engagement with the Honorable Company's Factors at Tellicherry to subject to the oil ordeal people who disputed with them as to the value of articles agreed to be supplied for money received. This engagement is recorded in the Tellicherry Factory Diary of 6th May 1728 as: "A grant that any Mallabarr having accounts with us must put his hand in Oyle to prove the verity thereof, given Anno 1710." And in the engagement itself it was written: "If his hand comes out clean, he will be held innocent and you will have to pay him, as usual, the expenses he may incur (in taking the oath)." The form of taking the oath was to pick a coin out of a pot of boiling oil with the hand, which was immediately swathed in bandages and sealed up, and the state of the hand after a certain lapse of time (three days, it is understood) determined the matter. The crocodile ordeal, in which a man swam across a piece of water swarming with *saurians* was also in vogue at some places to determine the guilt or innocence of criminals. The ordeal by weightment was, and still is, sometimes resorted to. A man who wishes to establish his innocence is weighed: he proceeds to a neighbouring tank and bathes, and if on returning to the scales he is lighter than when he went into the water, his innocence is established. This is used now-a-days in deciding caste offences.

But *criminals* did not in former days always escape, and were not always given the option of submitting the test of their innocence

to an ordeal. The five great crimes were—(1) murder of a Brahman; (2) drinking spirits (probably a crime only among Brahmans, for the Nayers are not now, and never were an abstemious caste, nor were the other lower castes); (3) theft: "They put a thief to death", wrote Sheikh Ibn Batuta regarding the Malayalis in the fourteenth century A.D., "for stealing a single nut, or even a grain of seed of any fruit: hence thieves are unknown among them, and should anything fall from a tree none except its proper owner would attempt to touch it." (Ibn Batuta, *Travels*, Or. Transl. Committee, London, 1829, p. 167); (4) disobeying a teacher's rules; (5) cow-killing, which is still a penal offence in the Cochin State. The manner of carrying out capital punishments was sometimes barbarous in the extreme. Criminals were cut in half and exposed on a cross-bar, in the manner still adopted with tigers and panthers slain in hunting expeditions and offered as a sacrifice to local deities. Thieves were similarly cut in two and impaled on a stake, which probably had a cross-bar, as the word for it and that for an eagle or vulture are identical. But empaling alive was also known, and in June 1795, by the orders of the *Palassi* (Pychy) rebel chief two Mappillas were thus treated after a pretended trial for alleged robbery in a Nayar's house at Venkad in Kottayam Taluk. Finally, great criminals were at times wrapped up in green palm leaves and torn asunder probably by elephants.

Whether *cannibalism* ever extensively prevailed is uncertain, but it is not improbable that it at times was perpetrated among the lower orders of the population, who even now take vengeance on the higher castes by stoning their houses at night and by various devices superstitiously set down to the action of evil spirits. In modern times only one authentic instance of cannibalism is on record, and it was vouched for by the late Dr. Burnell. Some of the agrestic slave caste had murdered a Nayar and mutilated the body, and on being asked why they had committed the murder, the details of which they freely confessed, they replied that if they ate of his flesh their sin would be removed. (*Indian Antiquary*, VIII, 88.)

Down to the present day the power of *enchancements and spells* is believed in implicitly by the lower and by the semi-educated among the upper classes; and some individuals of the lower classes have a powerful superstitious influence over the higher castes owing to their supposed efficiency in creating enchantments and spells and in bringing misfortunes. The family of famous trackers, whose services in the jungles were retained for H.R.H. the Prince of Wales' projected sporting tour in the Anamallai Mountains in 1875, dropped off most mysteriously one by one shortly afterwards, stricken down by an unseen hand, and all of them expressing beforehand their conviction that they were under a certain individual's spell and were doomed to certain death at an early date. They were probably poisoned, but how it was managed remains to the present day a mystery, although the family was under the protection of a European gentleman who would have at once brought to light any ostensible foul play.

"Be it noted," wrote Mr. Wallhouse, late M.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary* for January 1876, "that Malabar is the land *par excellence* of sorcery and magic; the most powerful bhootas and demons reside there." He further gives details of three of the forms used in compassing the discomfiture of enemies. "Make an image with wax in the form of your enemy, take it in your right hand at night and hold your chain of beads in your left hand; then burn the image with due rites, and it shall slay your enemy in a fortnight. Another strong spell for evil is to take a human bone from a burial-ground and recite over it a thousand times the powerful Malayali *mantra*, namely, '*Om! Hram! Hram!* Swine-faced goddess! seize him! seize him as a victim! drink, drink his blood! eat! eat his flesh! O image of imminent death! *Bhagarati of Malayala! Glaum! Glaum! Om!*' The bone thrown into an enemy's house will cause his ruin. Let a sorcerer obtain the corpse of a maiden, and on a Sunday night place it at the foot of a *bhuta* haunted tree on an altar, and repeat a hundred times '*Om! Hrim! Hrom!* O goddess of *Malayala*, who possessest us in a moment! come! come!' The corpse will then be inspired by a demon and rise up, and if the demon be appeased with flesh and arrack, will answer all questions put." The demons "can be bought, carried about, and transferred from one sorcerer to another." It may be added that the best educated native gentlemen have even yet hardly got over their objections to photography on the ground that their enemies may obtain possession of their photographs, and may by piercing with needles the eyes and other organs, and by powerful incantations, work them serious mischief. *Keralam* has twelve professional magicians, six of whom work to win the good gods, and six to coerce the evil ones.

Of belief in the potency of the "*evil eye*" evidence meets one at nearly every step throughout the land. A house or a shop is being built; there surely is to be found exposed in some conspicuous position an image, sometimes of extreme indecency, a pot covered with cabalistic signs, a prickly branch of cactus or what not to catch the "*evil eye*" of passers-by and to divert their attention from the important work in hand. A crop is being raised in a garden visible from the road: the vegetables will never reach maturity unless a bogey of some sort is set up in their midst. A cow will stop giving milk unless a shell is tied conspicuously about her horns. The same idea enters into all domestic events and arrangements, and that not merely among Hindus, but among Muhammadans as well, to an extent that is with difficulty realized by Europeans.

When affliction comes the animal affected is served with grass, fruits, etc., on which *charms* have been whispered, or is bathed in charmed water, or has a talisman in the shape of a palm-leaf inscribed with charms rolled up and tied round its neck. So too with human beings. In 1877 a poor Mappilla woman residing in one of the Laccadive Islands was put upon her trial for witchcraft for importing into the island a betel leaf with a certain cabalistic and magical inscription

on it, but it fortunately turned out for her that she had merely pounded it up and rubbed it over her daughter's body to cure her of fits. Ibn Batuta wrote of a Malayali king who was converted to Islam by the leaf of "the tree of testimony," a tree of which it was related to him that it does not generally drop its leaves, "but, at the season of autumn in every year, one of them changes its colour, first to yellow, then to red; and that upon this is written, with the pen of power, 'There is no god but God: Muhammad is the Prophet of God,' and that this leaf alone falls." The falling of the leaf was an annual event anxiously looked for, and the leaf itself was efficacious in curing diseases. Now-a-days the belief among Muhammaidans still subsists that the leaves of a certain tree growing on Mount Deli possess similar virtues.

The *incantation for the removal of spells* and for avoiding future mischiefs is a long and somewhat complicated affair at times. The following account has been furnished from a trustworthy source:—

"Besides this, two other methods called *Tolulika* (a ceremony for removing different sins and punishments by throwing them with leaves into the fire), and *Beliyulika* (a ceremony performed by waving a basket of flowers round a possessed person), are also adopted in the case of human beings, and the mode of performing it is as follows: First, a lighted lamp and a *nazhi* (a wooden vessel containing half a seer) filled with rice are kept in the verandah or in the yard of a house. On the north-east corner of it a representation of *Kala Bhayavan* (a demon) with its head towards the south and feet towards the north, is made in five colours, viz., white, yellow, green, red and black. Rice cleaned and uncleaned, tender cocoanut, plantains, pounded rice, fried grain, betel leaf, areca nut, etc., are placed on all the four sides of it. A *Kypandi* (a triangle made with plantain rind and young cocoanut leaves cut and stuck upon it in rows) having *Kanikkali* (saffron and chunam mixed with water and made after the fashion of a gruel) sprinkled over it, is placed on the east, red *gurusi* (water made red by mixing a little saffron and chunam with it) and a reddened cocoanut on the north, and black *gurusi* (water mixed with charcoal) and a blackened cocoanut on the south, of the said representation. After modes of adoration have been done to these, *Piniyal* (the person on whom exorcism is being practised) proceeds with three betel leaves and three pieces of areca nut, rice and wick in the right hand and with a knife in the other, and goes three times round the said representation, and then standing on the west of it facing towards the east, holds out the knife three times against the representation and cuts three times across it, and at last sticks the knife in its right eye, and then sits down. After this a wick is placed in the *Kypandi*, one in the red *gurusi*, and a third on the reddened cocoanut after singing hymns in praise of *Kali*, and wicks are similarly placed in black *gurusi* and on the blackened cocoanut after singing hymns in praise of *Gulikan* (son of Saturn, the ruler of the fatal hours). Then either the person who performs the ceremony or anybody else takes one handful of the leaves of *Iranynyi* (a tree) and one handful of those of *nochchi* (a shrub), and having

caused *Piniyal* to keep a wick upon them for avoiding the evil eye, keeps them aside. Again one man takes one handful and a second another handful of the said leaves and stand on each side of the *Piniyal* and rub with them from the head to the feet of the *Piniyal*, when *Bharatam* ought to be sung. This ought to be that portion of the *Bharatam* called *Nilalkuttu* which relates the story of the Pandus who were troubled by *Curus* by means of sorcery. At the end of each verse, the said leaves ought to be mixed with salt, chillies, mustard seed, gingelly seed, etc., and burnt in fire prepared with jack wood; a piece of iron is also placed in the fire. At the end of the four verses in this manner *Pandi* and *gursi* are thrown aside, having due hymns sung by the person who performs the ceremony. After this, the body of the *Piniyal* is anointed with the ground root of a medicinal plant called *Panal* mixed with gingelly oil. The said piece of iron is then taken out of the fire and placed in front of the *Piniyal*, and the performer takes in his hands the smoke that bursts out by pouring upon it water mixed with gingelly and lamp oil, and rubs the body of the *Piniyal* with it. A cocoanut is then placed in the front of the *Piniyal*, having two wicks one across the other upon it. The *Piniyal* then crosses the cocoanut three times forward and backward, with a knife in the right hand and with a lighted wick in the other, and then sets fire to the wicks already placed on the cocoanut. The *Piniyal* then attempts three times to cut the cocoanut with the knife, and at the fourth time cuts it into two pieces, and then destroys the said representation with the hands and puts a mark on the forehead. Thus it ends.

"This is generally performed for males just before their first marriage, and also when they appear to be subject to such injuries as those already mentioned. This is done for females also on the day previous to the *Pumsavana* (a ceremony generally observed by them in the fifth, seventh, or ninth month of their first pregnancy). It is also performed for females who are afflicted with barrenness."

There are no professional augurs among the population, but the events of their daily lives are supposed to be largely influenced by the signs presented to them by various birds and beasts and human beings and substances of sorts. The following list of good and bad omens has been prepared by a native gentleman.

Good omens.—The sight of such birds as crows and pigeons, etc., and beasts as deer, etc., moving from left to right, and dogs and jackals moving inversely, and other beasts found similarly and singly, wild crow, cock, ruddy goose, mongoose, goat and peacock seen singly, or in couples either at right or left; the rainbow seen on right or left side or behind, prognosticates good, but the reverse if seen in front.

Butter-milk, raw rice, *Puttalpira*, (*Trichosanthes anguina*) *Priyangu* flower, honey, ghee, red cotton juice, antimony, sulphurated, metallic mug, bell ringing, lamp, lotus, *Koruka* grass (*Agrostis linearis*), raw fish, flesh, flour, ripe fruits, sweetmeats, gems, sandalwood, elephant, pots filled with water, a virgin, a woman, a couple of Brahmans, Rajas, respectable men, white flower, white yak tail, white cloth and white horse.

Chank-shell, flagstaff, turband, *triumphal* arch, fruitful soil, burning fire, elegant eatables or drinkables, carts with men in, cows with their young, mares, bulls or cows with ropes tied to their necks, palanquin, swans, peacock and Indian crane warbling sweetly !

Bracelets, looking-glass, mustard, *Bezoor*, any substance of white colour, the bellowing of oxen, auspicious words, harmonious human voice, such sounds made by birds or beasts, the uplifting of umbrellas, flagstaffs and flags, hailing acclamations, sounds of harp, flute, timbrel, tabor, and other instruments of music, sounds of hymns of consecration and of Vedic recitations, gentle breeze all round happening at the time of journey.

Bud omens.—The sight of men deprived of any of their limbs, such as the lame or blind, etc., of corpse, or wearer of cloth put on a corpse, coir pieces, broken vessels, hearing of words expressive of **breaking**, burning and destroying, etc., the alarming cry of “*alas ! alas !*” loud screams, cursing, tumbling, sneezing, the sight of a man in a sorrow, or one with a stick, a barber, or widow, pepper and other pungent substances.

The sight of a serpent, cat, *iguana*, bloodsucker, or monkey passing across the road, or vociferous beasts or birds, such as jackals, dogs and kites, crying loud from the eastern side, and of a buffalo, donkey, or temple bull, black grains, salt, liquor, hide, grass, dirt, faggots, iron, and flower used for funeral ceremonies, a eunuch, a ruffian, an outcaste, vomit, excrement, stench, any horrible figure, bamboo, cotton, lead, cots, stools or vehicles being carried with legs upwards, and dishes, cups, etc., with mouth downwards, vessels filled with live coals, and which are broken and not burning, broomstick, ashes, oil, winnow and a hatchet, etc.

SECTION F.—RELIGION.

The annexed table shows the respective numbers of the followers of the different religions in Malabar, and the ratio of each to every 100,000 of the population in 1871 and again in 1881.

Religion.	1871.		1881.	
	Population.	Ratio per 100,000.	Population.	Ratio per 100,000.
Hindus	1,837,914	72,434	1,989,271	76,581
Muhammadans	581,609	25,721	652,198	27,677
Christians	40,268	1,781	43,196	1,826
Others	1,459	64	370	16
Total	2,261,250	100,000	2,385,035	100,000

Excluding the Laccadive Islands, which are wholly Muhammadan, the Hindus are most numerous in Palghat Taluk, where, of every 100,000 of the population, 89,548 are Hindus, and fewest in numbers in Cochin Taluk, where the proportion is only 25,969. The Muhammadans similarly are most numerous in Ernad Taluk, proportion 50,646, and least numerous in Palghat, proportion 9,441.

The Christians again are most numerous in Cochin Taluk, proportion 59,354, and least numerous in Valluvanad Taluk, proportion only 46. Of people of other religions, the largest number are in Wynad Taluk, proportion 174, and the fewest in Palghat Taluk, proportion *nil*.

Hindus.

Of the strange medley of cults and religions which goes by the name of Hinduism, it is very difficult to give any adequate idea in a few pages.

The earliest aboriginal cult was probably that which is sometimes called animism—the propitiation of evil spirits, male and female—for in the earliest relics of religion still extant there seems to be embodied a belief in an existence after death. Persons who caused sorrow and trouble in life were after death supposed to be the cause of further unhappiness, and as such they had to be propitiated with gifts which they would have appreciated when alive. They had to be supplied with the weapons, the cooking pots, the oil receptacles, the lamps, the ornaments, the water jars, and the implements which they used during life. Periodically solemn festivals were held, and a portion of the viands was solemnly set apart for the departed.

In every garden on the southern side, even in the present day, a portion is set apart where the bones of those who are burned are buried in pots, and nightly lights are periodically kept blazing in memory of the day on which the deceased departed this life.

This custom prevails among *Nayars*, *Tiyars*, and the artisan castes, and it is no doubt the latest development of the cult, which dictated the making of the massive sepulchral urns and the erection of the massive cromlechs, and kistvaens with which the district abounds, but of which tradition, in any reliable form, is wholly wanting.

A distinct advance in religious ideas may perhaps be gathered from these sepulchral relics, which in Malabar are more varied in their forms, and in their associations perhaps more interesting than any similar relics in any land yet explored. And although the subject is archæologically of historical interest, its chief importance seems to lie in its religious aspect, and as such it may be fitly introduced here.

In so far as explorations have yet been conducted the sepulchral remains referred to may be separated into four classes, which, from internal evidence, may probably be correctly classified chronologically thus :—

- I. Megalithic remains
 - II. Excavated caves
 - III. Caves with massive urns (*kula-kallu*) and massive sepulchral urns without caves.
 - IV. Modern sepulchral urns of a small size.
- } probably synchronous.

There is a fifth class which has not been authoritatively connected with sepulchral uses. This class is known as the *topikallu* (hat stone), and evidently belongs to the megalithic period of Class I.

Illustrations Nos. I and II are of this uncertain class; the hat stone represented in No. I was explored by Mr. Babington in November 1819 who thus summed up the result:—"Though from its situation, size, and appearance I was led to expect my labour would not have been in vain, nothing was found in the hollow space between the stones which supported the *topikallu* and which were themselves placed on the solid rock." Similar researches made since have so far as known proved equally unsuccessful, and Mr. Babington's conclusion either that these monuments are not sepulchral, or, if sepulchral, that their contents have crumbled into indistinguishable dust is fully justified.

Specimens of the first of the four undoubtedly sepulchral classes may be found scattered widely over the hilly country in the South of Malabar, and one characteristic group of them is to be found in a valley at the foot of the *Kalladikol* mountain peak in the *Kavalpat* amsam of Palghat Taluk. They invariably contain the remains of iron implements and weapons and earthen pots. All covered up most carefully with fine earth which has in general been carefully sifted. These remains correspond so closely with ordinary cromlechs elsewhere that it is unnecessary to illustrate them. The stones composing the sides and ends of the place of sepulture are sometimes fully exposed, sometimes half-buried, and sometimes only just showing above the surface. Occasionally the cromlech has a circle of stones placed round it at the distance of a yard or two.

Of Class II, specimens (Illustrations Nos. III to VII) occasionally come to light, by accident, in quarrying blocks of stone, or in digging the foundations of buildings. Such specimens are known to exist in the following places:—(1) in the *Tallavil* desam of *Kuttiyeri* amsam in *Chirakkal* Taluk; (2) in the *Taliparamba* and *Trichumaram* desams of *Taliparamba* amsam in the same taluk; (3) in the *Pudinyattumuri* amsam and desam of *Calicut* Taluk. Their existence has been reported from many other places (Sewell's "Lists of Antiquities, Madras," p. 240, *seq.*). The contents are, in all respects, similar to those from the megalithic class. These caves are therefore probably of the same age as the megalithic class, although in form they differ widely from the square megalithic cromlech, as will be seen from the following plans and sections. The caves are invariably cut out of soft laterite rock, and as gneiss is both more difficult to work and scarcer than laterite in the parts where these caves are to be found, it is probable that the architects adapted themselves to circumstances, and, instead of building their sepulchres or death-houses, set to work to excavate them.

The next illustration, No. VIII, conveys an accurate idea of the style of the earthenware vessels and iron weapons and implements found in these excavated "death-houses."

It was probably a distinct advance in civilisation and in religious ideas (as will be presently explained) which led to the adoption of the next class (No. III) of sepulchral relics, for the *kuta-kallu* remains invariably contain a large sepulchral urn placed inside an excavated chamber, in addition to the usual earthenware pots and iron implements characteristic of the supposed earlier sepulchral relics. Moreover, in these *kuta-kallu* chambers are to be found earthenware pots of a more advanced type, evincing that meanwhile society had begun to pay attention to ornamenting the vessels in domestic use. Beads, too, are found in them, and the iron implements, weapons are more varied in form as if designed for more extended wants.

Illustrations (Nos. IX to XII) copied from a very interesting paper communicated by Mr. J. Babington to the Literary Society of Bombay in December 1820 (Reprint, Bombay Literary Society's Transactions, 1877, p. 342), are representative of these *kuta-kallu* remains and of their contents.

The occurrence of these massive half-backed earthenware urns in the excavated chambers of the *kuta-kallu* seems to supply the necessary connecting link between society, ancient and modern; for Malayalis, as already said, still adhere to the practice of using small sepulchral urns of the IV class. But now-a-days the charred bones of the deceased are placed in the urns as a temporary resting-place only, and are, as soon as convenient, removed and cast into the fresh water of the holy rivers. Formerly there was evidently no intention of ever disturbing the relics after they were put in their final resting-place.

The shape of some of the ancient urns perhaps affords a clue to the idea which originally suggested this mode of sepulture; for in Malabar, as in the districts east of the ghats, their shape is at times peculiar. The urn shown in Mr. Babington's illustration (No. IX) was evidently the final resting-place of a person of wealth and consideration—the extent of the excavation, the massive character of the capstone, and the articles found, all attest this. Meaner individuals had to be content with less pretentious tombs, and, accordingly, it is found that in many localities in the district massive half-backed sepulchral urns, simply buried in the ground, are grouped together, generally on hill sides, in large numbers; occasionally, where the laterite rock occurs near the surface, the rock is hollowed out a little to admit of receiving the urn, but no attempt is made at constructing a chamber round each urn. What is further peculiar about them is that, while some are plainly made like that shown in Mr. Babington's illustration (No. IX), in others of them, as in some of the specimens to be

found at Vaniyankulam in the Valluvanad taluk, the bottom of the urn thickens out in a circular shape and through this protuberance a small hole is drilled.

It has been suggested that this peculiarity in construction is emblematic of the religious ideas connected with the *Bhu-devi* or earth goddess (*Pellus*), and that burial in this fashion was emblematic of the return of the individual to the womb of Mother Earth. The protuberance on the bottom of the urn under this position would signify that it was representative of the *os uteri*.

The worship of the earth goddess is a subject full of difficulty; it probably came in with the advance in civilisation, which taught men that the earth was fruitful if tilled, and possibly the transition from the megalithic and excavated tomb period to the period in which earthen sepulchral urns began to be used marks a change in Malayali civilisation from a pastoral life to one of agriculture, and from a belief in the powers for good and evil of departed human spirits to one in which the former belief began to be modified by the idea of an earth goddess, who became the refuge of the dead.

To the present day there is a native tradition, which of course is not in harmony with orthodox Sanskrit texts, and which runs as follows:—

“As long as the bones remain undestroyed and undefiled;”

“So long does the soul enjoy heaven.”

And this tradition has still such a powerful hold on the people, that their superstitious fears are at once aroused if such places of sepulture are opened up. To this feeling which fly is to be attributed the fact that so little is still known about these death relics. When a tomb is by accident discovered, it is generally for superstitious reasons closed up again at once and the fact of its existence is kept secret.

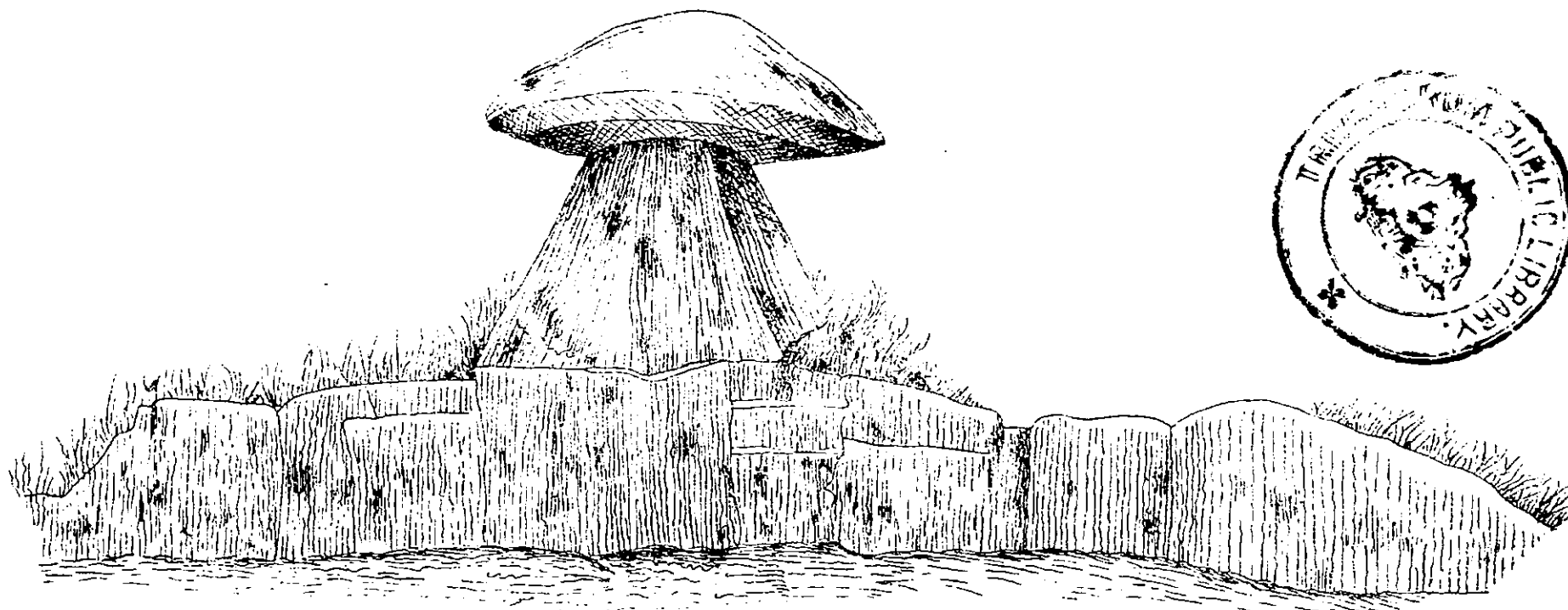
But even, according to orthodox Brahmanical ideas, the corpse of a human being is, if the proper *mantrams* are used, delivered at the burning ground to the care of *Rudran* (one form of *Siva*), whose charge ceases when the burning is complete. The unburnt bones become pure and ought to be delivered in a pure form to *Paramesvaran* (another form of *Siva*), whose property they become. This is effected by casting them into the fresh water of holy streams, such as the Ganges, and into branches of the Kaveri as at Tirunelli in Wynad, and Perar in Coimbatore, and the like. But it is not always convenient to carry away the bones at once for this purpose, and frequently it is not done for years. Meanwhile, therefore, the bones are placed in a holy urn¹ (Class IV) and preserved till a fitting opportunity occurs for their removal. The spirit of the deceased

¹ The urns are not peculiar in shape, so it is unnecessary to give an illustration of Class IV.

NO. 1

TOPI KALLU (HAT STONE) NEAR PUOIYANGADI

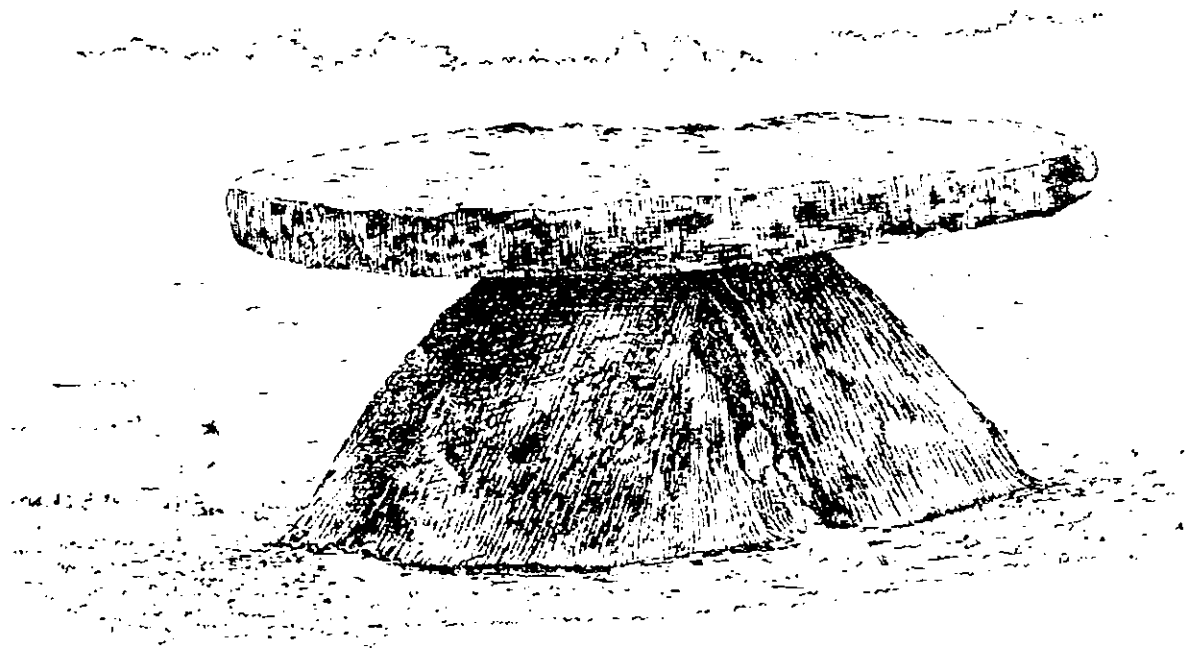
(Mr. J. BABINGTON)



Reg. No. 75/25/51-503

Photo Zinco Press., C. S. O., Madras.

NO. II TOPI KALLU (HAT STONE) NEAR MANJERI. ERNAD TALUK



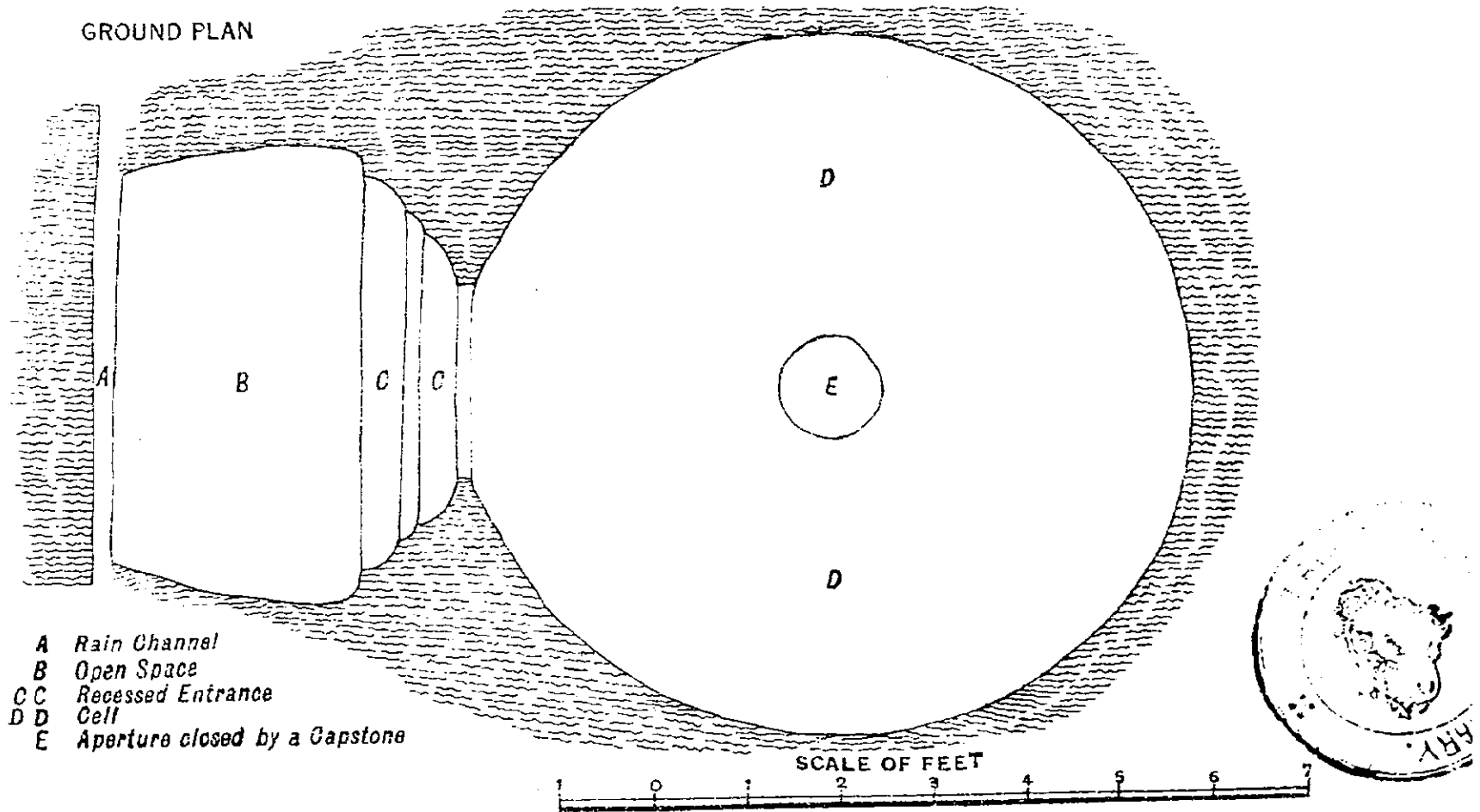
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Photo Zinco Press, C. S. O. Madras.

NO. III ROCK CELL AT BANGALA MOTTA PARAMBA. TRICHAMARAM DESAM

 TALIPARAMBA AMSAM, CHIRAKKAL TALUK

GROUND PLAN



- A Rain Channel
- B Open Space
- C C Recessed Entrance
- D Cell
- E Aperture closed by a Capstone

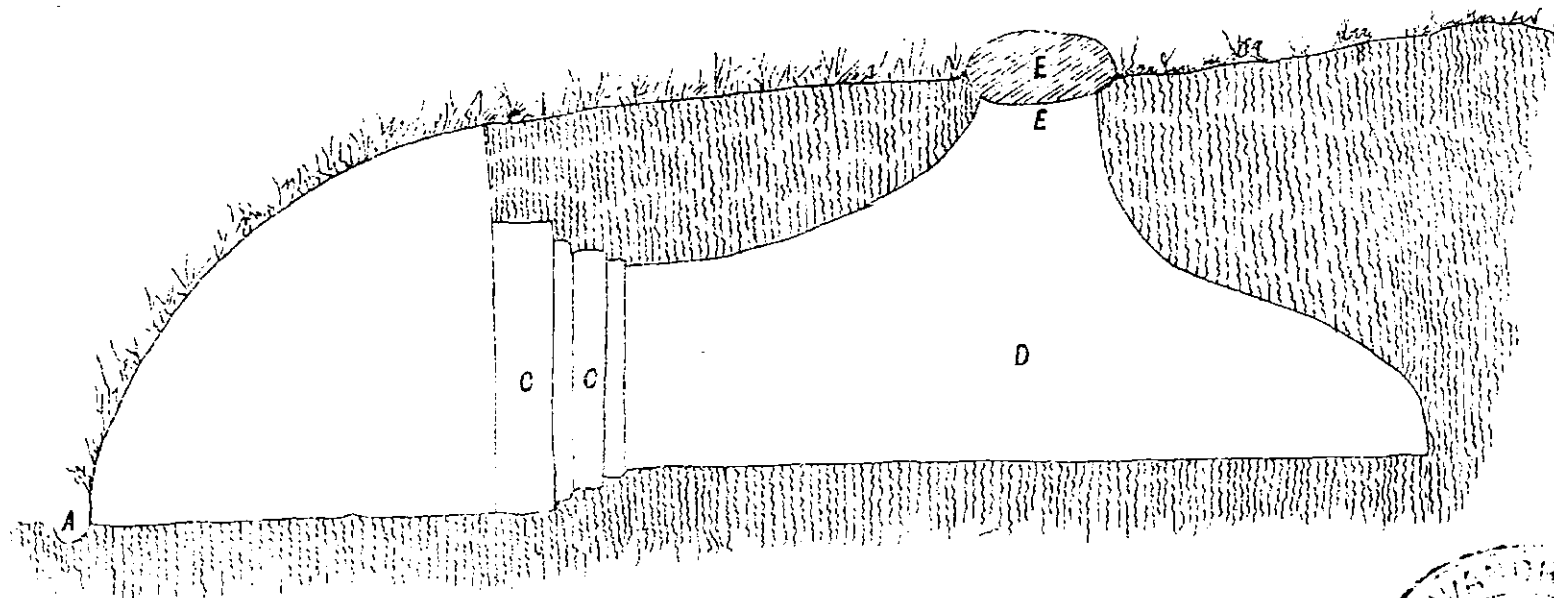
NO. IV

ROCK CELL AT BANGALA MOTTA PARAMBA

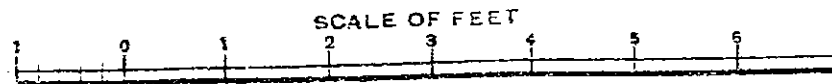
TRICHAMARAM DESAM

TALIPARAMBA AMSAM CHIRAKKAL TALUK

SECTION



- A Rain Channel
- B Open Space
- C.C. Recessed Entrance
- D Cell
- E E Aperture closed by a Capstone

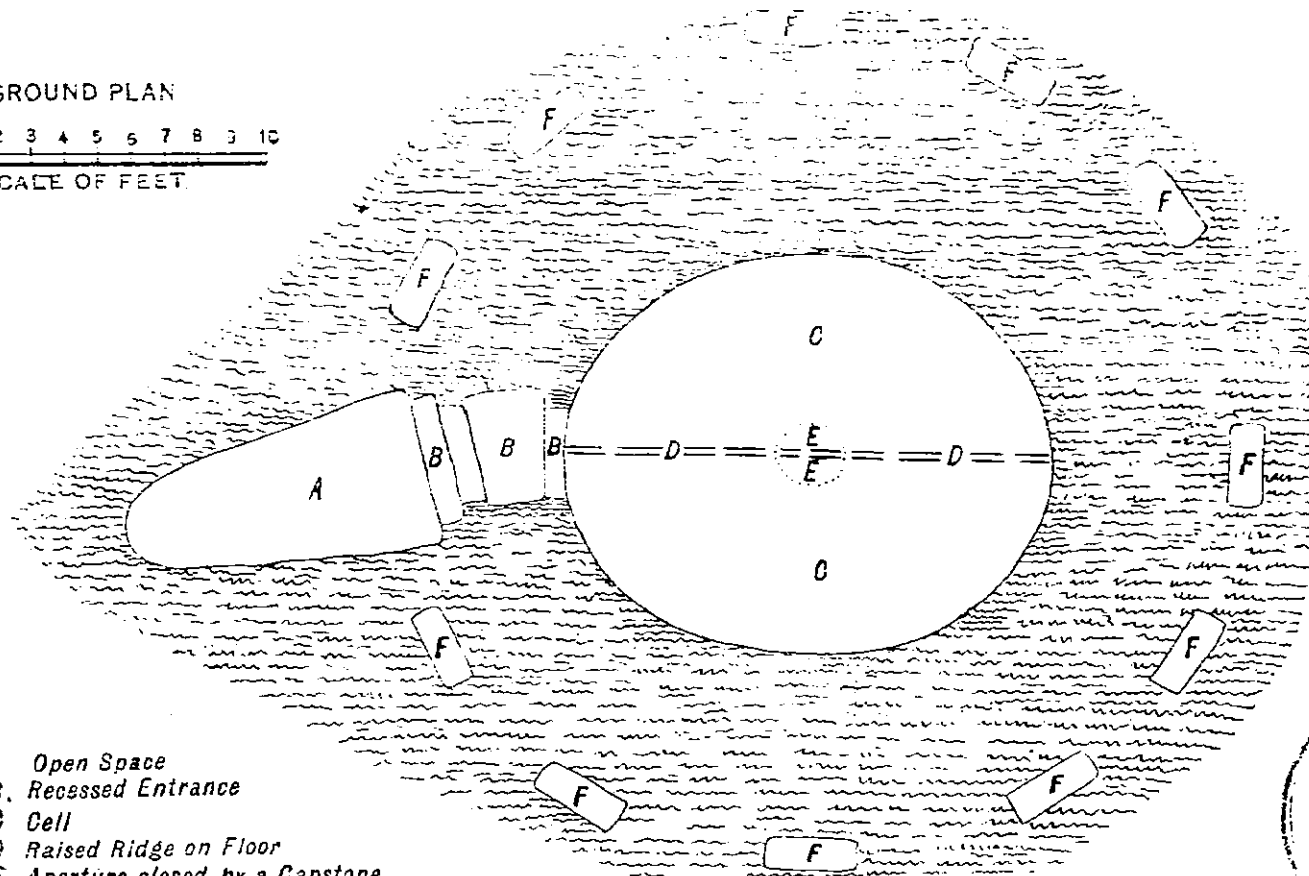


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Photo Zinco Press, C. S. O., Madras.

NO. V. ROCK CELL AT BANGALA MOTTA PARAMBA, TRICHAMARAM DESAM
TALIPARAMBA AMSAM, CHIRAKKAL TALUK

GROUND PLAN
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
SCALE OF FEET.

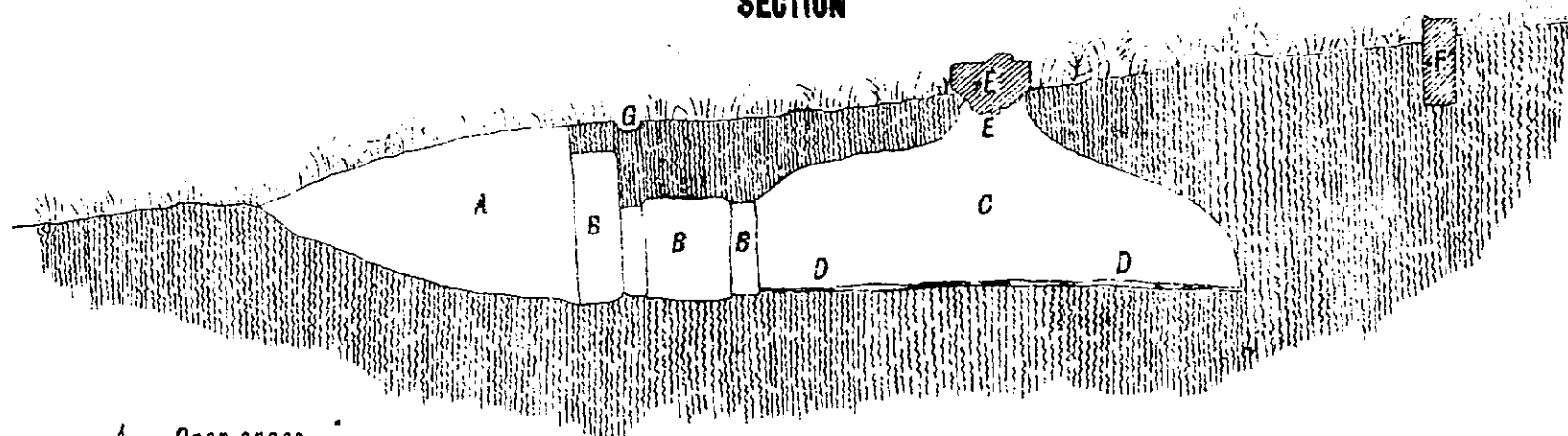


- A Open Space
B.B.B. Recessed Entrance
C. C Cell
D-D Raised Ridge on Floor
E.E Aperture closed by a Capstone
F.F.F.F.F.F.F.F.F.F Circle of Laterite Blocks of which nine are in Situ, whole or in fragments.

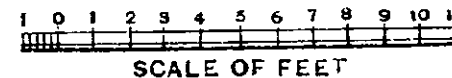


NO. VI. ROCK CELL AT BANGALA MOTTA PARAMBA TRICHAMARAM DESAM-TALIPARAMBA AMSAM CHIRAKKAL TALUK.

SECTION



- A. Open space
- B.B.B. Recessed Entrance
- C. Cell
- D.D. Raised Ridge on Floor
- E.E. Aperture closed by a Capstone
- F. Laterite Block
- G. Rain Channel



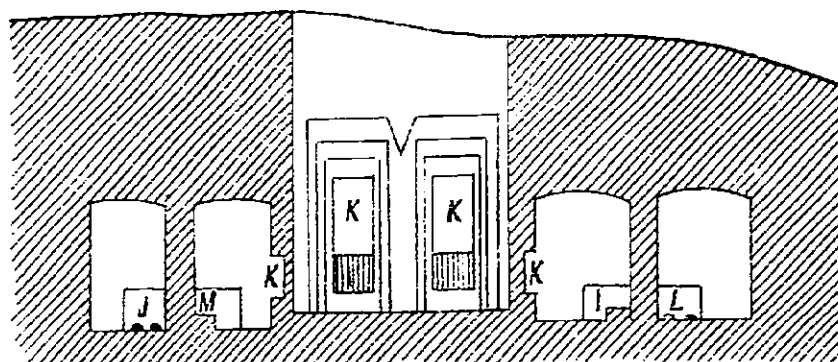
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Photo-Zinco Press, C. S. O., Madras.

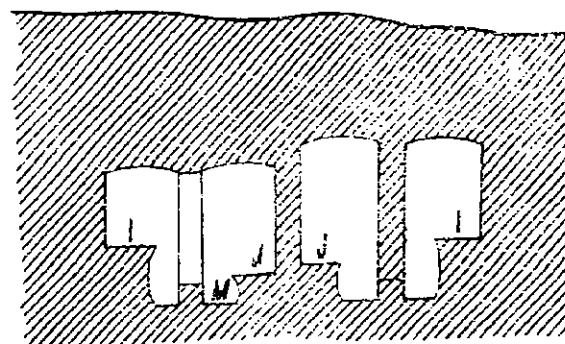
NO. VII.

ROCK-CELLS AT CHALLIL KURINYOLI PARAMBA

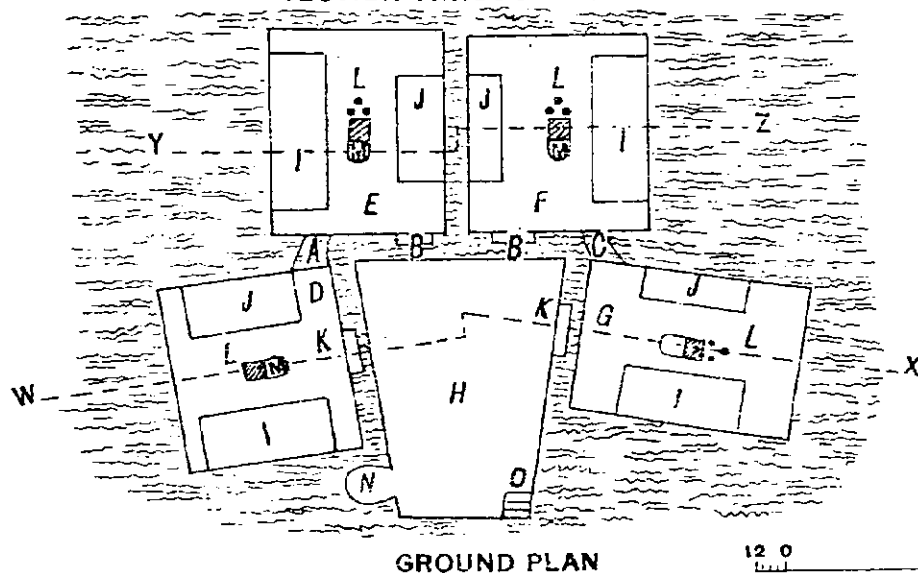
PADINYATTAMURI AMSAM & DESAM
GALICUT TALUK (IND. ANT-VIII-209)



SECTION THROUGH W. X.



SECTION THROUGH Y. Z.



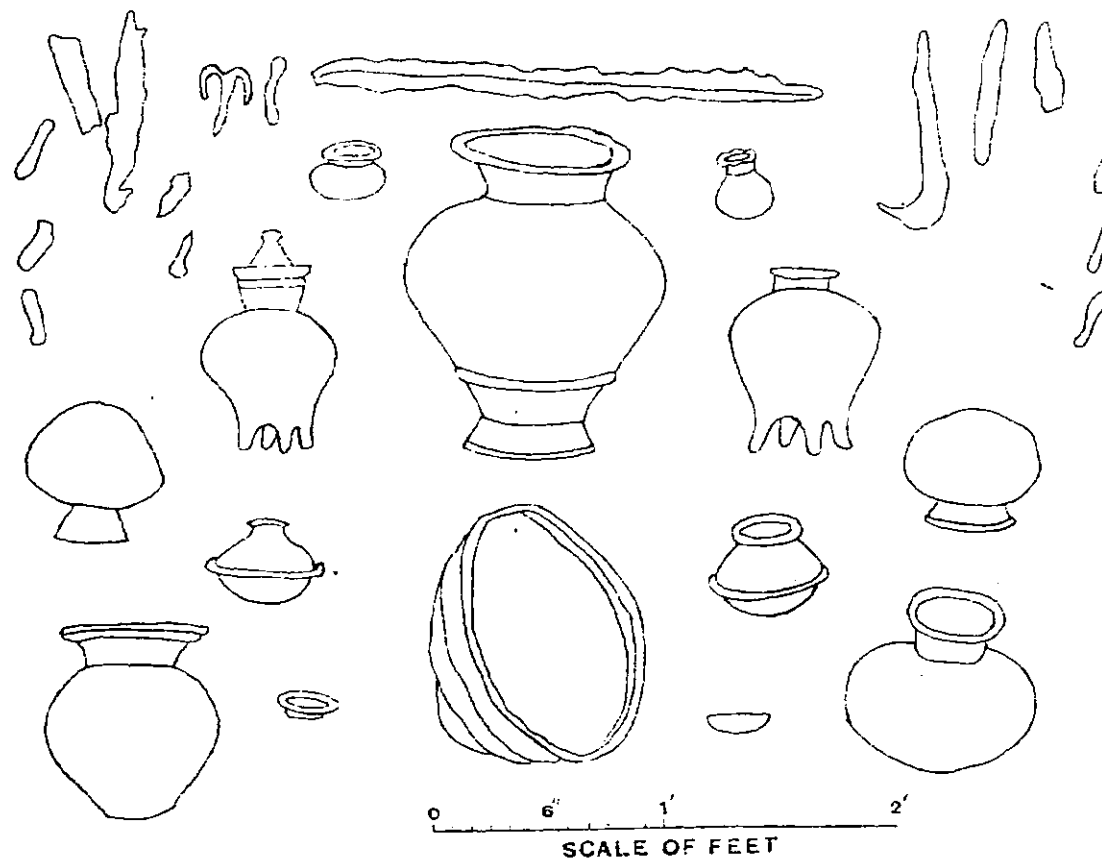
GROUND PLAN

12 0 5 10 15 20 FEET

- A B C Breaks in the Walls
- D First Cell discovered
- E F G Other three cells
- H Open Court
- I I I I Stone beds
- J J J J Benches
- K K K K Entrances from the Court to the Cells
- L L L L Fire places
- M M M M Stools or low seats
- N Recess
- O Stairs

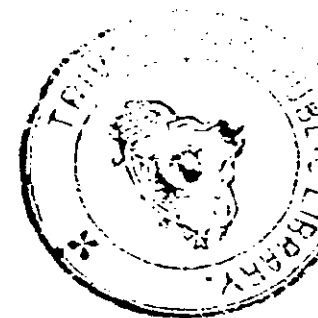
NO. VIII.

ROCK CELL POTTERY AND IRON WEAPONS ETC.

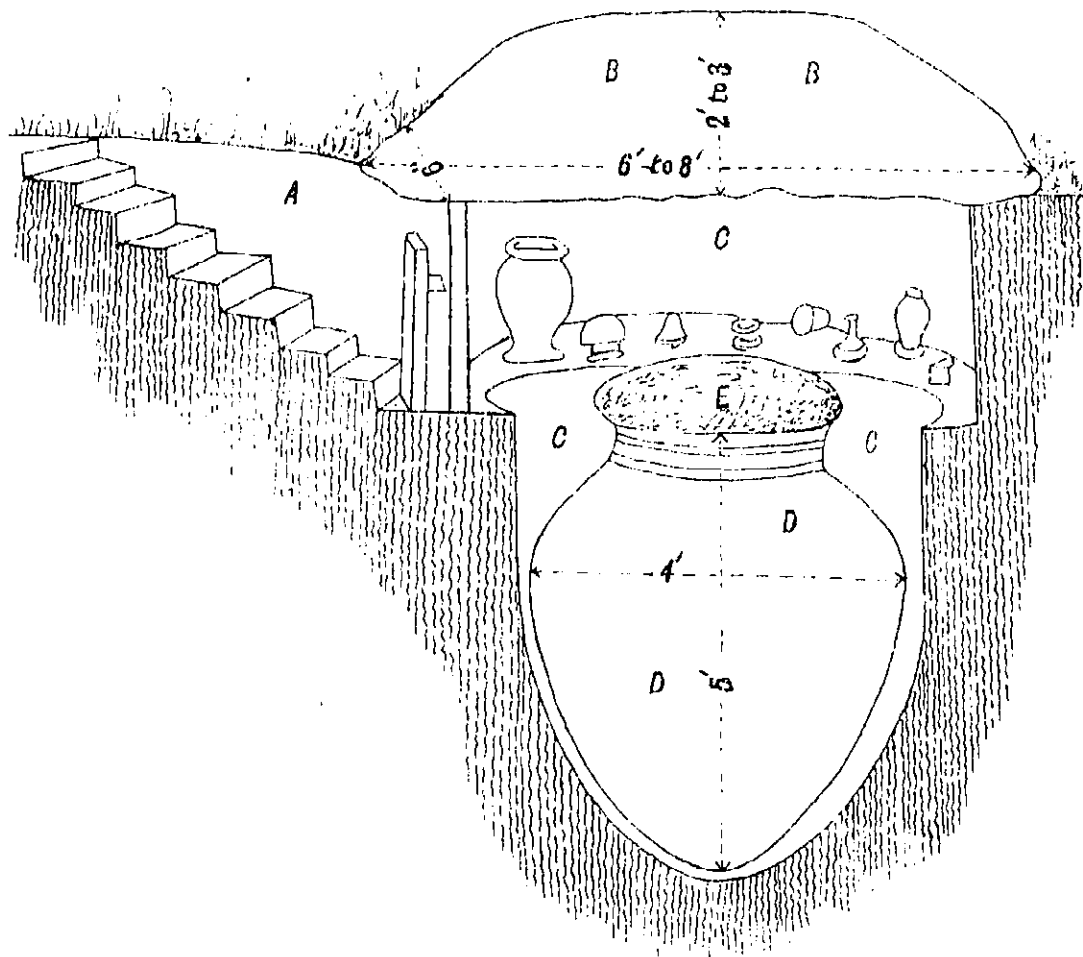


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Photo-Zinco Press, C. S. O., Madras.

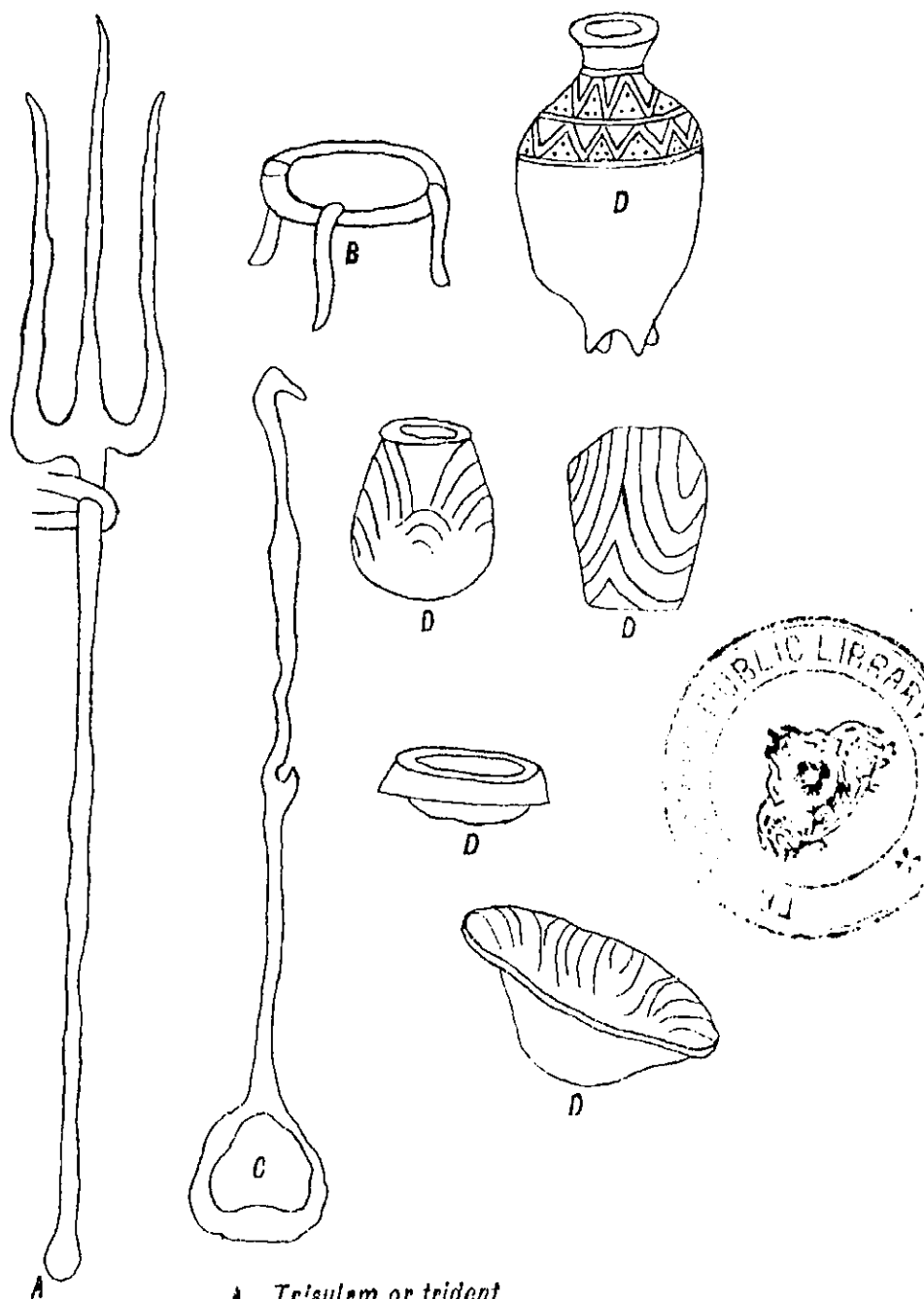


NO. IX. SECTION OF A KUTA KALLU (UMBRELLA STONE)
(MR. J DABINGTON).



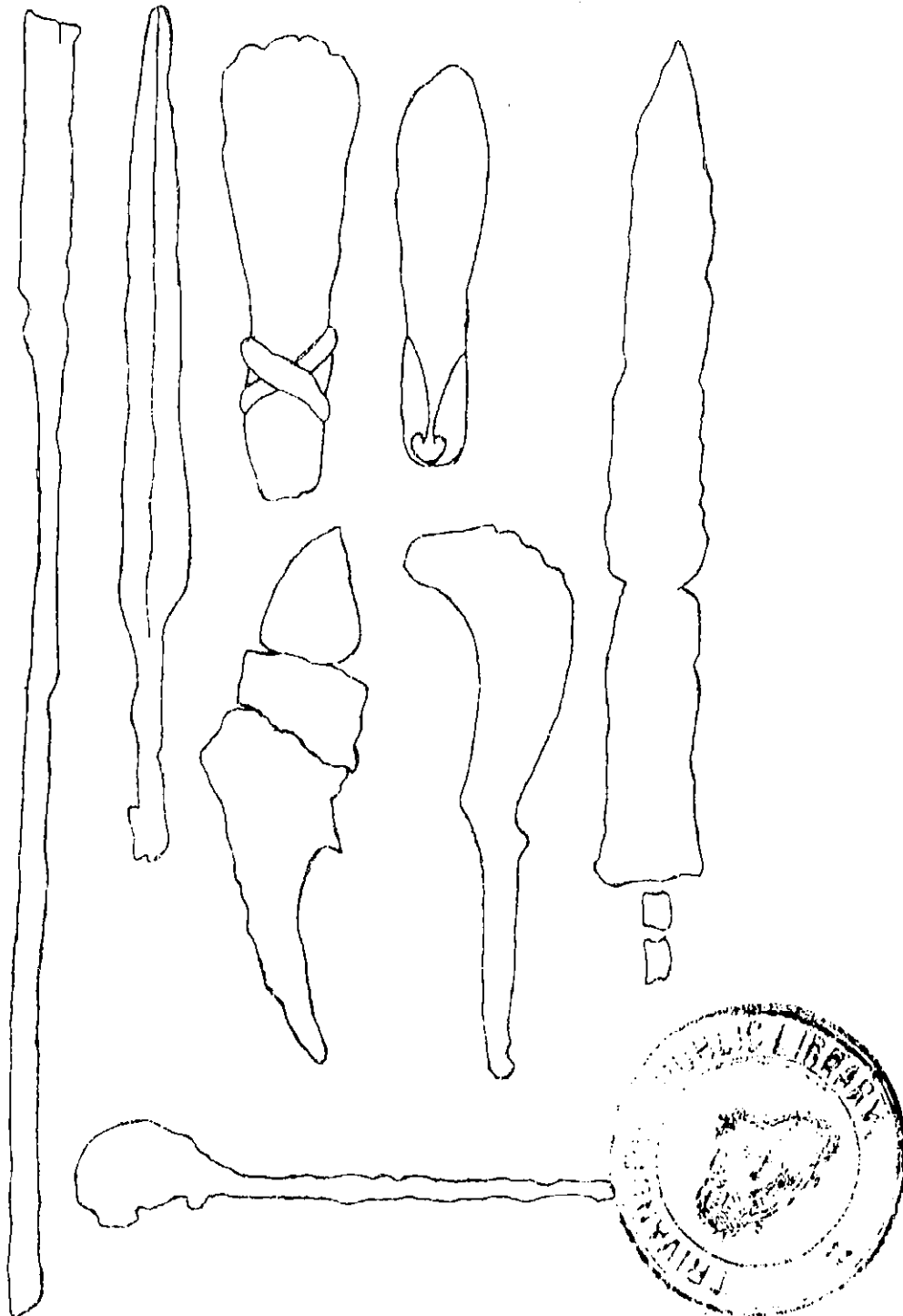
- A Open space with staircase
- B Cap stone Kuta Kallu
- C Excavated chamber or Cell
- D Sepulchral urn made of thick clay mixed with sand and not more than half baked containing earthenware vessel half filled with very fine powder or sand, probably animal matter -apparently mixed with mica and shining in appearance.
- E Covering stone-Granite.

**NO. X. VARIOUS ARTICLES FOUND IN K U T A K A L L U
(UMBRELLA STONE) CELLS AND URNS.**



- A Trisulam or trident*
B Tripod
C Lamp
D Various highly glazed earthen vessels

**NO. XI. VARIOUS IRON WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS FOUND
IN THE K U T A K A L L U (UMBRELLA STONE) CELLS AND URNS.**

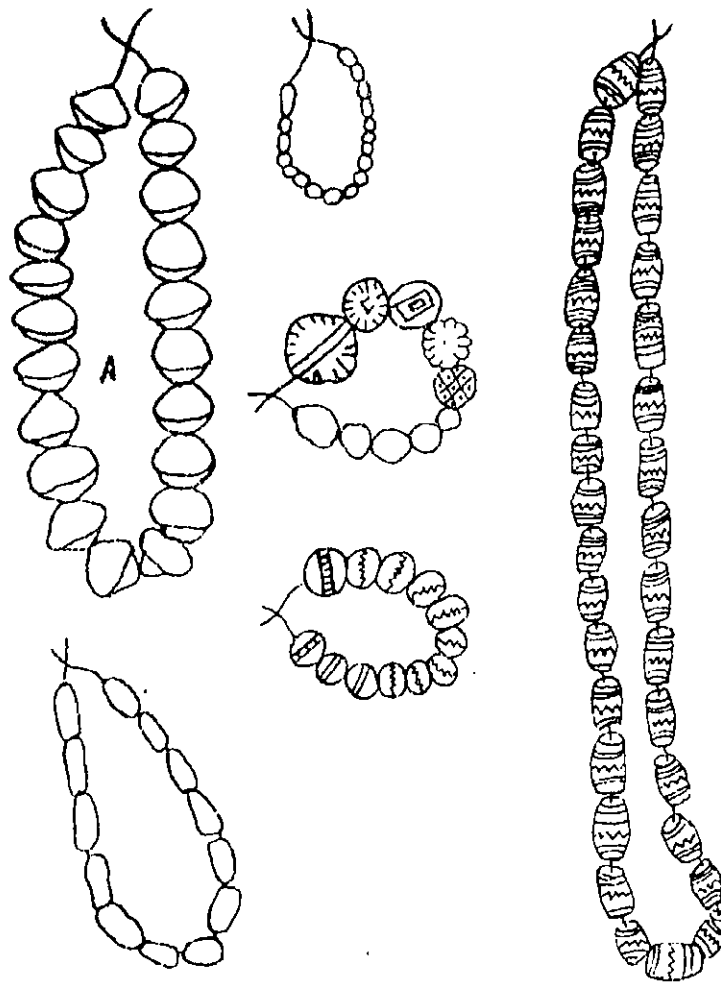


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Photo-Zinco Press, C. S. O., Madras.



**NO. XII. VARIOUS BEADS FOUND IN KUTA KALLU
 CELLS AND URNS**



A These beads are transparent.

is meanwhile supposed to inhabit the western room—the honored guest-chamber of the house—into which it is conveyed on the fortieth day after death in the holy urn before the latter is finally consigned to its temporary resting-place in the southern portion of the garden. The urn used must be of unburnt fresh earth, a fact which goes a long way to connect the ancient and modern practices on this point, for the massive urns of Class III above described are likewise constructed of only partially baked earth.

The native tradition still extant, that so long as the bones remained “undestroyed and undefiled” the deceased enjoyed heaven, is no doubt the original ancient idea, and the carrying out of the idea gave rise to the first three classes of these forms of sepulture. Modern ideas have changed simply by making priestly intercessions necessary for the welfare of the deceased.

This is most conspicuous in the ideas now in vogue regarding the *śraddha* ceremonies, for priestly ingenuity has had a wide scope in following the course of a departed spirit and in inventing obstacles to its final attainment of bliss. At every step of the *preta*, or departed spirit, obstacles are thrown in its way, and heavy toll is levied from the pockets of the deceased's descendants to purchase *gati*, or progress onward through purgatory—the “fourth mansion” as it is sometimes called by Malayalis—to other births and ultimate emancipation. Neglect to perform the necessary ceremonies leaves the departed spirit in the condition of a *pisachi* or foul wandering ghost, disposed to take revenge for its misery by a variety of malignant acts on living creatures. While on the other hand, the due performance of the ceremonies converts the *preta* into a *pitri* with divine honours which are paid to it in the *Śraddha* ceremony. At this stage even priestly interference does not leave the departed soul, for the *pitri* has to progress through various other stages of bliss till admitted finally into heaven. Malayalis, like other Hindus, flock to Gaya for the performance of *Śraddha* ceremonies, because of the efficacy of the service conducted there in procuring direct admission into heaven of the *pitris* at whatever stage of *gati*, or progress, they had previously arrived.

The primary or foundational religious idea of the Malayali Hindu, then, consisted probably of a relief in the evil propensities of deceased persons (*animism*). When calamity attacked him he sought refuge in sacrifices to propitiate the evil wandering spirits of his ancestors, or of other men or women. When disease attacked a community an evil spirit, generally feminine, was supposed to be the author. And so it remains to the present day: astrologers are consulted when the calamity is a personal one: when the trouble is common to society it is the *velichchappadu* (the *enlightener* or *oracle*) of the local deity, who falls into a trance, becomes inspired, and points out the remedy to the assembled multitude.

The *snakes*, too, are supposed to exercise an evil influence on human beings if their shrines are not respected. A clump of wild jungle trees luxuriantly festooned with graceful creepers is usually to be found in the south-west corner of the gardens of all respectable Malayali Hindus. The spot is left free to nature to deal with as she likes. Every tree and bush, every branch and twig is sacred. This is the *vishuttum kavu* (poison shrine) or *naga kotta* (snake shrine). Usually there is a granite stone (*chitra kuta-kallu*) carved after the fashion of a cobra's hood set up and consecrated in this waste spot. Leprosy, itch, barrenness in women, deaths of children, the frequent appearance of snakes in the garden, and other diseases and calamities supposed to be brought about by poison, are all set down to the anger of the serpents. If there is a snake shrine in the garden, sacrifices and ceremonies are resorted to. If there is none, then the place is diligently dug up, and search made for a snake stone, and if one is found it is concluded that the calamities have occurred because of there having previously been a snake shrine at the spot, and because the shrine had been neglected. A shrine is then at once formed, and costly sacrifices and ceremonies serve to allay the serpent's anger.

Allied with this worship of the serpent, there occur two other religious ideas about which it is difficult to come to correct or to satisfactory conclusions; for *phallic* and *sakti* worship and tree worship are somehow inextricably mixed up with serpent worship in Malayali Hinduism. It is possible that the tree was at first simply an emblem of the *phallus*, and the serpent was, and still continues to be, an emblem of the sexual passion.

Then again these are probably a development of the sun and earth goddess worship, for, contemporaneously with the change from a pastoral to an agricultural life, fertility of the soil seems to have been recognised and embodied in divine male and female forms.

It would be out of place here to consider these points in detail. It is sufficient to remark that the Malayali Hindus are still to a very great extent demon and ancestor worshippers; that this was probably their original religious idea and that, probably with the introduction of agriculture, their religious ideas, in which images of the divinities played no part, received fresh impressions tending towards the phallic cult which still holds them enchained.

It remains to consider how their religion has been affected by the introduction of foreign ideas.

It is certain that Jain missionaries penetrated as far as Malabar in Asoka's time, for Asoka, in one of his Girnar edicts, says² expressly: "In the whole dominion of the king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, as also in the adjacent countries, as Chola, Pandya, Satyaputra, Kerala-putra, as far as Tamaraparni, the kingdom of Antiochus, the

¹ These objects of adoration, borrowed apparently from the mosaic of Hindu cults, were imported through *Manichæan* influence into Christianity in one of its earlier and grosser forms.

² All the Malayali words for idols are of Sanskrit origin.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, p. 272, and Thomas' "*Jainism, or the Early Faith of Asoka, etc.*," London, 1877, p. 42.

Grecian king, and of his neighbour kings, the system of caring for the sick, both of men and of cattle, followed by king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, has been everywhere brought into practice ; and at all places where useful healing herbs for men and cattle were wanting, he has caused them to be brought and planted ; and at all places where roots and fruits were wanting, he has caused them to be brought and planted ; also he has caused wells to be dug and trees to be planted on the roads for the benefit of cattle." Here *Keralaputra*, or as sometimes transliterated *Ketalaputra*, refers undoubtedly to the king of ancient *Chera*, and the fact that *Chera* embraced the Malabar district and a good deal more is generally accepted as historically correct.

The Jains seem to have made very little impression on the religious beliefs of the people, for even a regard for animal life, the great characteristic of the Jains, had, until recent years, very little hold on the people ; and even now the great bulk of the Hindu population feed on fish and flesh when they can get it, and it is only the unenlightened upper classes, who are under Brahmanical influence, who observe the practice of abstaining from flesh. Under such circumstances, it may be regarded as having been introduced to this limited extent by the Brahmans rather than by the Jains.

The Jains do, however, seem to have left behind them one of their peculiar styles of *temple architecture* ; for the Hindoo temples and even the Muhammadan mosques of Malabar are all built in the style peculiar to the Jains, as it is still to be seen in the Jain *bastis* at Mudbidri and other places in the South Canara district. Regarding this style, Mr. Fergusson has the following suggestive remarks in his work on the "*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*" :—

"When¹ we descend the ghats into Canara, or the Tulava country, we come on a totally different state of matters. Jainism is the religion of the country, and all, or nearly all, the temples belong to this sect, but their architecture is neither the Dravidian style of the South, nor that of Northern India, and indeed is not known to exist anywhere else in India proper, but recurs with all its peculiarities in Nepal." "They² are much plainer than Hindu temples usually are. The pillars look like logs of wood with the angles partially chamfered off, so as to make them octagons, and the sloping roofs of the verandahs are so evidently wooden that the style itself cannot be far removed³ from a wooden original. In many places, indeed, below the ghats the temples are still wholly constructed in wood without any admixture of stone, and almost all the features of the Moodbidri temples may be found in wood at the present day. The blinds between the pillars, which are there executed in stone, are found in wood in every city in India, and, with very little variation, are used by Europeans in Calcutta to a greater extent, perhaps, than they were ever used by the natives.

¹ Edition 1876, p. 270.

² *Ibid.*, p. 271.

³ *Note.*—The buildings in this style in Malabar are invariably built of wood in all their characteristic portions.

"The feature, however, which presents the greatest resemblance to the northern styles is the reverse slope of the eaves above the verandah. I am not aware of its existence anywhere else south of Nepal, and it is so peculiar that it is much more likely to have been copied than reinvented."

"I cannot offer even a plausible conjecture how, or at what time, a connection existed between Nepal and Thibet and Canara, but I cannot doubt that such was the case." Further on, after describing the architecture of Nepal, Mr. Fergusson continues² :

"It may be remembered that, in speaking of the architecture of Canara, I remarked on the similarity that existed between that of that remote province and the style that is found in this Himalayan valley; and I do not think that any one can look at the illustrations quoted above and not perceive the similarity between them and the Nepalese examples, though it might require a familiarity with all the photographs to make it evident, without its being pointed out. This being the case, it is curious to find Colonel Kirkpatrick stating, more than seventy years ago, 'that it is remarkable enough that the Nayar women, like those among the Nayars, may, in fact, have as many husbands as they please, being at liberty to divorce them continually on the slightest pretence.' (Nepal, p. 187.) Dr. Buchanan Hamilton also remarks that 'though a small portion of the Newars have forsaken the doctrine of Buddha and adopted the worship of Siva, it is without changing their manners, which are chiefly remarkable for their extraordinary carelessness about the conduct of their women;' and he elsewhere remarks on their promiscuousness and licentiousness—(Account of Kingdom of Nepal, pp. 29, 42, 51, etc.). In fact, there are no two tribes in India, except the Nayers and Newars, who are known to have the same strange notions as to female chastity, and that coupled with the architecture and other peculiarities, seems to point to a similarity of race which is both curious and interesting; but how and when the connection took place I must leave it to others to determine. I do not think there is anything in the likeness of the names, but I do place faith in the similarity of their architecture combined with that of their manners and customs."

Regarding these extracts it may be remarked that this style of architecture marks out better than anything else the limits of the ancient kingdom of Chera, for the style prevails all through the West Coast country from the limits of Canara to Cape Comorin. In Malabar proper the style is reserved almost, if not altogether, exclusively for religious edifices. In Travancore it is often to be seen in lay buildings.

How the Muhammadans came to adopt this same style for their mosques is perhaps to be accounted for by the tradition, which asserts that some at least of the nine original mosques were built on the sites of temples, and that the temple endowments in land were made

¹ Edition 1876, p. 278.

² *Ibid.*, p. 306.

over with the temples for the maintenance of the mosques. Before Muhammadanism became a power in the land it is not difficult to suppose that the temples¹ themselves thus transferred were at first used for the new worship, and this may have set the fashion which has come down to the present day. So faithfully is the Hindu temple copied, that the Hindu *trisol* (or trident) is not unfrequently still placed over the open gable front of the mosque.

The final Brahman irruption from the north into Malabar, which for reasons set out at some length in Chapter III, may be placed about A.D. 700, was destined to work a greater change in the religion of the land, for it was part of the policy of the new-comers to "enlarge their borders", and to embrace in their all-enveloping Hinduism all minor creeds with which they came into contact.

Malayali Hinduism, therefore, in the present day is a strange mixture of all kinds of religious ideas. It embraces, chiefly as divers manifestations of Siva and his consort *Kali*, all the demoniac gods originally worshipped by the Malayalis. *Brahma* and *Vishnu*, too, are worshipped with *Siva*, the other member of the Hindu *Trimurti* or triad. It has borrowed from Christianity—with which, probably for the first time, Hinduism came into contact in Malabar—some of the loftiest ideas of pure theism. And Buddhism and Jainism have each left their mark on the system as eventually elaborated.

It was at the hands of *Samkaracharya*, who is generally acknowledged to have been a Malayali Brahman living² in the last quarter of the eighth and in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D., that Hinduism attained its widest bounds under the form of *Vedantism*. The Malayali tradition regarding him, as embodied in the *Keralolpatti* and other works, is that he was the son of a Brahman widow, and as "the son of the widow" he is sometimes referred to in Malayalam. This slur upon the legitimacy of the "gracious teacher," who summed up his philosophy and his religion in the *Atma Bodha Prakasika*, is not borne out by other stories of his life, one of which, however (and that an Eastern Coast one), makes him the miraculous son of a virgin, like the founder of Christianity. Whether there was any truth in the story is likely ever to remain a matter of doubt, but the necessity of explaining how at a very

¹ In this connection it may be mentioned that on the margin of the bathing place in one of the original mosques, at *Pantalayini-kollam*, there still exists a fragment of granite stone inscription in ancient *Vatteuttu* characters, said to have, at one time, formed part of the temple which the mosque superseded; another fragment is also to be seen there. And on a rock on the sea-shore, close to the site of this same mosque at *Pantalayini-kollam*, there is a foot-print deeply cut. A natural hollow in the rock has been chiselled into the shape of a foot, and this mark, which is 3' 3" long by 10" to 12" broad, is said by the local *Mappillas* to be the print of Adam's foot, as he landed from across the ocean; his next step took him to Adam's Peak in Ceylon. Both temple and foot-print were doubtless originally Jain.

² Born A.D. 783; died A.D. 820-21. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XI, pp. 175, 263. The accuracy of this date has since been questioned, and the matter is still *subjudice*.

early period of his life, he was rejected by his own people and adopted the habits of a *saniyasi*, or religious recluse, has led to the currency of another story regarding him, namely, that at eight years of age he was seized by a crocodile while bathing in the Aluvayi river, and that, after obtaining the consent of his mother, who witnessed the affair from the river bank, he adopted the life of a *saniyasi*, and at that very early age began his religious career.

The Malayali traditions place his birth-place at *Kaladi* to the south¹ of the *Aluvayi* river in the *Nambutiri illam* of the *Keippalli taravad*. At an early age, it is said, he began to criticise the *Vedic* knowledge and studies generally of the *Nambutiris*, who resented his conduct, and, it is said, excommunicated the family. At sixteen years of age, it is said, he became omniscient, and set out on his travels as a *saniyasi*. He composed largely, and one account says he met *Vyasa*, the great Rishi, who approved of his works, and resided with him for some years. According to another account his treatment of the sage was very far from being polite at their first meeting, for, after having vanquished him in argument, he ordered his disciples to throw down the defeated and unmannerly old Brahman, and drag him away by his legs. This account goes on to say they eventually became reconciled and *Vyasa* approved of *Samkaracharya's* works.

The most interesting and most important part of the account of the life of the "gracious teacher", as related by *Anandagiri*, in his *Samkaravijaya* (victories of *Samkara*), is that the great *Vedantist* had at last to respect the popular superstitions of the day, and to give his sanction even to those forms of idolatrous worship, which his philosophy repudiated.

All *Malayali* accounts agree that he returned to *Kerala*, and performed the religious obsequies of his mother, at which ceremony as those of his own caste held back, a *Sudra* had to perform the part usually undertaken by a junior member of the family, and it is said that from the time of this event began the custom in *Kerala* of "no ceremony for Brahmins without the assistance of a *Sudra*", and *vice versa*.

All *Malayali* accounts, too, agree in stating that he eventually died at *Badarikasramam*² in Northern India, and at a very early age, thirty-two years, according to most accounts.

Of his philosophical system of religion, which has in times past produced, and which still exercises, so wide and so beneficent an influence on native society, it may be said to be summed up in the

¹ One account says north, instead of south.

² He is said to have died, not at *Badarikasramam*, the place named in the Malayali stories of his life, but at *Kedarnath* in the Himalaya, to which place he proceeded from the former place—(*Wilson, Asiatic Researches*, XVII, 178-79; *Moor's Hindu Pantheon*, edition 1864, pp. 81, 353.)

"great saying" as *Samkaracharya* himself called it, "*Tat tvam asi*" = *Hoc* (that i.e., *Brahma*,¹ "the supreme deity, the *causa materialis* and *causa efficiens* of the illusive world")—*tu* (thou, the individual living spirit)—*es* (art)="Thou art that." "Having by the aid of the words 'it is not so, it is not so' removed all the *upadhis* ('the illusive forms of *Brahma* within the world') 'one will easily recognise, by the aid of the great saying, the oneness of the (individual) living spirit with the (Universal) Supreme Spirit.'" (*Atma Bodha Prakasika*, translated by the Rev. J. F. Kearns, Strophe 29.) "Having crossed the sea of fascination, and having slain the giants, 'inclination,' 'aversion,' etc., the wise shall go forth married to tranquillity, delighting in the spirit," (*Ibid.*, Strophe 49); "Extinguishing his inclination for external changeable pleasure, and securely reposing in spirit—pleasure, (such an one) shall always shine forth clearly therein, like the light which stands in a vessel secure," (*Ibid.*, Strophe 50). To the question—"In what condition, then, is the freed-life-soul, until the guilt (accumulated during a prior existence) is completely expiated and incorporeal bliss succeeds the extinction of the threefold² corporeality?" The "gracious teacher" replied, in Strophe 51: "Although still involved in the *upadhi* (i.e., corporeity) the *muni* (i.e., wisdom-perfected sage) may remain uncontaminated by its natural qualities (just like the ether, which, although it pervades the most unclean things, is nevertheless uncontaminated). And although he knows all, yet like a (disinterested) imbecile will he stand aside, and clinging (to no sensual thing) (he) passes through (them) like the wind." In Strophe 52, he continued: "By the dissolution of the *upadhi*, the *muni* (wisdom-perfected sage) unites inseparably with the (All) Pervading One, just as water mixes inseparably with water, air with air and fire with fire." In his description of what *Brahma* is, he said:

"That, which one having perceived, there is nothing else to perceive,

"That, which one having attained, there is nothing else to attain,

"That, which one knowing, there exists nothing else to be known,

"That is, *Brahma*—let this be believed." (*Ibid.*, Strophe 54.)

¹ To be distinguished from *Brahma*, the chief god of the Hindu *Trimurti* or triad—*Brahma*, *Siva* and *Vishnu*. *Samkaracharya's* views regarding *Brahma* are stated in Strophe 37 of the *Atma Bodha Prakasika* :—

"Having access to a portion of the bliss of the being of all perfect bliss, *Brahma* and the other (popular deities) become, by degrees, partially happy beings." (*Kearns's "Translation."*)

² "According to the Vedanta Philosophy, there are three *sariras* or corporeal forms :—(i) the *karana sarira* (*corpus causans*), (ii) the *sukshma sarira*, the fine material form, and (iii) the *sthula sarira*, the gross body, made up of the limbs which we perceive. The latter two are the *corpora causata*. The *sthula sarira* perishes at death, but the *sukshma sarira*, the immediate organ of the soul, is said to accompany it through all its transmigrations, and is capable of sensations of enjoyment and suffering. The *corpus causans* is the original type or embryo of the body as existing with the soul in its original state." (Rev. J. F. Kearns's Note to Strophe 13.)

And in the concluding Strophe (67), he observed : " Whoever undertakes the pilgrimage of himself * * * obtains eternal happiness, and is free from all toil * * * and becomes, omniscient, all-pervading immortal."

The Vedantists say, in short, that nothing exists but *Brahma*, that the " pilgrim of himself," if he frees himself from the illusions of the flesh and the mind, will become a *muni* (a wisdom-perfected sage), and will in the final stage of existence at last perceive that he himself is *Brahma*.

The religious ideal thus presented is in strange contrast to that which preaches :—" Whether ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God," and it is ill-adapted for a work-a-day world, where fields have to be ploughed to gain bread, where children have to be born to continue the human race, and where the good and the evil things in this world meet the passer-by at every corner of his life journey. But it is an ideal always present to the mind of the devout Hindu, and its deep refining influence on the people cannot be exaggerated—an influence, which, in their inner life, is productive of many most admirable qualities.

There is a constant pining after a transcendental ideal, attainable perhaps, but only after much suffering, and after much, almost impossible, self-denial :—

" O for those days when I shall dwell alone,
 " Among the snowy hills by Ganga's stream,
 " In stony torpor stiffened on a stone,
 " Inly conversing with the One Supreme,
 " Rapt in devotion, dead to all beside,
 " And deer shall fray their horns against my senseless hide."

(Tawney's Metrical Version of the *Vairagya Satakam*.)

Of places of resort for Hindu devotees there are in Malabar, owing perhaps to the jealous exclusiveness of the Nambutiri Brahmans, singularly few, and such as do occur are resorted to almost exclusively by people of the coast. The most famous temple in the district is Tirunavayi in the Ponnani taluk, where the *Maha Makham* festival, already fully described at page 163 of this Chapter, used to take place every twelve years.

Next to it, perhaps, comes *Guruvayur* also in the Ponnani taluk, a shrine supposed to be effectual in the cure of rheumatism. Besides these the following may be named : the *Talipuramba* temple in Chirakkal taluk ; the *Kottiyur* shrine in the jungles of the Manattanamam of Kottayam taluk resorted to by great multitudes about the beginning of the south-west monsoon season ; the *Kilur* temple on the south bank of the *Kotta* river, where is held annually the largest cattle-market in the district ; the *Tirunelli* temple placed on a branch of the Kaveri river at the foot of the *Bramagiri* plateau in Wynad, to which the people of North Malabar used to resort for the performance of *Sraddha* ceremonies, until by the opening of the railway it became easier for them to visit *Perur* on the Noyol river

in Coimbatore for this purpose; the *Bhagavati shrine* near Angadipuram in Valluvanad taluk, whence, after desecrating the shrine, the largest band of Mappilla fanatics ever collected (66 in number) issued forth to be shot down or impaled on the bayonets of the Grenadier Company of Her Majesty's 94th Regiment (August-September 1849); the *Kalpati* temple in Palghat town, where is held annually a car festival, the only ceremony of the kind that takes place in the district although very common in eastern districts, and in which the idol is carried in procession through the streets on a monster car.

Muhammadans.

There are many accounts extant in Malabar concerning the introduction of the religion of the prophet into the district. The indigenous manuscripts, however, differ from those belonging to Arab families settled in the district on one or two points, while in regard to all others the accounts are identical.

The points of difference relate to the time when the first convert was made, and as to some of the things that happened to him. The indigenous Muhammadans (*Mappillas*)¹ are anxious, very naturally, to claim for their first convert the honor of having had an interview with the Prophet himself, and of having been instructed by the Prophet himself in the principles of the "Fourth Vedam,"² as the religion of Islam is commonly called in Malabar. The Mappilla accounts likewise give the text of a speech said to have been delivered by the Prophet to his followers on the occasion, and further assert that the Prophet changed the name of the convert to *Thiaj-ud-din* (Crown of the Faith).

The Malayali Arabs do not credit these facts, because, in the first place, the convert's name (he being so influential a person as king or emperor of Malabar) would certainly have come down to posterity in the works of the old commentators, or have appeared in the list of *Assahabi*, or persons who saw the Prophet. Moreover, it is also a fact that no such names as those taken by the convert denoting attachment to Islam were given in the Prophet's lifetime. In their rejection of these facts they follow the example set by Shoikh Zin-ud-din, a writer, who in the sixteenth century noticed the story as then current, but rejected it on the ground, among others, that the convert was said, in his time, to have died on the coast of the Red Sea, whereas it was well known that his tomb was at Zaphar (on the Arabian Coast north-east of Aden). The

¹ N.B.—The word *Mappilla* is a contraction of *Maha* (great) and *pilla* (child, honorary title, as among *Nayars* in Travancore), and it was probably a title of honor conferred on the early Muhammadan immigrants, or possibly on the still earlier Christian immigrants, who are also, down to the present day, called *Mappillas*. The Muhammadans are usually called *Jonaka* or *Chonaka Mappillas* to distinguish them from the Christian *Mappillas*, who are called *Nasrani Mappillas*. *Jonaka* or *Chonaka* is believed to stand for *Yavanaka* = Ionian = Greek. In the *Payyanur pat*, or earliest Malayali poem, some of the sailors are called *chonavar*. *Nasrani* is of course Nazarene; the term is applied to Syrian or Syro-Roman Christians.

² The three other *Vedams* (knowledge, revelation, religion) are according to Muhammadans, (1) Heathen or Hindu, (2) Jewish and (3) Christian.

Mappillas now assert that he died at Shahr-Mokulla, not on the Red Sea Coast. This, too, is contrary to fact, as the evidence of the tomb stone itself, still existing at Zaphar, is understood to testify.

The Malayali Arabs assert, chiefly on Sheikh Zin-ud-din's authority, that Islam was not introduced into Malabar until 200 years after the Hujira—And this, or a later date, seems to be correct, for the Arab merchant, Sulaiman, who wrote in A.H. 237¹ (A.D. 851–52), and who wrote with knowledge as he had evidently visited the countries he wrote about, said expressly² : “ I know not that there is any one of either nation (Chinese or Indian) that has embraced Muhammadanism or speaks Arabic.”

There is no reason to suppose³ with Rowlandson that Arab emigrants established themselves in Malabar (presumably as a conquering race) in the time of the *Umayyide* Caliph Walid I (A.D. 705–15), for it is by no means certain that the pirate *Meds*, alias *Taukamara*, alias *Naukamara*, alias *Nagamara*, alias *Kurks*, were in any way related to the Coorgs—an inland people—or to the Malayalis. The expeditions directed by the Muhammadan Governor of Persia against Sind, in revenge for the plundering by the pirates of Debal of the king of Ceylon's ships conveying tribute, were directed, as was natural, against Debal itself, which appears to have been some place in Sind.

All Malayali accounts, however, are substantially in accord as to the following facts :—The last king or emperor of Malabar was one Cheraman Perumal, who reigned at *Kodungallur* (Cranganore, the *Mouziris* of the Greeks, the *Muziri-kodu* of the Cochin Jews' deed). Cheraman Perumal dreamed that the fullmoon appeared on the night of newmoon at Mecca in Arabia, and that, when at the meridian, she split into two, one half remaining and the other half descending to the foot of a hill called *Abikubais*, when the two halves joined together and then set. Sometime afterwards a party of Muhammadan pilgrims on their way to the foot-print shrine at Adam's Peak in Ceylon chanced to visit the Perumal's capital, and were admitted to an audience and treated most hospitably. On being asked if there was any news in their country, one, by name Sheikh Sekke-ud-din,⁴ it is said, related to the Perumal the apocryphal story of Muhammad having, by the miracle about which the Perumal had dreamt, converted a number of unbelievers. The Perumal, it is said, was much interested and secretly made known to the Sheikh his intention “ to unite,⁵ himself to them.” When the Sheikh returned from Ceylon the Perumal secretly directed him “ to make ready a vessel and provide it with everything

¹ Malik-ibn-Dinar's expedition described further down is said to have reached Malabar about A.H. 224, by which time Sulaiman had probably returned from his wanderings.

² Renandot's translation of “Ancient Accounts of India, &c.” London, 1733, p. 37 (x).

³ Rowlandson's foot-note to *Tuhafat-ul-Mujahidin*, p. 3.

⁴ Or *Sauj-ud-din*.

⁵ Rowlandson's *Tuhafat-ul-Mujahidin*, p. 50.

necessary for proceeding on a voyage." For the next eight days the Perumal busied himself privately in arranging affairs of state, and, in particular, in assigning to the different chieftains under him their respective portions of territory. This was all embodied in a written deed which he left behind him. At the end of the eight days he embarked secretly in the vessel prepared for him along with the Sheikh and his companions, and they proceeded to *Pantalayini-Kollam* (Northern Kollam near Quilandy), to the place, where some six-and-a-half centuries later the first Europeans, who successfully navigated their way to Indian soil, first landed. At *Pantalayini-Kollam* they spent one day, or a day and a night, and thence proceeded to the island of *Darmatam*, or *Darmapattanam*, near Tellicherry. This island adjoins the *Randattara Achanmars* territory and to this day *Randattara* is commonly called the *Poyanad* (i.e., the country whence the Perumal "went" or "set out" on his journey to Arabia). At *Darmapattanam* the party remained three days, and then embarking set sail for, and landed at, *Shahr* on the Arabian Coast. At this place the Perumal remained, according to the Arab accounts, for a considerable time.

It is uncertain whether it was here (*Shahr*) that the Perumal came for the first time into contact with the persons, who were to be the pioneers of Islam in Malabar, or whether they, or some of them, had been of the party of pilgrims with whom he originally set out from *Kodungallur*. But, however this may be, the names of the persons have been handed down by tradition as (1) Malik-ibn-Dinar, (2) Habib-ibn-Malik, (3) Sherf-ibn-Malik,¹ (4) Malik-ibn-Habib and his wife, Kumarieth, with their ten sons² and five daughters.³ From the names it may perhaps be gathered that the party consisted of Malik-ibn-Dinar, his two sons, one grandson, and his grandson's wife, and their family of fifteen children.

The Perumal apparently changed his name to that which is still said to appear on his tomb, namely Abdul Rahman Samiri, and married a wife, whose name has been variously handed down as *Rahabieth* or *Gomarieth*.

The Perumal, it is said, after remaining a considerable time at *Shahr*, formed a resolution to return to Malabar for the purpose of establishing his new religion with suitable places of worship, and he set about for this purpose the building of a ship. Before, however, the ship was built the Perumal fell dangerously ill, and, being convinced there was no hope of his recovery, implored his companions not to desist from their design of proceeding to Malabar to propagate there the Fourth Vedam. To this they rejoined that they, foreigners, could not know his country and its extent and would have no influence therein; whereupon, it is said, he prepared and gave them writings in the Malayalam language to all the chieftains whom he had appointed in his stead, requiring them to give

¹ Or Shieff-ibn-Malik.

² (1) Habib, (2) Muhammad, (3) Ali, (4) Hussain, (5) Thaki-ud-din?, (6) Abdar Rahman, (7) Ibrahim, (8) Mussa, (9) Ummar, (10) Hassan.

³ (1) Fatima, (2) Ayissa, (3) Zainab, (4) Thanirath, (5) Halima.

land for mosques and to endow them. He further instructed them not to tell of his sufferings and death¹ "but tell ye not to any of my people of Malabar of the violence of my sufferings, or that I am no more." And he finally enjoined on them not to land anywhere, save at *Kodungallur* (Cranganore), *Darmapattanam Pantalayini-Kollam*, or Southern *Kollam* (Quilon). "And" after this he surrendered his soul to the unbounded mercy of God."

Some years² after his death Malik-ibn-Dinar and his family set out for Malabar, bearing with them the Perumal's letters, and, concealing his death, delivered them to those to whom they were addressed, beginning with the prince³ ruling at *Kodungallur* (Cranganore). They were received hospitably, and, in accordance with the Perumal's instructions, land to build a mosque and a suitable endowment were given. Malik-ibn-Dinar himself became the first Kazi of this place.

After some time Malik-ibn-Dinar sent out to Southern *Kollam*⁴ (Quilon) Malik-ibn-Habib with his wife and some of their sons. There also they were received hospitably, apparently by the Southern Kolattiri (Travancore Raja), and a second mosque was founded, of which Hassan, one of the sons, became Kazi. Some of the remaining sons, accompanied by their father most probably, next set out for the dominions of the Northern Kolattiri (Chirakkal Raja's family), and at *Hubae Murawee* (*Madayi*) or *Palayangadi* in Chirakkal taluk, close to one of the palaces of the Kolattiris, a third mosque was founded and endowed. At this mosque a tradition exists that the party brought over with them from Arabia three blocks of white marble, one of which was placed in this mosque, where it is still to be seen. The other two, the tradition says, were similarly placed in the mosques at Quilon and Cranganore. Abdar-Rahman remained there as Kazi. Thence the party proceeded to *Bakkanur* (Barkur) and to *Manjabur* (Mangalore) and to Northern *Kanyarode* (Cassargode), three places in Canara, founding mosques at each place and leaving as Kazis at them respectively Ibrahim, Mussa, and Muhammad, sons of Malik-ibn-Habib. The remainder of the party next returned to *Madayi Palayangadi* and remained there three months.

The locality of the next mosque founded has been the subject of some debate, but there seems no reason to doubt the correctness of the current Malayali accounts, which agree in placing it at *Chirikandalam*⁵ or *Cherupattanam*⁶ (literally small town). "*Zaraf-tan*" is the name which occurs in Rowlandson's version of

¹ Rowlandson's *Tuhfat-ul-Mujahidin*, p. 53.

² Eight years according to the *Mappilla* manuscripts.

³ Probably of the Cochin Raja's family.

⁴ According to one manuscript the second mosque was erected at Northern *Kollam* (*Pantalayini-Kollam*) not at Southern *Kollam* (Quilon), and according to it the last mosque erected was at the latter place.

⁵ *Palayangadi* mosque manuscripts.

⁶ Another manuscript in the hands of an Arab family in Calicut.

the *Tahafat-ul-Mujahidin* and *Jarfattan*, in two other versions of the same work in the hands of families at Ponnani and Calicut. The village now called *Srikandapuram* or *Chirikandatum* (the "*Surrukundapuram*" of the Indian Atlas) lies at the head of the navigable waters of one branch of the *Valurpattanam* river in the Chakkal taluk, and its former importance as a *entrepot* of trade with Coorg and Mysore has already been alluded to. (Chapter I, Section C, p. 10.)

To this mosque, at *Srikandapuram*, the first Kazi appointed was Ummar, another of the ten sons.

After this the party visited, in succession, *Darmapattanam* in the Kottayam taluk, and *Pantalayini-Kollam* in the Kurumbranad taluk, (both already alluded to above), and lastly *Chaliam* in the Ernad taluk, the present terminus of the Madras South-West Line of Railway. At those three places respectively Hussain, Muhammad,¹ and Thaki-ud-din, three more of the ten sons, were appointed as Kazis.

Of the persons who were thus instrumental in introducing Muhammadanism into Malabar, it is related that Malik-ibn-Dinar subsequently visited each of the mosques in turn, and, after returning to *Kodungallur*, set out for Southern *Quilon*² with Malik-ibn-Habib. Thence he went to Arabia and "travelling³ on to *Khorassan* there resigned his breath." Malik-ibn-Habib and his wife came after Malik-ibn-Dinar's departure from *Quilon* to *Kodungallur* and there both of them died. And of the Kazis of the other mosques, Muhammad alone died elsewhere than at his post of duty; he, it seems, died at Aden.

There is good reason for thinking that this account of the introduction of Muhammadanism into Malabar is reliable.

For first of all it is beyond doubt that Arabs had by the ninth century A.D., about which time these events are said to have happened, penetrated beyond India and as far as China for purposes of trade, and it is notable that all the nine places where mosques were erected were either the headquarters of the petty potentates of the country, or places affording facilities for trade, and in some cases (as at *Kodungallur*, *Kottam*, *Palayangadi*, and perhaps *Pantalayini Kollam*) the places had the double advantage of being both well situated for trade and in close proximity to the chieftain's strongholds. Arabs engaged in trade had no doubt settled in these places long previously, and indeed an inscription on a Muhammadan granite tombstone still standing at *Pantalayini-Kollam* recites, after the usual prayer, that "Ali-ibn-Udthorman was obliged to leave this world for ever to the one which is everlasting, and which

¹ There is a discrepancy here, for Muhammad was already Kazi of Cassargode mosque.

² According to one manuscript the last of the nine mosques was erected here—See note above regarding Southern *Kollam* (*Quilon*).

³ Rowlandson's *Tahafat-ul-Mujahidin*, p. 55.

receives the spirits of all, in the year 166¹ of Hejira, so called after Muhammad the Prophet left Mecca for Medina.”

Malik-ibn-Dinar and his party, even with the exceptional advantages they possessed, would hardly have been able in so short a time to found and establish mosques at these places, unless the ground had been prepared beforehand for them to some extent at least. And the fact that Arabs had settled for trading purposes carries with it the further probable assumption that some of them at least had contracted alliances with women of the country, and the beginnings of a mixed race, the *Mappillas*, had been laid.

Finally, it has recently come to notice, from the information of an Arab resident near the spot, that the tomb of the Perumal referred to still exists at *Zaphar* on the Arabian Coast, at some distance from the place (Shahr), where he is reported to have landed. The facts have still to be authoritatively verified, but it is stated that on this tomb the inscription runs: “Arrived at Zaphar, A.H. 212. Died there A.H. 216.” These dates correspond with the years 827--832 A.D., and as the Kollam era of the coast commenced in 825 A.D., and in the month of the year (25th August) just before the north-east monsoon sets in, when ships frequently sail for Arabia and the Persian Gulf, it is not at all improbable that the beginning of the Kollam era of the coast dates from the day on which Cheraman Perumal, the last of the kings of Malabar, set sail for Arabia in the manner described. It is said that he stayed a “considerable time” at Shahr, which perhaps accounts satisfactorily for the time elapsing between August-September 825 A.D. and A.D. 827 the year in which he went to *Zaphar*.

Moreover Sheikh Zin-ud-din² stated in reference to this affair: “Touching the exact time when this event occurred there is no certain information; but there appears good ground for the supposition that it happened about two hundred years after the flight of the Prophet.” And he continued: “It is a fact, moreover, now well known to all, that the king was buried at Zofar, instead of on the Arabian Coast of the Red Sea, at which place his tomb can be seen by every one, and is indeed now flocked to on account of its virtues. And the king, of whom this tale is told, is styled by the people of that part of the world As-Samira,³ whilst the tradition of his disappearance is very common throughout the population generally of Malabar, whether Moslems or Pagans; although the latter would believe that he has been taken up into heaven, and still continue to expect his descent, on which account they assemble at

¹ The date is a good deal weather-worn, but these figures are still fairly distinct.

² Rowlandson's *Tahafat-ul-Mujahidin*, p. 55.

³ The name of the king is said to have been changed to *Abdul Rahman Samiri*, and the tomb, it is said, is still regarded with much veneration as that of a Hindu (*Samiri*-Samaritan-worshipper of the calf—*Koran*, S. 20) king of Malabar, who became a convert to Islam. From the fact that the king is called *Samiri*, some *Mappillas* assert that the king buried at *Zaphar* was really a Zamorin. The mukri of the mosque adjacent to the tomb came to Malabar some sixteen years ago, soliciting subscriptions for repairing the tomb and mosque.

Cranganore and keep ready there wooden shoes and water, and on a certain night of the year burn lamp as a kind of festival in honor of his memory."

The *Mappillas*, the mixed race, the beginnings of which have just been sketched, have played an important part in the political history of the District, which will be alluded to in its proper place in the historical chapter. And it is unnecessary to say more about that subject here than that the Arab element in the parentage of the vast majority of them is now very small indeed. The race is rapidly progressing in numbers, to some extent from natural causes, though they are apparently not so prolific as Hindus, and to a large extent from conversion from the lower (the servile) classes of Hindus -- a practice which was not only permitted but in some instances enjoined under the Zamorin Rajas of Calicut, who, in order to man their navies, directed that one or more male members of the families of Hindu fishermen should be brought up as Muhammadans, and this practice has continued down to modern times.

Regarding the increase in the Muhammadan population between 1871 and 1881, the following remarks occur in the Presidency Census (1881) Report, paragraph 151 :—"Conspicuous for their degraded position and humiliating disabilities are the Cherumars. This caste numbered 99,009 in Malabar at the census of 1871, and in 1881, is returned at only 64,725.¹ This is a loss of 34.63 per cent, instead of the gain 5.71 per cent, observed generally in the district. There are, therefore, 40,000 fewer Cherumars than there would have been but for some disturbing cause, and the disturbing cause is very well known to the District Officer to be conversion to Muhammadanism. "The honor of Islam" once conferred on a Cheruman, or on one of the other low castes, he moves, at one spring, several places higher socially than that which he originally occupied, and the figures, corroborating what has been actually observed in the district show that nearly 50,000 Cherumars and other Hindus have availed themselves of the opening."

The conversion of a Pariah, or low caste Hindu, to Muhammadanism raises him distinctly in the social scale, and he is treated with more respect by Hindus. "He is no longer a link in a chain which requires to be kept in its particular place. His new faith neutralises all his former bad qualities. He is no longer the degraded Pariah whose approach disgusted, and whose touch polluted the Hindu of caste, but belonging now to a different scale of being, contact with him does not require the same ablutions to purify it." (Special Commissioner Graeme's Report, paragraph 21). This was written before the *Mappilla* outrages exalted this community so greatly in the district. It may be doubted whether contact with a Hindu, even in Mr. Graeme's time, did not carry with it the necessity of Hindu ablutions afterwards, but however this may be, the

¹ In the year 1850, the Government called for information as to the traffic in slaves, and from a careful enumeration then made, it seems that the caste numbered at that time 187,758 ; so that the decrease in 25 years has been over 65 per cent.

Hindu is very strict about such matters now. At the same time the main fact remains that a low caste Hindu, obtains by conversion many substantial benefits, for *Mappillas*, as a class pull well together; and he is a daring Hindu indeed who dares now-a-days to trample on their class prejudices or feelings.

Of the *Mappilla*, as a class, Mr. Graeme expressed himself as follows:—"On the coast, they are industrious, skilful in trade, crafty, avaricious, rigid observers of the injunction of the Prophet in abstaining from the use of spirituous liquors, particular in attending to the forms rather than the spirit of their religion, being regular in worship, but at the same time hypocritical rogues, and zealous in their attempts to gain proselytes." (*Report, paragraph 20.*) Of their fanaticism and courage in meeting death enough will be said further on. They are frugal and thrifty as well as industrious. They marry as a rule, but one wife, and live with her and their children on affectionate terms.

The women appear in public without veils, but among the better class it is usual to envelop the head and person but not the face in a long robe. They are very scrupulous about the chastity of their women, who, however, enjoy much freedom.

To those who treat the men with kindness and consideration they become much attached, and they are of all classes in the district by far the most serviceable on ordinary occasions, and the most reliable in emergencies. But the hand that controls them as a class must be firm, and punishment when justly merited must be inflicted with severity; for leniency is an unknown word, and is interpreted as weakness, and not merely that, but as weakness, of which advantage is to be taken at the earliest possible moment.

They are moreover, as a class, nearly almost, if not altogether, illiterate. The only education received is a parrot-like recitation of portions of the *Koran*, which, being in Arabic, none of them understand. The scruples of the parents prevent them from permitting their children to attend the vernacular schools of the Hindus. A fairly successful attempt has however been made to reach them by giving grants to their own teachers on condition that they must show results. The teachers, being as illiterate as their pupils, except in knowledge of *Koran* recitations, usually employ Hindu youths to teach the pupils and so earn the results grants. And some of the pupils are now being taught teaching as a profession in special normal schools. The number of *Mappillas* who have advanced so far as to learn to read and write English in the schools, could very probably be counted on the fingers of two hands. The people, as a class, being thus ignorant, are very easily misled by designing persons, and they are of course as bigotted as they are ignorant.

Of their religion itself they obtain such knowledge as they possess of it from Malayalam tracts, for which, especially for those detailing the essential things to be attended to in pilgrimages to Mecca, there is a considerable demand. The ceremonial observance

connected with bathing, the washing of the face and hands, worship by prostration, the appropriate prayers, the hours of worship, the Prophet's commandments, acts vitiating the efficacy of worship, the giving of alms, the observances of Ramzan (the fasting-month), and many other similar subjects are treated of in these tracts. And the people obtain from them accurate ideas of the outward forms of their religion, in the observance of which they are very strict.

They are chiefly *Sunnis*, or followers of the Ponnani Tungal, the chief priest of the orthodox party, but some time in the eighteenth century a schism was created by the introduction of new forms of worship by a foreign (Persian) Muhammadan, who settled at Kandotti (*Konduvetti*) in the Ernad Taluk. His followers are called Shi'ahs by the orthodox party, but they themselves, when questioned, object to the use of the name and assert that they are as much *Sunnis* as the other party. This sect, though still numerous, does not seem to be increasing in numbers.

Christians.

There are four chief sects of Christians in Malabar, namely—

1. Syrians,
2. Romo-Syrians,
3. Roman Catholics, following the ordinary Latin rite, and
4. Protestants of all denominations.

The Syrians and Romo-Syrians.—Malabar Christians of the first two of these classes are often called "the Christians of St. Thomas," from the prevalence of a tradition that Christianity was introduced into Malabar by the Apostle himself, and the tradition is implicitly believed by the generality of the adherents of the first three classes.

But the evidence as yet available in support of the truth of the tradition is by no means perfect.

It is certain that, in the first century A.D., a very extensive trade and connection existed directly between India and the Western world, and a precise and expanding knowledge of the geography of the Indian coasts and markets, is manifest in the writings of the author of the "*Periplus Maris Erythræi*" and several others. *Mouziris*, in particular, which has already been alluded to, was one of the places best known to travellers and merchants from the West, and it was there and thereabouts that the original settlements of Christians were formed. The names of the traditional places where the first seven churches were built sufficiently attest this viz., (1) *Niranam*, (2) *Chayal*, (3) *Kollam*, (4) *Palur*, (5) *Kodungallur* (*Mouziris* itself), (6) *Gokkamangalam*, (7) *Kottakayal*, localities which are all well known, and in all of which except *Chayal* and *Kodungallur*, churches still exist. Of these places only one, *Palur*¹ lies in British Malabar.

¹ In Palayur amsem of the Ponnani taluk.

This direct trade connection seems to have been maintained though probably in a diminishing scale, for some centuries after the birth of Christ, and if the evidence of the Peutingerian Tables (which are believed to have been constructed about 226 A.D.) is accepted, the Romans even at that date are said to have had a force of two cohorts (840 to 1,200 men) at Mouziris to protect their trade, and they had also erected a temple to Augustus at the same place. That Christians, among others, found their way to Malabar in the very early centuries after Christ is therefore highly probable.

There is consequently no inherent improbability in the tradition that the Apostle Thomas was one of the earliest immigrants from the West ; but of direct contemporary proof that he did come to *Mouziris* and found the Christian churches in that neighbourhood there is absolutely none so far as researches have yet gone.

The probability of the tradition consequently depends on later evidence.

The first mention of St. Thomas' mission to Malabar is probably to be found in the *Acta Thomæ*, or Acts of Judas Thomas, an apocryphal gospel, the date of which was probably not earlier than 200 A.D. and was certainly not later than the fourth century. A king, who has been satisfactorily identified with king Gando-pharos mentioned in Indo-Skythian coins, and of whose reign a stone inscription, dated 46 A.D., has recently been deciphered is said to have sent to Christ for an architect, and St. Thomas was sent in consequence. But this king reigned in North-western India, whereas St. Thomas is understood to have preached his mission in Malabar and to have been killed at St. Thomas' Mount near Madras.

The object of the author of this apocryphal gospel seems to have been to promote the doctrine of celibacy, and he possibly took, as his ground-work, the current traditionary story about St. Thomas, and possibly in entire ignorance of what he was writing about heuled in the name of a king, who could not possibly have had anything to do with the part of India, where St. Thomas was said to have preached and died.

However this may be, the next authentic notice of the story seems to be contained in the fragments of the writings of Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, latter half of third and beginning of fourth centuries A.D. He wrote that St. Thomas, after preaching to the Parthians, Medes and Persians, died at "*Calamina*,"¹ a town in India." And this name is considered by some to be the Syriac translation of "*Maliapore*," since *Mala* (Tam.) and *Golomath*² (Syriac) both mean "hill," and both names signify "City of the Mount."

¹ This is the name which also occurs in the Roman Martyrology.

² It may be noted however in passing that it is very doubtful if the Syrian connection with the "Thomas Christians" was established for several centuries after this time.

It was about the same time (A.D. 261) that Manes, the disciple of Terobinthus founded the sect of Manichæans in Persia. It seems that sometime in the second century A.D. one Seythianus, who had studied at Alexandria and had visited the anchorots of Thebais went, by sea to India and brought thence four books containing the most extravagant doctrines, but he died about the end of the second century before he could preach his new tenets. On Terobinthus, his disciple, devolved the duty of spreading these new views, and he accordingly preached his doctrines in Palestine and Persia, declaring that he himself was another Buddha, and that he was born of a virgin. Meeting with strong opposition from the priesthood he had to conceal himself in the house of a rich widow, and there he met with his death by accident. The widow's adopted son or servant was Manes, and he it was who is said to have "called on" *Hind* and *Sin* and the people of Khorasan, and "made a deputy of one of his companions in each province." It seems doubtful whether he himself ever visited '*Hind*,' which, among Arabs, was the name applied to Southern India exclusively. He was put to death by the king of Persia in 277 A.D.

"The Manichæans¹ said that Christ was the primæval serpent, who enlightened the minds of Adam and Eve, the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer, the original soul, the preserver of the soul, and the fabricator of the instrument with which the salvation of the soul is effected. He was born of the earth, and for the redemption of mankind suspended on every tree, for they saw him crucified on every tree among its branches." "The doctrine² of Manes could not fail of meeting with many admirers in India when he appeared in the character of Buddha, and of Christ, or Salivahana. Transmigration was one of his tenets, and the rule of the life and manners of his disciples was very severe and rigorous. They abstained from flesh, fish, eggs, wine, etc., and the ruler of every district and president of their assemblies was considered as Christ."

But whether it was Christianity in this shape, or Christianity in a more orthodox form that was at first imported into Malabar, it is difficult to say. The late Doctor Burnell's³ views were that "the earliest Christian settlements in India were Persian, and probably therefore Manichæan or *Gnostic*," and that these were not supplanted by the more orthodox Nestorians "earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century A.D."

On the other hand it has been pointed out that *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Caesarea*, about 264-340 A.D., mentions that Pantænus of the

¹ Asiatic Researches IX, 216-18. It is noteworthy that in the *Keralolpatti* or origin of *Keralam*, the pseudo-history of Malabar current among natives, the Brahmans are said to have displaced the *Nagas* or snakes. The final Brahman immigration seems to have occurred in or about the eighth century A.D. and Christian (? *Manichæan*) colonies had arrived in the country long before that time. It is possible that the allusion in the *Keralolpatti* refers to the *Manichæans*.

² Asiatic Researches IX, 221.

³ Indian Antiquary III, 311.

Catechetical School at Alexandria visited India and brought home with him a Hebrew copy of the Gospel by St. Mathew about the end of the second century A.D., and that one of the apostles (Bartholomew) did visit India.

India, however, in those days and long afterwards meant a very large portion of the globe, and which of the Indies it was that Pantænus visited it is impossible to say with certainty; for, about the fourth century, there were two Indies, *Major and Minor*. India Minor adjoined Persia. Some time later there were three Indies—*Major, Minor and Tertia*. The first, *India Major*, extended from Malabar indefinitely eastward. The second, *India Minor*, embraced the Western Coast of India as far as, but not including, Malabar, and probably Sind, and possibly the *Mekran Coast*. *India Tertia* was Zanzibar in Africa.

It would seem that the Malabar Coast lay in India Major, but whether it was this India and this part of India Major that Pantænus visited cannot be decided. If he did come to India Major, it is extremely likely that it was on the Malabar Coast that he found the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, for the Jews have according to tradition been settled in the country now comprising the Native State of Cochin since the beginning of the Christian era and perhaps before it. Moreover, if according to the Peutingerian Tables, the Romans had a force of two cohorts at *Muziris* to protect their trade there in A.D. 216, it is certain that intercourse between Alexandria and the Malabar Coast must have been both direct and frequent, and the fact that Pantænus went to India Major and to *Muziris* becomes highly probable.

The fact, however, that he found a Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's Gospel points to the probability of the first colony of Christians having been Israelites, and not either Syrians or Persians. Eusebius likewise mentioned that St. Thomas was the Apostle of Edessa in Syria, and as the Apostle of the Syrians he has all along been accepted.

The facts to be presently set forth go to show that in the Christian colonies Persian and not Syrian influences were prevalent from a comparatively early date.

The next item of history available is the presence of Johannes, Metropolitan of "*Persian and the Great India*," at the Council of Nice in 325 A.D. There can be little doubt that "*India Major*," as above explained, was here meant, and India Major included the Malabar Coast. If Johannes belonged to the Manichæan sect would he have been present at this Council?

Rufinus, who went to Syria in 371 A.D. and lived at Edessa for 25 years, attested that St. Thomas' body was brought from India to Edessa and there interred; but from which of the "*Indies*" was the body brought, presuming that the relics were still in existence?

It was about this same time that the first authentic mention of the "Acts of Judas Thomas" was made by Epiphanius Bishop of Salamis, and Jerome, who died in 420 A.D., also alluded to St. Thomas' mission to India.

The next important fact seems to be that Nestorius was consecrated Bishop of Constantinople in 428 or 429 A.D. His heretical doctrines were condemned by the first Council of Ephesus a year or two later, and in 435 he was banished by the Emperor and in 439 his followers were proscribed.

A year or two later the Manichæans were persecuted, their books burned at Rome, and their doctrines condemned by the Council of Rome in 444 A.D.

There must have been considerable intercourse between Persia and India, for in the middle of the sixth century a learned *Persian*—perhaps a Christian—came to India to get a copy of the *Panchatantram*.

And about 522 A.D. Cosmas Indicopleustes, a Byzantine monk, visited Ceylon and the West Coast of India and wrote as follows:—"In the Island of Taprobane (Ceylon) there * * * is a church of Christians, and clerks, and faithful. * * * Likewise at Male where the pepper grows; and in the town Kalliena there is also a bishop consecrated in *Persia*." "Male" is clearly Malabar, and "Kalliena" is most probably a place near Udipi in South Canara.

"A letter" in Assemani's *Bibliotheca* from the Patriarch Jesajabus (died A.D. 660) to Simon, Metropolitan of *Persia*, blames his neglect of duty saying that, in consequence, not only is India 'which extends from the coast of the kingdom of Persia to Colon, a distance of 1,200 parasangs deprived of a regular ministry, but *Persia* itself is left in darkness.' "Colon" can be none other than Quilon or Kollam, and it was the Metropolitan of *Persia* who was blamed, probably on insufficient grounds owing to the rapid rise and spread of Islam, for having shut the doors of episcopal imposition of hands and for interrupting the sacerdotal succession.

It was in this century also (the seventh century A.D.) that the direct Red Sea trade between Egypt and India was finally stopped from the same cause—the rise of the Muhammadan religion and the spread of Arabian political power.

The *Persian* metropolitan in the next hundred years seems to have cast off, and again to have reverted to, the control of the Seleucian Patriarch. This was probably the beginning of Syrian influence in the church of Malabar. And indeed the tradition of the existing church is that a company of Christians from Baghdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem, under orders from the Catholic Archpriest at *Uralai* (Edessa), arrived in company with the merchant Thomas in 745 A.D.

¹ Caldwell's *Dravidian Grammar*—Foot-note by Colonel Yule, p. 27.

But whether this date is correct or not it is certain that in A.D. 774 there is no trace of Syrian influence in the pseudo-Syrian copper-plate deed still¹ extant, and the later pseudo-Syrian copper plate deed (also extant)² contains (as the late Dr. Burnell³ has shown) no trace of Syriac either; but, on the contrary, several Sassanian-Pahlavi, and Hebrew or Chaldeo-Pahlavi attestations—that is, attestations of *Persian* immigrants are appended to it. Moreover the “Maruvan Sapor Iso” the grantee of this latter deed can be no other than the “Mar Sapor” who with “Mar Pargēs” or “Peroz” proceeded from Babylon to “Coulan” (Quilon) about A.D. 822, and they seem to have been Nestorian Persians. In both deeds the pseudo-Syrian chief settlement is called *Manigramam*, which the late Dr. Burnell took to mean the village of Manes or Manichæans, a suggestion first volunteered by Dr. Gundert, the translator of both deeds (*M. J. L. S.*, Vol. XIII, Part I).

In the ninth century the Muhammadan traveller, Sulaiman, mentioned, “*Betuma*” as being ten days’ sail from “Calabar,” which latter he describes as “the name of a place, and a kingdom on the coast to the right hand beyond India.” “*Betuma*” has been taken by the Editor M. Renaudot to mean the “House of Thomas,” that is St. Thomee, and the same authority has—“There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandib (Ceylon) and people of other religions especially⁴ *Manichæans*. The king allows each sect to follow its own religion.”

It would appear probable from the above facts that the Malabar church, whatever it may have been originally, was not latterly Manichæan as the late Dr. Burnell suggested⁵ on what seems to be barely sufficient evidence, but more orthodox Persian (Nestorian).⁶

After this time it is generally acknowledged that the Syrian church possessed the ascendancy. A tablet at Kottayam in the Travancore State has an inscription in Syriac as well as one in Pahlavi, and the latest inscriptions in Pahlavi to be found in India belong to the eleventh or twelfth centuries A.D., by which time Persian influence in the church had probably been completely superseded.

But there is also a church tradition that the preaching of Manes did have some effect on the community. This and the subsequent history and the present position of the Syrian and Romo-Syrian

¹ No. 2 in Appendix XII.

² No. 3 in Appendix XII.

³ Probably fifty years later than the former—“ninth century” (Hung). *Indian Antiquary* III, 315.

⁴ Sir H. Elliot’s *History of India*, I. 10. M. Renaudot translated the passage somewhat differently: “In this same island (Sarandib, Ceylon) there is a very great multitude of Jews, as well as of many other sects, even *Tanwis* or *Manichæans*, the king permitting the free exercise of every religion.” (*Ancient Accounts of India*, etc., translated by Renaudot, London, 1733, page 84 (a)).

⁵ *Indian Antiquary* III, 311.

⁶ The Syrians themselves say (*v. infra*) that the Jacobite doctrines did not prevail till so late as 1663, and it was then for the first time that the Patriarch of Antioch obtained control over the church.

churches will be best told in the language of the Syrians themselves, who in a large body headed by the venerable Bishop Mar Coorilos waited, by special request, on the Right Honourable Mr. Grant Duff, Governor of Madras, at Calicut, in January 1882, and presented to him a short account of themselves, from which the following extracts are taken :—

“ Passing over this period we come to the third century remarkable for the arrival of a Persian heretic of the School of Manes, or, as is supposed¹ by some, a heathen wizard. Through his teaching, many went over to him and are even to this day known as ‘ Manigramakkar.’ They cannot be distinguished from the Nayers, and are to be found at Quilon Kayencolam and other places. South Travancore is the seat of the descendants of those who stood steadfast in their faith during this apostasy and are known as Dhariyayikal² meaning ‘ nonwearers ’ (of heathen symbols).

“ Some years after this first split had taken place or in (350 A.D.³) was the arrival of Thomas of Cana, a Syrian merchant, whose large-heartedness and sympathy for the neglected community was such that on his return to his native land, his story induced many to come out with him in his second visit, among whom was a bishop by the name of Mar Joseph. It was the first time a colony of Christians came to India. They were about four hundred in number. They landed at Cranganore then known as Mahadevarpattanam. They settled in the country with the permission of ‘ Cheraman Perumal ’⁴ the ruler of Malabar, who, as a mark of distinction and favour, granted to the Christian community certain privileges (72 in number) which at once raised them to a position of equality⁵ with the Brahmins. One of the privileges was the supremacy over seventeen of the lower classes ; a relic of which still exists in the adjudication by Syrian Christians of certain social questions belonging to them. The grant was made on copper-plates, which with some others, are in the custody of the Syrian Metran and are preserved in the Kottayam Seminary.

“ Matters continued thus until the arrival of the second colony of Christians (who were Nestorians) from Persia, at Quilon between the ninth and the tenth century. They were also received well and permitted to settle in the country. The first colony, incorporated with the northern portion of the community, had their headquarters at Cranganore and the southern⁶ portion ‘ Kurak-keni-kollam ’ or

¹ There is probably some confusion here between the founder of the Manichæans and Manikavachaka, a Tamil reformer of a much later date.

² Sometimes explained as the firm, courageous men, from *theyyam* = (bravery).

³ Too early. A much later date (745 A.D.) is assigned by another tradition. *v. supra.*

⁴ For reasons already given (p. 195–96) and understanding (as is usual in Malabar) that *Cheraman Perumal* was the last king of Kerala, the date is obviously wrong.

⁵ The effect of this grant will be fully considered in the historical chapter. The assertion here made is not quite correct—See No. 2 in Appendix XII.

⁶ There is little doubt that deed No. 3 in Appendix XII, to which reference has been made above, was the original charter of this Southern Christian colony, just as deed No. 2, Appendix XII, was the charter of the Northern one.

Quilon. And in title-deeds this distinction had been preserved for centuries up to the time of the recent organization of the Registration Department. The zenith of the prosperity of the community seems to have been between the ninth and fourteenth centuries, as then they were permitted to have a king¹ of their own, the extent of whose authority cannot be stated with any historical precision. Their house of princes was known as the 'Valiyarvattam' or 'Undiyamperur' dynasty. It however afterwards became extinct and the community came under the subjection of Perunipatappu or Native Cochin. This part of the history of the Syrians leads us to the advent of the Portuguese.

"Immediately after the appearance of the Portuguese the Christians of Malabar went to them, making advances for support and protection, which were introduced by the presentation of the sceptre of their extinct royal¹ house to Da Gama, whose efforts, as well as those of his successors, were directed to bring the native church under the authority of the See of Rome. Hence the details in the history of the connection with the Portuguese will be found to be a string of artful measures and violence which ended in the mission of Alexis Menezes, Archbishop of Goa. He was deputed by the Pope in 1598 A.D. to complete the subjugation² of the Syrian Church, and his arrival was remarkable as having been the occasion on which the third and most grievous split arose in the church into Romo-Syrians or 'Old Party,'³ and Syrians or 'New Party.'³ It was not however very long before the church had a cessation of its troubles. The presence of the Dutch staid the hand of persecution and reduced the pressure on the community. The capture of Cochin by the Dutch in 1663 was followed by an order requiring the Romish bishops, priests, and monks to quit the place which was not a little favourable to the Syrians.

"The thread of history cannot be complete without the mention of the Jacobite bishops, who began to make their appearance before the time of the Dutch. It was necessitated by the anarchy that reigned in the church at the close of the Portuguese connection. Things had been deliberately brought to such a crisis by them that the assimilation of the Syrian to the Roman Church was thought practicable only by the extermination of the bishops and clergy. Bold and stout hearts were however not wanting to declare their independence and a large number, at a public assembly, resolved upon applying to Babylon, Antioch, Alexandria, and Egypt for a bishop.

¹ The peculiar organization of the country at this time will be set forth in the historical chapter. In the exact words of the grant the Christian headman was created "grand merchant of the *Cheraman* world" (Kerala) "and lord of *Manigramam*."

² In 1599, he held the memorable Synod of *Diamper* (*Udayamper*) in which the heresies of Nestorius were condemned. There were at this time only 75 churches.

³ It would have been rather an inversion of the facts to have called the "Syrians" the "New Party." It is more probable that they were so called, because of their acceptance of the Jacobite doctrine and the Jacobite Bishops alluded to further on, they having up to this time been Nestorians.

" This was done, and in 1653 Antioch promptly complied with the request by sending out Mar Ignatius, a Jacobite bishop. It was from this date that the Jacobite element began to leave the Malabar church. Mar Ignatius was mercilessly seized and thrown into the sea, as is believed by the Syrians, or sent to be tried before the Inquisition as is supposed by others. The fury of the community was roused and a numerous body went to Cochin to take revenge. But nothing more serious was done than swearing with one voice never more to have anything to do with the Portuguese, which was done by holding a thick rope to show that every one who held it joined in the oath.

" From 1665 to 1751, five Metrans, in succession, all bearing the name Mar Thoma, and belonging to the Pakalomattam¹ family, sat at the head of the church. The remaining period to the beginning of the present century may be passed over with the remark that it was also one of unrest, as the presence of foreign prelates was superfluous side by side with that of native metrans, and party spirit was fostered by the former to the distraction of the church.

" The year 1806 opens a fresh and glorious chapter in the history of this community, tormented, victimized, and disorganized by so many ceaseless troubles from friend and foe alike. We are here introduced to the figure of Rev. Claudius Buchanan, going from church to church, conversing freely with all and diligently seeking for information about them, as for two hundred years after the Portuguese nothing had been heard of them. On inquiring of a priest at Changanur how the community had sunk so low, the pregnant answer was—' Three hundred years ago an enemy bearing the name of Christ came from the West and led us to seek shelter under the native princes, under whom, though we have not been stripped of our appendages of dignity, we have been reduced to slavery.' Coming to Kandanad, he had an interview with the Metran, to whom he set forth the advisability of maintaining a friendly relation with the Anglican church, translating the Bible into Malayalam and establishing parochial schools. This being acquiesced in, Dr. Buchanan saw Colonel Macaulay, the British Resident, in company with whom he visited the northern parts of Travancore and Cochin. At Ankamali, he was presented with an old copy of the Syriac Bible written on parchment, which had been in the possession of the Syrians for a thousand years. This book was taken by him to England, where it was printed, after his death, by the Bible Society and copies were distributed among the churches in Malabar. The Metran, after this time, was Mar Thoma, the seventh and last of the Pakalomattam family, whose consecration having been irregular the people became discontented and a division was the consequence. The fact attracted the attention of Colonel Munro, who, after making himself acquainted with the real position, set about getting a seminary built for them at Kottayam, of which the foundation stone was laid in 1813. Mar Thoma having died

¹ One of the two families from which it was customary to ordain the ministers of the church. The other was the Sankarapuri family.

in 1816, was succeeded by the liberal-minded Mar Dionysius. At the commencement of his government, Colonel Munro undertook to get out missionaries to train Syrian deacons and lads to carry on parochial schools. Accordingly through the influence of this worthy Resident, the C. M. Society sent out the Rev. Thomas Norton, who arrived in May 1816 and to whom the services of the Rev. B. Baily were added in November of the same year. He was followed by the Rev. Messrs. Baker and Fen and the latter was placed in charge of the seminary. Travancore, the Dewan and Resident of which was Colonel Munro, endowed the institution with Rs. 20,000 and a large estate at Kallada, called Munro Island. More than this the native government helped the translation and distribution of the Bible with another gift of Rs. 8,000. And the Resident got the Honourable East India Company to invest 3,000 star pagodes in the name of the community for educational purposes. A new career had no sooner been opened than the liberal-minded Mar Dionysius died, and was succeeded by another Mar Dionysius belonging to a family at Kottayam. Colonel Munro, whose tenure of office extended from 1810 to 1819, must be regarded as having been the most earnest promoter of Syrian Christian interests.

"The next and last part of the history may be dismissed with a word or two. It discloses how the Syrian church was led to break its friendly connection with the missionaries through the machinations of evil-minded persons; how a special committee settled their respective claims on the endowments of the seminary; how the late Mar Athanasius, who had received his consecration for the first time in the annals of the country and community at Antioch, attempted a reformation in consonance with the teachings of the Bible; how through the good offices of Mr. Ballard, the British Resident, the Travancore Sircar restored to them their portion of the endowments which was in their custody after the adjudication by the committee, how the church is disturbed by various internal feuds; and how the community is once more going through another cycle of trials and neglect."

Church Government, Forms of Worship, etc.

"It will have been observed that there was a ministry ordained by the Apostle¹ himself. Then came the government, now and then, by foreign prelates, who laid claim to nothing more than ministering to their spiritual wants. And with the second colony was introduced the Nestorian element from Babylon. But their influence seems to have left no permanent trace of their heretical views. No one appears to have cared for theological subtleties or deep inquiries into the basis of their faith. A simple belief in the Lord's work of redemption was all they had. From the earliest times and during all the time of foreign prelacy there was an archdeacon, always a native, looking after the temporal affairs of the church. This line of archdeacons continued up to the seventeenth century, and at

¹ From what has been set forth above, it will be seen that this fact is, to say the least, doubtful.

the close of the Portuguese period began, as has already been observed, the connection with the Jacobite bishops.

“Turning to the forms of worship, etc., it must be premised that there is a reforming party and a non-reforming one at the present day. The work of the reformation has been progressing for the last thirty years, widening the gulf between the two parties. The principle of the reformers is to bring the church to its primitive purity, while the others adhere to most of the practices which found their way during the unhappy connection with the Romish church. The reformers try to reject whatever is unscriptural, such as Mariolatry, invocation of the saints, and prayers for the dead, and the others look upon them as heterodox on this account. The reforming party administers the Lord's Supper in both kinds, in contradistinction to the administration in one kind by the others. The former have all their service in Malayalam, as opposed to the Syriac service of the latter. Both alike pray standing in churches and facing to the east. In the midst of the service, before reading the Gospel, the hands of fellowship (Kayyassuri) are offered to all. Festivals are numerous and love feasts (Agapæ), such as were observed by the primitive church, are extant. In the baptism of infants tepid water is poured on the head followed by anointing with the holy oil (Sythe and Muron in Syriac). Bishops observe celibacy, while the priests are allowed to marry, though remarriage is not permitted by the non-reformers. The clergy too were celibates until very recently. Marriages are celebrated by the non-reforming party on Sundays, while one of the week days is chosen by the others. Cousins can marry only after the seventh generation. The customs and manners of this people are too numerous to mention, and are therefore omitted; but it must be observed that many of them are due to the influence of the classes around.

Present Status.

“The community numbering now about 300,000 has nearly 200 churches with nine Metrans, six of whom were consecrated by the Patriarch of Antioch when he visited Malabar in 1875. Those newly consecrated bishops, though they had their dioceses assigned to them by the Patriarch, have not been accepted by the people in all cases. One of the remaining three in the person of Mar Coorilos enjoys undisputed authority in British Malabar. Mar Dionysius, the head of the non-reforming party, and Mar Athanasius that of the reforming party, have between them the whole of the Travancore and Cochin churches; and now the contention for supremacy is at its climax though it does not seem likely that the adherents will change sides even after the battle is won by either, as both parties have been trained to think differently. The number of priests in the churches varies with the size of the parish—larger ones having 10 or 12, and smaller ones 2 or 3. Almost all churches have endowed property mostly mismanaged and in the hands of persons, who scarcely think of paying up the dues. The endowments and their possession have caused much litigation, and the large

resources of rich churches have been drained to meet the costs of suits and counter-suits, terminating in heavy losses to the community in every way. They are mostly an agricultural people. Elementary education has never been neglected and every effort is made to secure the benefits of higher education. The number of graduates and under-graduates is annually increasing, and if judged by the success at examinations, the community must be said to be keeping pace with the times, and bids fair to take a good place in the rank of nations and classes making rapid progress in the cultivation of knowledge and intelligence. The learned professions have their proportion of votaries, and it is not too much to say that their loyalty coupled with their light and intelligence will do honor to the land of their birth. The clergy, too, are far in advance of those of the denomination in former days. Notwithstanding the utilization of the educational advantages, there is a discouraging want of State patronage, which is so liberally dispensed to other classes. An analysis of the list of public servants of the Travancore Government¹ will bear out this statement. Thus, internal peacelovateness, incessant litigation impoverishing the richest churches and individuals, the agitating influence of the recent heresy of the 'Six Years' sect, and the want of encouragement, are the forces which are acting upon this community, the extent of whose consequences cannot be pre-judged."

The Romo-Syrians and Roman Catholics.

As regards the Roman Catholics and their connection with the Romo-Syrians, the following extracts are taken from a short history of the Verapoly Catholic Mission kindly furnished in manuscript by the Rev. Father Camillus, D.C., Missionary Apostolic of Cochin. The southern most portion of Malabar is, it will be seen, under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Carmelite Vicar-Apostolic at Verapoly. The rest of Malabar is spiritually under the Jesuit Vicar-Apostolic of Mangalore.

"After the conversion of the Syrian to Catholicism, the Supreme Pontiff Clement VIII (in 1605), appointed as their first Archbishop, Mgr. Francisco Roz, a Jesuit, who was afterwards transferred by Paul V to the See of Mangalore (1605) (the title of Angamale being suppressed), and the said prelate governed the Syrian congregation all his lifetime, till the 18th February 1624, in which he breathed his last at Pattana Paroor.

"Thus, the Syrians remained under the administration of Jesuit bishops till the year 1653, when they became disgusted with them and rejected the allegiance of Mgr. Francisco Garcia, who was then their legitimate bishop.

"And now we can understand the motive for which Pope Alexander VII, who was governing the church at that time, sent over the Carmelite missionaries to take charge of the Christians of Malabar and established a Vicar-Apostolic at Verapoly. The first

¹ "The list for 1879-80 shows that out of 1,424 servants holding appointments worth Rs. 10 or above, there are only 25 Syrian Christians."

superior of the Carmelite mission, Mgr. Joseph of St. Mary, a descendant of the noble Sebastiano family, was appointed by the aforesaid Pontiff in the year 1656. This prelate, with the help of his fellow missionaries, worked with energy and perseverance to uproot the schism and recall the Syrians to their duty, their efforts being rewarded by the conversion of many parishes that came back to the catholic unity. In the meantime, Mgr. Joseph of St. Mary having returned to Rome was there raised to the episcopal dignity, and sent again by the Pope to the Malabar mission, with a new batch of Carmelite missionaries; after their arrival (1661) they had the consolation to reconcile a large number of the schismatic Syrians to the catholic unity.

" But, on the 6th January 1663, the Dutch having defeated the Portuguese, took possession of Cochin, and refused to the Carmelite missionaries the permission of exercising their ministry in Malabar. In such a circumstance, Mgr. Joseph, seeing the necessity of providing the Syrian congregation with a lawful pastor, and using the extraordinary powers he had received *ad hoc* from the Pope, consecrated, as a bishop, Parambil Alexander, a canon of Corrovalanghatt, on the 31st January of the same year, in the church of Cadatturutti.

" However, after a short lapse of time, the Dutch Government being aware that the presence of the Carmelites in Malabar could produce no harm, cancelled the abovesaid prohibition and allowed them to dwell in this country as before; from that time to the present day they have continued their apostolical work for the civilization and religious instruction not only of the Syrians but also of the Latin Christians, whose care was intrusted to them by the Holy See.

" But a portion of the schismatics would not abandon their rebellious opposition, and remained without a spiritual leader till the end of the year 1665. Then appeared in Malabar a certain bishop named Mar Gregory, who pretended to have been sent by the Patriarch of Jacobites at Antioch. To this, the aforesaid schismatics gave obedience, and till now are called Syrian Jacobites; they readily acknowledge that they are indebted to him for their new creed, call him their patriarch, and venerate him as a saint.

" To enable the reader to understand how, in this country, we have also a Catholic Goanese jurisdiction, some previous remarks are necessary. It must be remembered that, in former times, the Popes desirous to promote the propagation of the catholic faith had granted to the Kings of Portugal a kind of religious patronage, called *Jus Patronalis*. This is a privilege, which the Catholic church sometimes grants to sovereigns or influential personages, and is connected with certain obligations and duties to be fulfilled by such patrons. Speaking of the Malabar country in particular, we may say that Pope Clement VIII granted the abovesaid privilege to King Philip, with a charge of providing with donations and supporting the catholic churches, the bishop and the canons of his cathedral, seminaries, etc., declaring at the same time that, in the

case of a non-execution of the said clause by the king, the privilege and concession should of itself (*ipso facto*) become null and void (See the Pontifical Bull '*in supremo militatis ecclesia solio*,' 4th August 1600). After a certain lapse of time, Portugal ceased to provide for the support of the churches and government of the Christians, according to compact; and in fact, having lost the supremacy in most parts of India, it became impossible for that nation to fulfil the abovesaid obligations. Besides after the Dutch took possession of Cochin, they would not allow any Portuguese bishop or missionary to remain in the country. The Goanese themselves, on their part, far from assisting, or supporting the clergy, were incessantly exciting troubles and vexations against the missionaries sent by the Holy See. Such being the case, the Supreme Pontiffs, to whom it chiefly belongs to promote the spiritual interests of the Christians, were obliged to appoint Vicars-Apostolic, whom they exempted from the Goanese jurisdiction. Thus on the 10th November 1673, Clement X forbade, 'under severe punishment,' that the Archbishop of Goa or his Canonical Chapter should exercise any act of jurisdiction beyond the 'limits of the Portuguese dominions, and exempted from the Goanese jurisdiction both the Vicars and Missionaries Apostolic.' Moreover, on the 22nd December of the same year, and the 7th of June 1674, in two different briefs, the Pope declared 'that the Portuguese had no jurisdiction whatever upon the Vicars or Missionaries Apostolic sent to India, chiefly in the territories where the King of Portugal had no authority.'

In spite of all these arrangements, the general progress of the mission was cramped by various causes. Finally, in the year 1837, Gregory XVI, who then sat on St. Peter's chair, published his famous bull '*Multa præclure*,' by which he divided the whole of India into a certain number of Vicariates Apostolic, and distinctly forbade the Goanese prelates and priests to interfere in any way with the management of the same.

"But the Goanese disregarded this authoritative decree, and began the schism, commonly called '*Indo-Portuguese*' *Indo-Lusitarum Schisma*. On the contrary, the great majority of the Catholics in India acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Apostolic Vicars and Missionaries, and put them in possession of their churches and establishments—such was the state of things till the year 1861.

"At that time, the Supreme Pontiff Pius IX anxious to procure the eternal salvation of so many Christians, who were miserably adhering to the Goanese schism, first (in February 1857) had concluded a *concordat* with the King of Portugal, in which, among other dispositions, was inscribed the following, namely, that such churches and Christians as, in the day of the signature of the *concordat*, were presently under the obedience and jurisdiction of the Apostolic Vicars, should continue to adhere to the same, and that churches and Christians, then acknowledging the authority of the Goanese prelates should remain under their government. To

put this decree into execution (in the year which had been fixed in the above *concordat* No. 17), that is, in 1861, two commissioners were sent to India, one Apostolic Commissioner acting in behalf of the Pope, and one Royal Commissioner acting in the name of the King of Portugal. Through their agency, His Holiness granted for some time (*ad tempus*) to the Archbishop of Goa, an extraordinary jurisdiction upon the few churches and Christians that were then governed by Goanese priests, either in Malabar, or in Madura, Ceylon, Madras, Bombay, etc. Here is the reason of a double jurisdiction existing till now in the said places. From this statement, it is easy to conclude that all Catholics are under the obedience of the Pope, and that their allegiance to the Kings of Portugal is merely political and accidental. All spiritual jurisdiction is derived, even for the Archbishop of Goa and other Portuguese Prelates, from the visible Head of the Catholic Church, the Supreme Pontiff residing at Rome, and they would lose it entirely the very day they should throw away their obedience to him.

"In order to understand better the progress of the Catholic mission in this country, it must be remarked that the present Syrian community, now composed of Catholics and Jacobites, was, at the beginning, one and the same congregation, founded in the earliest times of the church, as the bishops, who subsequently came from Persia into Malabar, communicated to them their own liturgy (which was the Syrian rite), for that reason the above-said Christians were usually called Syrians; they were also designated by the name of 'St. Thomas' Christians,' according to the tradition handed down from their forefathers that they had really been converted from paganism by that holy Apostle. This Christian community subsisted and gradually increased, both by its intrinsic elements and by the admission of new converts, from the people living in the neighbourhood of Syrian churches. In some localities, those neophytes were very numerous, and having, from the day of their conversion, resided amongst Syrians, were considered as belonging to their race. Even now, amongst those who are baptized at Verapoly, the greater part settles in Syrian parishes.

"But besides this Catholic community, there is another one, equally Catholic, that is called Latin on account of its following the Latin liturgy. This was formed from the Malabaresé people of various castes, who had been converted to Catholicism before the year 1542 (namely, the date of St. Francis Xavier's arrival in India), and from the others who have been converted subsequently down to the present times. As those Christians had been baptized by Latin priests, and in places where generally there was no Syrian church, they began to follow, and even now are following, the Latin rite. At the present time, the Catholic Syrians have 160 parochial churches with a great number of chapels, depending from the greater ones, and number about 200,000 souls. The Christians, who follow the Latin rite, have about 40 principal churches with a proportionate number of annexed chapels; their population is nearly 90,000. It is to be noted that in the above-stated numbers

are not included all the churches with their attendants belonging to the Vicariate of Quilon, but only those of the Verapoly Vicariate, the limits of which are in the north Ponnani, in the south Poracaud, and in the east the Ghats. In fact, the Vicariate of Quilon extends from Poracaud in the north to Cape Comorin in the south, having its own churches and Christians, who all of them belong to the Latin rite, the Syrians who live within the said limits being Syrian Jacobites."

Tippu Sultan in his proselytising zeal carried away many Christians from Canara to Mysore, and in 1793 and 1795, 87 families of these returned and were located by the Honourable Company in the district of Randatara in the Chirakkal taluk, where lands were assigned to them and money advances given to help them.

Protestants.

The only Protestant mission at work in Malabar is the Basel German Evangelical Missionary Society, of which the latest report, the 43rd, shows that on 1st January 1883, the society had in Malabar 2,632 church members, including children, distributed at the following mission stations:—*Cannanore* in the Chirakkal taluk, *Tellicherry* in the Kottayam taluk, *Chombala* in the Kurumbranad taluk, *Calicut* in the Calicut taluk, *Coducal* in the Ponnani taluk and *Palghat* in the Palghat taluk.

The earliest of these stations was established at *Tellicherry* in 1839 and the latest at *Palghat* in 1858.

Besides attending to the spiritual and educational wants of their congregations, the mission has very wisely organized various workshops and manufactories, the productions of which have acquired not merely local celebrity, for "mission" cotton cloths of infinite variety and "mission" tiles for roofing and other purposes are now to be met everywhere in India. Besides these, a mercantile branch has been organized, which gives very suitable employment in shops to other members of the congregations. And a printing-press at the mission headquarters at Mangalore in South Canara turns out, both in English and the vernaculars, work of which any press in Europe might be proud.

SECTION G.—FAMINE, DISEASES, MEDICINE.

Malabar does not produce grain sufficient for the consumption of the home population, and this has been more especially the case since, by the introduction of European coffee cultivation into the Wynad taluk, the jungle tribes and other servile castes, who used to cultivate the rice-fields in that region have been attracted to the more profitable employments on coffee estates. Malabar pays for much of the grain consumed by the people out of the money obtained for its special products—coconuts, coir, coconut-oil, areca-nuts, coffee, pepper, ginger, cardamoms, timber, etc.

An artificial famine is therefore always possible in Malabar, and, as matter of fact, such famines used to occur pretty frequently in former times when the supply of grain came from only one or two foreign ports. Thus in October 1755, the King of Bednur, to whom the rice-exporting port of Mangalore belonged, laid an embargo on grain, because of the ravages committed in his country by a buccannering expedition under the Mappilla chief of Cannanore. This placed the French at Mahe, the English at Tellicherry, the Dutch at Cannanore, and the Malabar Nayers and Mappillas—the whole community in fact—in a state of comparative famine.

But of real famine in the land there are few records. During the long period in which the Honourable Company occupied the factory at Tellicherry, there is but one record of a real famine. It occurred in August–September of 1727. The factors' diary record is as follows:—"The country about us of late have greatly feared an extraordinary scarcity of rice," and it was accordingly resolved to impose the embargo, usual in those days, on exports of grain. Strict orders were issued "for not carrying any quantity out of our limits." There was none to be had at Mangalore; the granary—and almost the sole one in those days—from which Malayalis drew their extra supplies of rice. The factors had information that parents were selling their children at Mangalore in order to obtain support for themselves. On examination of the factory storehouses, there was found to be bare provision for the place for one month, so an urgent requisition was sent to the Anjengo factors for supplies. On the 8th September, there was famine in the land and the record runs that the factory gates were daily besieged by people begging for support. There is no further record in the diary, and doubtless the worst symptoms disappeared, as they did in 1877, with the garnering of the first (*kanni*) rice crop in September. The months of July, August and September are the months in which the poorest classes of Malayalis find it hardest to obtain sustenance. The stores that may have been reserved from the previous season's crops are always then at the lowest ebb. The rice-crops on the ground are usually sufficiently advanced at this season to require only the minimum of attention from out-of-door labourers. And the new harvest is not yet available. In every season the pinch of poverty is therefore felt in these months, more than in the others, and in seasons when famine is raging in neighbouring districts and when famine prices have for months reduced the slender stores of savings, it is in these months of the year, particularly, that organized assistance is required; and the rich should come forward to help the poor. One meal of rice *kamji* distributed gratis to all comers daily during this season of the year at many places throughout the district sufficed to stave off actual famine in 1877; the number thus daily relieved aggregated at one time over 40,000.

Of remarkable outbreaks of disease the records also contain few notices. In October 1730, the Tellicherry factory diary records—"The pestilence which has raged for some time among the people of

this district being now come to such a pitch, as, with difficulty, people are found to bury the dead, and our garrison soldiers, Muckwas (fishermen, boatmen) and others under our protection being reduced to such extremity by this contagion, so as not to be able to subsist in this place any longer unless relieved by charity, it was agreed to build barracks for the sick and to entertain attendants "to bury the dead. What the "pestilence" was the records do not give information, but it was probably cholera. A fortnight later requisitions were sent by the factors to Anjengo and to Madras to raise soldiers to supply the vacancies, as the garrison was obliged to do double duty on account of the increasing of the contagion. Calicut also suffered severely, for, on 13th November, there is an entry that the "pestilence was again broke out in Calicut more violent than before." On 18th December, the "contagion" was "in no wise abated," and the factors organized charitable relief. The further history of the outbreak stops short here. The garrison at this time numbered about 270 men, including Nayers and Mappillas, in the service of the Honourable Company, and besides these the men of two other outposts, which cost about Rs. 250 more per mensem.

It was not till July 1757 that the next severe visitation of disease occurred ; and on that occasion it was said to be due to the excessive monsoon rains. There was "terrible mortality" at Calicut, Mahe, and Cannanore, but by 29th July it had abated at Tellicherry. What the disease was was again not recorded.

In August 1800 there was a scare, lest the plague then raging at Baghdat should be imported into India, and strict quarantine regulations were imposed.

In December 1801 very handsome rewards and encouragement were offered to natives who successfully practised inoculation¹ for small-pox, and in 1803 the Sub-Collectors were directed to exert themselves "personally to the utmost in persuading the principal inhabitants of the country, who have not had the small-pox to submit to vaccination."

Notwithstanding the measures then taken and the organization subsequently of a special establishment to deal with this disease, it almost annually claims its thousands of victims, and, alternating with cholera, the two diseases carry off a large proportion of those who live insanitary lives.

The chief source of disease in the low country is the badness of the water-supply, and as there is hardly any water, however filthy in appearance, which the lower classes of the population refuse to utilize for domestic purposes, there is little to be wondered at in this.

The higher classes are much more particular in this respect than in East Coast Districts, but they, too, have yet failed to realize that

¹ This was probably the "vaccine inoculation," then recently discovered.

a water source once tainted is not fit for use for some time. They, in futile fashion, beat drums and blow horns to drive away the devils, which bring, they think the disease, but never dream of taking exceptional care to keep their water-supply untainted.

Recent experience has shown, however, that the mortality from cholera can be lessened, if not prevented altogether, by judicious administrative measures. The closing of the wells of the infected locality is not the least important of the steps to be adopted. And great good results from the mere presence in an infected locality of the officers specially charged to deal with the disease.

The District Medical and Sanitary officer (Surgeon-Major H. D. Cook, M.B.) has furnished the following brief sketch of the principal diseases :—

“The principal diseases that are especially prevalent in the Malabar district may be enumerated as follows :—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Anæmia (general weakness). | 5. Dysentery. |
| 2. General dropsy. | 6. Skin diseases. |
| 3. Splenitis (or ague cake). | 7. Elephantiasis. |
| 4. Ague. | |

“A few remarks on each is necessary. Anæmia, general dropsy, and splenitis, although put down as special diseases, are generally, if not always, the result of neglected or protracted attacks of ague. They occur in this way. People of Malabar of all classes reside for some time or other in Wynad. In the months of March, April and May ague abounds there and spares few, rich or poor. The poor, through neglect of seeking medical aid, have repeated attacks of it undermining their constitutions, the result being that they flock back to the coast, bloodless, dropsical, and with spleens occupying sometimes half the cavity of the abdomen instead of the area of a man's hand. One has only to attend one of the dispensaries in Malabar, or walk through the bazaars of some of the principal towns, and see the great amount of people with anæmia, dropsy, and enlarged spleens. These classes of diseases fill our dispensaries—all the result of neglected ague or from repeated attacks of it.

“*Dysentery* is very common indeed, and it is a common saying ‘if you are subject to dysentery avoid Malabar.’ In my experience I have not found dysentery so common among the rich, but the poor suffer fearfully from it, and generally the acute variety. The season for it is June, July and August, and the cause the climate. The hot and dry months of April and May are succeeded by the very wet ones of June and July. The houses of the poor are mere huts, thus exposing the inhabitants to damp and cold. Children suffer terribly from this. Dysentery, of course, is often the result of affections of the liver and of malaria. But what I refer to is acute dysentery, the result, as said, of damp and cold, or sometimes from eating bad fish.

“*Skin diseases* abound, the principal form being scabies, vulgarly called ‘Malabar itch.’ Itch generally is the result of uncleanness all over the world; but the form of itch met with

in Malabar is of an aggravated form, and I cannot give any particular reason for it. Some attribute it to eating a kind of fish called in Malayalam 'Ayila.'

"*Elephantiasis*.---This is very common in Malabar, especially among Mappillas on the coast. It is called in Malayalam 'Mantha kalu,' or 'Ana kalu.' The ordinary form is a hypertrophy of the skin and areolar tissue of some part of the body, but generally attacking the legs and genital organs. The skin becomes enormously thickened with a quantity of albuminous fluid in the areolar tissue. It is most common in males. Various causes are said to be assigned for this disease—air, water and food—and it generally occurs near the sea. Eating fish has been said to be a cause for it. I think that poor living has a good deal to do with it.

"Dr. Fayrer, in his book, attaches much importance to the presence of filarie in nutritious fluids. This is too big a question to take up here; but I may as well mention that acute researches are now being made to prove that mosquitoes have very much to do with the production of many diseases, by communicating filarie to the human body which entering the blood becomes what is termed *filarie sanguinis hominis*. Any one desirous of obtaining all information on this subject, I advise them to read Dr. Fayrer's book on 'Tropical Diseases.'"

The native system of medicine and surgery is based upon the obsolete ideas, apparently borrowed from the Greeks, of the body being composed of five elements—earth, water, fire, air, and ether. Physical health is supposed to be preserved by the preservation, in exact proportions, of the three general elements, viz., rheum, bile, and phlegm, or air, fire, and water respectively. "Their harmonious¹ admixture tends to constitutional nourishment, whilst anything that disturbs or destroys this harmony causes impaired health. Though in a sense pervading all the body, each of them is not without its allotted province, that is, air, or *rheum*, spreads itself below the navel; fire, or *bile*, between it and the heart; and water, or *phlegm*, above the heart and upwards. By the predominance of one of these humours over the others, the human health is deranged, whilst their proportionate evenness secures good health."

"Tastes are six in number, viz., sweet, sour, saltish, bitter, pungent, and astringent, which are the attributes of substances, each preceding taste being superior to that immediately succeeding it. The first three—sweet, sour, and saltish—appease rheum; and the remaining three—bitter, pungent, and astringent—appease phlegm, while bile is appeased by astringent, bitter and sweet. According to another opinion, the three humours are said to be promoted by these tastes, viz., the rheum, by bitter, pungent, and astringent; the phlegm by sweet, sour, and saltish; and the

¹ Translated from the Introduction to Mr. O. Cannan's "Malayalam Translation and Commentaries on the 'Ashtanga Hridayam,' or Treatise on Manhood (*Ayur Vedam*). Calicut, 1878.

bile, by pungent, sour, and saltish. Substances have three forms of digestions, viz., the sweet and saltish will digest sweetly, the sour in its original taste, and the pungent and astringent mostly turn acid.

"Medicines are of two classes known as clearing and subsidiary. The first effects the cure by purging out the irritated humours; and the second by establishing the humours which have been disturbed in their respective positions.

"To secure health, we should try to purge out the bile and other humours according to season.

"Purgatives are essential, as otherwise the humours, augmented by their stagnancy, will endanger even life. The humours allayed by fasting, or by the use of medicines having digestive properties, will sometimes be irritated.

"If properly purged out, these humours are not liable to irritation.

"Oil bath, athletic exercise, simple bath, and oil-syringing are also necessary, as these will restore health and establish the digestive powers, and likewise create intellectual brightness, personal beauty, acuteness of the senses, and prolongation of life. Refrain from doing anything disagreeable to the mind, feelings and thoughts, lest a deceitful conscience irritate all the humours; govern the passions and senses in order that they may not be led astray; remember the past, and conduct yourself with due regard to the peculiarities of the time and place as well as of your own constitution, and pursue the well-trodden path of the righteous.

"He who wishes for happiness in this as well as in the next world should, in controlling the passions, successfully resist the blind rush of the thirteen mental vices known as (1) avarice, (2) envy, (3) malice, (4) enmity, (5) lust, (6) covetousness, (7) love or passion, (8) anger, (9) pride, (10) jealousy, (11) arrogance, (12) haughtiness and (13) self-conceit, inasmuch as man, imbued with any one of them, is apt to commit vicious acts of divers sorts, resulting in iniquities, which gaining ground in successive births, will force themselves out in the shape of diseases causing immense misery. Moreover when these evils take hold of the mind, their influence agitates it and destroys the mental ease and vitiates the vital air, which is wholly dependent on such mental ease; and as the very life, vigour, memory, etc., are all sustained by this vital air, its loss entails hazard to them, and injuring respiration gives rise to various diseases. By treading the paths of virtue and possessing a truthful nature, a charitable disposition, compassion, sympathy, and continence, and by using such fare as is congenial to the mind, free motion to the vital air will be secured. For mental vices, spiritual knowledge, combined with prudence and courage, is the best remedy, by seeking which, the mind will be liberated from evil passions and left to pursue a virtuous course."

After much wise discourse on the true means of attaining the "pith of all human endeavours," happiness, by aid of virtue, he continues as follows :—

"Speak but little, and that significantly and opportunely, so as to be agreeable to your hearers, and let your speech be characterised by sweetness, veracity, and cheerfulness, and an open countenance graced with kindness and affability.

"Eat or enjoy nothing alone. Do not be overcredulous or suspicious. Be sagacious in guessing other minds ; treat them with kind and greeting expressions and do not over-vex or over-indulge the organs of taste with distasteful or delicious fare.

"Let your mental, vocal, or bodily exertion cease before actual fatigue commences.

"Do not deal in, or drink, spirituous liquors, nor expose yourself to the east wind, directly to the rays of the sun, or to the dust, snow, and storm.

"Do not in a crooked position yawn, cough, sleep or eat, nor shelter under the shadow of trees on the margins of rivers.

"As the wise have the world for their preceptor in all doings, you ought to study the movements of the righteous, keeping yourself steadily to their virtuous path.

"A tender feeling and unaffected charity towards all creatures, and a self-restraint, physical as well as vocal and mental, combined with a due regard to the interests of others, are moral virtues which complete the test of true uprightness.

"He that daily contemplates his own acts, as to whether and how he has actually realized the grand ends of his existence on the day, the lapse of which has brought him nearer to the grave than on the previous day, cannot be overtaken by grief, inasmuch as his deliberations, secure in divine grace, will ultimately conduct him to the attainment of true wisdom, regarding the mutability of this world and the eternity of God ; and he will, thus, be freed from all sins and sorrows, and in the end gain everlasting happiness. Moreover as each day passes, life becomes shorter, and patent is the fact that the exercise of morality can be prosecuted only while it exists, and as the extrication from sorrow is the result of a strict pursuit of virtue and abstinence from vice, a daily reckoning of the nature and amount of our virtuous deeds is a salutary remedy for all mental diseases.

"A strict adherence to the daily observances herein briefly summarized will lead to longevity, health, prosperity, reputation and eternity."

The lofty tone of morality above sketched runs quaintly through the voluminous treatise, which follows consisting of six parts and containing 120 chapters. The treatise gives extremely explicit directions, first for the preventive and afterwards for the curative measures to be adopted in the multitudinous circumstances of life.

A more detailed examination of the system of medicine in vogue would be beyond the scope of the present work.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY.

SECTION A.—TRADITIONAL ANCIENT HISTORY.

The *Kerala Mahatmyam* and the *Keralolpatti* (*Kerala-ulpatti* = origin of *Kerala*), the former written in indifferent Sanskrit and the latter in modern Malayalam, contain the traditions current among the people regarding the ancient history of the province.

The mace-bearing incarnation of Vishnu (*Parasu Raman*), the former work says, was obliged by the Rishis to expiate the sin of having slain his mother by extirpating the Kshatriyas, the enemies of the Brahmans. This he accomplished in twenty-one expeditions. At *Vishvamitra's* suggestion he then made over all the land within the four seas to the Rishis "with all the blood-guiltiness attached to it, by making them drink of the water¹ of possession". The Brahmans, it is said, turned him out of the land he thus gave away, but with *Subramanya's* assistance, he obtained by penance from the god of the seas (*Varuna*) the grant of some land to dwell on. The throw of his mace (*parasu*) was to determine its extent. He threw it from *Kanya Kumari* (Cape Comorin) to *Gokarnam*. The gods came to visit the land thus miraculously won and called it *Parasu Raman's* land, and *Siva* condescended to be worshipped in *Gokarnam* the metropolis of the province thus reclaimed from the sea. To people this land, *Parasu Raman* is said to have first of all brought a poor Brahman from the shores of the Kistna river. This man had eight sons, and the eldest was made head of all the Brahmans of Kerala and located, some say, at a place near *Gokarnam*, others say at *Trisivaperur* (Trichur in the Cochin State). Other Brahmans were next brought and located in sixty-four gramas or villages. Ships with seeds and animals next came, also eighteen *Samantas*² (sons of Brahmans and Kshatriya women) also *Vaishyas* (Chottis) and *Sudras* and the low castes. Some of the Brahmans emigrated, and to prevent this for the future the special customs already alluded to (ante p. 155) were prescribed. Buddhas are confounded in the *Mahatmyam* with Muhammadans, and the first Buddhist *vihara* or *palli* (chapel, mosque) is said to have been located at *Madayi*³ south of the Seven Hills,⁴ i.e., Mount Deli. The *Mahatmyam* is full of the usual inflated Brahmanical legends, and is not so worthy of serious analysis as its more popular form, the *Keralolpatti*.

¹ N.B.—The fact that the *janmam* (birth-right) of land in Malabar is also called the "water-contact-birthright" (*Nirattiperu*) is fully commented on in Chapter IV.

² The families of the native chieftains are mostly of this caste, but they are classed as *Sudras*.

³ Compare p. 194.

⁴ Vide p. 6.

The *Keralolpatti* too is full of Brahmanical legends, but historically there is something to be learnt from it.

It agrees with the *Mahatmyam* on the main points, the miraculous formation of the land, and the peopling of it first of all with Brahmans. It sets forth that the first Brahmans who arrived from various places did not remain in Kerala owing to their dread of the myriads of serpents¹ infesting the country. When the Brahmans retired, the serpents are said to have protected the country. Then *Parasu Raman* fetched more Brahmans from the north and located them in sixty-four villages or *gramams*, viz., (1) *Gokarnam*; (2) *Gomakutam*; (3) *Karavalli*; (4) *Mallur*; (5) *Eppanur*; (6) *Cheppanur*; (7) *Katalur*; (8) *Kallannur*; (9) *Karyachchira*; (10) *Peiyanchira*—this was the first group in the extreme north of the newly reclaimed land—(11) *Trikkani*; (12) *Trikkatta*; (13) *Trikkampala*; (14) *Trichchola*; (15) *Kollur*; (16) *Komalam*; (17) *Vellara*; (18) *Vengutu*; (19) *Venkatam*; (20) *Chengotu*—another set of ten *gramams* presumably to the south of the first group and all lying in North Canara or *Tulunad*—(21) *Kotisarum*; (22) *Manchisarum*; (23) *Utuppu*; (24) *Sankaranarayam*; (25) *Kottam*; (26) *Sivalli*; (27) *Mora*; (28) *Pancha*; (29) *Vittal*; (30) *Kumaramangalam*; (31) *Anantapuram*; (32) *Kannapuram*—a group of twelve *gramams* lying in South Canara or *Tulunad*—(33) *Peiyannur*; (34) *Perinchellur*; (35) *Karikkatu*; (36) *Isanamangulam*; (37) *Alattur*; (38) *Karintolam*; (39) *Trissivaperur*; (40) *Panniyur*; (41) *Chovaram*—these though only nine in number are said to have formed another group of ten *gramams*—(42) *Parappur*; (43) *Eiranikkulam*; (44) *Mushikkulam*; (45) *Iringatikkotu*; (46) *Atappur*; (47) *Chenganutu*; (48) *Uliyanur*; (49) *Kalutanutu*; (50) *Koluchchur*; (51) *Ilibhyam*; (52) *Chamundha*; (53) *Avattiputtur*—another group of twelve *gramams*—(54) *Kutukaruka*; (55) *Kilangur*; (56) *Karanallur*; (57) *Kaviyur*; (58) *Ettulanaiyur*; (59) *Nilmanna*; (60) *Anmani*; (61) *Anmalam*; (62) *Tiruvallayi*; (63) *Chenganiyur*. One of the names has probably been lost. The best named thirty-one *gramams* seem to belong to Malabar proper and the Native States of Cochin and North Travancore; but some of the names of places cannot now be identified, nor are the names which can be identified arranged in strict order proceeding from north to south.

The *Keralolpatti* proceeds to describe how certain of the Brahmans obtained the gift of arms, how the serpents which had formerly been the terror of the Brahmans were made their household gods—a portion of the shares² of the Brahmans being set apart to satisfy the serpents—how fencing schools with tutelary deities were established, how the goddess *Durga* was set to guard the sea-shore, and the god *Sasta* the foot of the hills, how the unstableness of the land was removed by sprinkling gold dust on the ground, by stamping so as to make it firm, and by depositing water carrying golden sands. *Parasu Raman* finally organized the *gramams*, setting special tasks to some, and to particular individuals others. His

¹ See footnote to p. 201.

² Vide p. 184.

last injunction to the *gramams* was to adopt the law of succession through the mother, but only one of them (*Peiyanur*), located in the extreme north of the Malayalam country, obeyed him.

After all this had been arranged he next introduced *Sudras* from the countries east of the ghats, and caused all of them to adopt the law of succession through the mother, and he constituted them as the *body-guard* of the Brahman villages.

"Thus," the *Keralolpatti* runs on, "Parasu Raman created the the land of Malabar—the *Karmabhumi*, or country where salvation depends entirely upon good actions—and bestowed the same upon the Brahmans of the sixty-four *gramams* as a poured-out gift".

The narrative recites how he selected the four *gramams* of *Peiyanur*, *Perinchellur*, *Parappur* and *Chenganiyur* and gave them authority to act in place of the whole sixty-four *gramams*. While the armed Brahmans were ruling the land, it is said, disputes arose and injustice ensued. So the Brahmans assembled and appointed a Protector in each¹ of the four selected villages, to hold office for three years, and assigned to each Protector a share equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of all the land for the support of himself and his subordinates. This institution, it is said, did not work well, and the people were oppressed by the Protectors, who sought to make the most of their opportunities during their short terms of office. So the Brahmans, assembled at *Tirunavayi*, determined to select a king, and empowered the four selected *gramams* to choose a king. Their choice fell on *Keya Perumal*, of *Keyapuram*, in the country east of the ghats. He was brought, it is said, to Keralam and installed as the first of the Perumals in the year of the Kaliyug "*Bhramanbhupoyam Prapya*", corresponding to A.D. 216.²

The Brahmans arranged that he should rule for twelve years, but it is said he reigned for only eight years and four months.

It is incidentally mentioned that there were two other Perumals besides the *Keya* (*Chera*, *Kerala*) *Perumal*. Those were the *Choya* (*Chola*) *Perumal* of *Choyamandalam*, and the *Pandi* or *Kulasekhara* *Perumal* of *Pandimandalam*, which information is corroborated from other and early sources, which mention *Chera*, *Chola* and *Pandya* as being the three great kingdoms of the south of the Peninsula.

It is further incidentally mentioned that the *Malanad* (hill-country, Malabar) was divided into four parts, viz. :—

(1) *Tulu* kingdom extending from *Gokarnam* to *Perumpula* (the big river), i.e., the Canaras (north and south) very nearly as at present defined.

(2) The *Kupa* kingdom extending from *Perumpula* to *Putupattanam*, the seat of the *Tekkankur* (Southern Regent) of the north *Kolattiri* dynasty situated on the *Kotta* river, i.e., North Malabar as at present defined less the southern half of the Kurumbranad taluk.

¹ There is a different tradition about this.

² The specific dates mentioned in the work are all unreliable.

(3) The *Kerala* kingdom extending from *Putupattanam* to *Kannetti*, that is, South Malabar, including the south half of the Kurumbranad taluk, the Cochin State, and North Travancore.

(4) The *Mushika* kingdom extending from *Kannetti* to *Cape Comorin*, that is, South Travancore.

It would appear, therefore, that the Perumal whom the Brahmans say they selected ruled over only a small portion of the country (*Kerala*) reclaimed by the efforts of Parasu Raman, and that *Kerala*, the name usually applied to the whole of *Parasu Raman's* reclamation, was in fact the name by which the Brahmans designated the middle half only of the country inhabited by the Malayalam-speaking race of Dravidians.

This fact has an important bearing on the question as to when the Brahmans really did settle in Malabar, for *Kerala* is now by scholars recognized to be a dialectic (Canarese) form of the ancient name of the whole country, viz., *Chera* or *Cheram* or *Keram*, a name which probably still survives in *Cheranad*, the western portion of the Ernad taluk, and possibly also in *Cheruman* (plural = *Cherumakkul*¹) the agrostic slave caste. The name *Kerala* was probably *not in use in Malabar itself* until it was imported along with the Nambutiri Brahmans, and after being so imported it was naturally applied to that portion only of ancient *Chera* where those Brahmans settled most² thickly, that is, in the third of the divisions or kingdoms mentioned in the *Keralolpatti*. Outside the Malayalam country the name was certainly in use, as will be soon presently, for centuries before the Nambutiri Brahmans arrived, and was employed to designate the dominions of the *Chera* king.

Thus runs the *Keralolpatti*:—"When the Brahmans first appointed a king they made an agreement on oath with him to this effect—'Do that which is beyond our power to do and protect. When complaints happen to arise, we will settle them by ourselves. You are not to question us on that point. For formality's sake you may ask why we deal with affairs ourselves after making you a king.' At this³ day even when complaints arise the king says:—'Why do you deal with them? Why did you not make your complaint to me?' This is owing to the former oath."

It is further said they gifted him with lands and fixed his headquarters at *Allur* alias *Kodungallur* (Cranganore) alias *Muyirikedu* (Jews' deed) alias the *Mouziris* of the Greeks.

After *Koya Perumal's* death the Brahmans, it is said, brought *Choya Perumal* from *Choyamandalam*. He reigned ten years and two months and returned to *Choyamandalam*.

¹ The *Cherumar* are supposed to be so styled because of their low stature (*Cheru* = small) but low feeding produces low stature, and it is very possible that the slave-caste constituted the aborigines of the ancient *Chera* kingdom (*vide* p. 147).

² See the table given at p. 119-120.

³ The work is generally supposed to have been written in the 17th century A.D.

They next brought *Pandi Perumal*¹ from the *Pandi* country. He built a fort, reigned nine years and returned to his former home "whence a messenger had come to inform him that there was no one to be king at *Pandimandalam*."

It will be noticed that the names of these three first Perumals, supposed to be single individuals with exact terms stated as to the durations of their reigns, are in reality the names of the *Chera*, *Chola*, and *Pandya* rulers, and it is quite possible that when the dominion of the *Chera* princes terminated, they were succeeded in the suzerainty of the *Kerala* chieftains, first by the *Cholas* and afterwards by the *Pandyas*.

Then comes in a tradition of a king called *Bhutarayar*² *Pandi Perumal*, between whom and the Brahmins bitter enmity arose. He was guarded by two spirits and the Brahmins could not compass his destruction, until one of them played chess with him and won the services of the guardian spirits; after which he was assassinated³ by a Brahman, from whom descended the Nambidi caste.

The *Mahatmyam* says of him that the *Pandyan*s invaded *Kerala* with an army of *Bhutans* (spirits) that *Parasu Raman* said to the *Bhuta* Raja angrily: "Your arrival at my country is in vain. I have given it over to the Southern king *Adityavarman*."⁴ The *Bhuta* army was then defeated, and the boundary of *Kerala* was fixed at the place (*Bhuta pandi*) where *Parasu Raman* accosted the invaders.

Invasions, it is said in the *Keralo'patti*, became frequent; the Brahmins applied to *Parasu Raman*, who told them to select a king at *Tirunavay*,⁵ that the *Gangadevi* (*Ganges*) would come⁶ on the day of the festival at *Tirunavayi*, that they might choose whomsoever they wished, and that he should be anointed with the water of the *Perar* (big river), that is, the *Ponnani* river, on the north bank of which *Tirunavayi* stands; *Parasu Raman* likewise gave them the sword of *Bhadra kali*⁷ for the protection of the country.

They proceeded to *Choyamandalam*, the narrative continues, and brought thence a king named *Keralan*. He was anointed on the day of *Puyam*, in the month of *Kumbham*, in the year when the planet

¹ One version asserts that this was an "enterprising female."—*Ind. Ant.* IX, p. 78.

² This *Perumal* who was guarded by evil spirits and inimical to the Brahmins was not improbably the *Perumal* who became a convert to Muhammadanism, the *Pallibana Perumal*, as he is called further on, and the *Cheraman Perumal* of the popular tradition.

³ Another version asserts that the *Perumal* thus assassinated was called *Shola Perumal* (or *Choya Perumal* above referred to).—*Ind. Ant.* IX, 78.

⁴ This seems to refer to the *Chola* king of this name, who, according to present knowledge, overran a large part of Southern India about A.D. 804. If the *Bhutarayar Pandi Perumal* above referred to was, as suggested, the Muhammadan convert, then this allusion to the *Chola* king is chronologically correct.

⁵ *Vide* p. 163.

⁶ At the *Mahamakham* festival (*vide* pp. 163–69) still held at *Kumbhakonam*, in *Tanjore* District, every twelfth year, the *Ganges* in the form of a blooming girl of seventeen years (sometimes still seen by imaginative individuals) is believed to visit a certain tank in that town much bathed in on such occasions.

⁷ *Conf.* p. 240.

Jupiter was in the constellation of the Crab, that is, he was anointed after one of the Tirunavayi Mahamakham¹ festivals, and the ceremony was performed in the royal hall of *Vakayur*.²

On him the Brahmans, it is said, conferred the following privileges:—Battle wager, land customs, fines for evasion of ancient usages, riding on elephants, cows with five teats to the udder, cows with three teats to the udder, bulls that have slain men or animals, spotted bulls, tails of tigers slain in hunting, wild pigs that have fallen into wells, regulation of the beds of streams, accretions from the sea, tax on headloads (or, perhaps, trees or fruits of abnormal growth, or, perhaps, the cabbage of palm trees cut down), sea customs, the revenue and charges of all *Kerala*. They also presented to him the sword of *Bhadrukali*, and built him a palace at *Trikkata Matilaka*.

It is said he reigned for twelve years and then returned to his own country, and on account of his good qualities, it is said, the land received the name of *Kerala*.

To him succeeded King *Pandyan* alias *Chenaar* of the *Pandyan* Raj. He reigned twelve years and then went back to his own country after settling up accounts with the Brahmans.

Then followed King *Choyiyan* of the *Choya* Raj. He also, it is said, ruled twelve years.

The tradition about these three kings is, it will be observed, just a different version, with some local colouring, of the tradition already alluded to above pointing to the probability that the *Kerala* princes proper were followed in the suzerainty of Malabar by the *Cholas* and *Pandyas*; only this repetition of the tradition seems to place the *Pandyas'* suzerainty as an event prior to that of the *Cholas*.

The *Keralolpatti* next proceeds to state that the Brahmans, in order to prevent the King from seizing despotic power, divided the country into seventeen divisions, and committed the power of control to four gramams (Brahman villages), namely, (1) *Liranikkulam*, (2) *Iringat Kotu*, (3) *Mushikakulam*, and (4) *Parappur*. Of these four villages, it will be noticed that only one (*Parappur*) was among the first four villages selected by *Parasu Raman*. The reason assigned for the supersession of *Peiyannur* (or perhaps *Panniyur*), *Perinchellur* and *Chenganiyur*, is that these were too distant from *Paravur*, or *Parappur*. The fact, however, is also consistent with the supposition that political reasons had been at work, and the acquisition of independence by the Northern *Kolattiris* in North Malabar and by the Southern *Kolattiris* in Travancore (for which there is a strong tradition) may have led to the withdrawal of the *Peiyannur* gramam from the list of controlling gramams in North Malabar, and to the non-establishment (a fact which remains to the present day) of any Nambutiri villages to the south of the

¹ Conf. p. 164.

² Conf. p. 169.

³ Conf. p. 170.

Quilon river. If, on the other hand, it was the *Panniyur* (literally pig village) gramam which was superseded, that also is explicable on the supposition (for which also there is some extraneous evidence) that there was at one time a diminution¹ in the influence of the Vaishnavites (worshippers of the *boar* incarnation of Vishnu) and an increase in the influence of the Saivites. *Kerala* was probably stripped of its northern province by the power and influence of the Western Chalukyas, whose emblem was this name boar incarnation of Vishnu and the Rashtrakuta or Ratta dynasty in turn with strong Brahmanical and Saivite proclivities superseded the Western Chalukyas and claimed to have conquered *Keralam*.

The precise time or times when those events occurred will be considered in the next section of this chapter, but meanwhile, as some additional evidence that political influences were at work, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the *Keralolpatti* next proceeds to describe a new arrangement of the gramams which took place at this time. The thirty-two *Tulu* gramams (north of the *Perumpula*) were it is said, "cut off from all connection (or perhaps intermarriage)" with the thirty-two pure Malayali gramams lying to the south of that river, and a fresh distribution of the Malayali gramams themselves took place. The narrative further runs thus:—"The other thirty-two gramams (*i.e.*, those lying to the north of the *Perumpula*) are composed of those who went away to join the *Panchadravidas*² and returned afterwards. They are called *Palan-tuluvar*³ or *Tulunambis*."⁴

Some time after this, so the tradition runs, the Brahmans brought from the East Coast from *Banapuram*⁵ a king whom they called *Banz Perumal*. He was installed at *Allur*, *i.e.*, Kodungallur (Cranganore). It was during his reign that the Mappillas came and gave an account to him of the greatness of their religion. The Perumal, it is said, was convinced, and embraced the Muhammadan [or *Baudha* (*sic*)] faith. He sent for the Brahmans and said to them: "Everybody in this *Malanad* (hill country, Malabar) must embrace this way (religion)." The Brahmans were embarrassed and could not eat with comfort owing to the defilement of the choultries. It is said they finally persuaded the Perumal to allow them an opportunity of controversy with the exponents of the new religion, agreeing that the party which was worsted in the encounter should have their tongues cut out. The Mappillas, it is said, were defeated and the Perumal cut out the tongues of those who remained and expelled them from the kingdom. Somewhat inconsistently, however, the narrative runs that the Perumal himself

¹ Conf. pp. 119 and 120. At the present day, the *Panniyur* (pig village) Brahmans are considered not to be entitled to recite the *Vedas*.

² Literally *five Dravidas*, which usually refers to the five chief Dravidian dialects—Tamil, Telugu, Canareso, Malayalam and Tulu. Had the word in the text been the "Fifth Dravidas," *i.e.*, the *Tulus*, the meaning would have been clear.

³ Literally *ancient Tulus*.

⁴ Literally *Tulu Vaishnavas*.

⁵ Query.—The *Mahavali* dynasty of kings was also called the *Bana* dynasty. Is *Banapuram* another name for *Mamallaipuram* (the Seven Pagodas near Madras), and did this Perumal belong to the *Mahavali* dynasty?

did not revert to Hinduism and after a reign of four years he proceeded to Mecca, "saying that since he believed in the Mappilla faith he had no other way of obtaining salvation"; and one account of him winds up thus:—"The *Baudhus* (*Mappillas*) say that *Cheraman Perumal* went to Mecca and not to heaven. That was not *Cheruman Perumal*, but this *Pallibana Perumal*¹ (king of Kerala); *Cheraman Perumal* did indeed go to heaven. He was the fifth after four kings had reigned."

Notwithstanding, however, the assertion in the text, it will be seen presently that the tradition about the conversion of this *Baudha* (*alias* Mappilla) Perumal fits in accurately with the little that is known of the real Cheraman Perumal, and these traditions themselves, it will be seen, have assigned to him his proper place in history as having reigned subsequently to the partial disruption of the ancient Chera kingdom alluded to above.

The *Keralolpatti* then proceeds as follows:—"The Brahmans went to other countries and brought *Tulubhan Perumal* from the northern country." He fixed his residence, it is said, in the gramam of *Kotisivaram*,² and it was he that gave his name to the *Tulunad* (Canara). He is said to have reigned six years and to have died.

Indra Perumal was next, it is stated, sent for and made king. He lived at the big palace (*Kovilugam* king's house) at *Allur*³ (Kodungallur, Cranganore). He reigned, aided by the councillors, it is said, of the four representative Brahman villages, for a period of twelve years, and then went away to the east, leaving orders to appoint another king.

Arya Perumal was brought from *Aryapuram* and installed. He, it is said, inspected the whole of the country and arranged it⁴ into four divisions or provinces, viz.:—

- (1) *Tulu* country, from *Gokarnam* to *Perumpula*.
- (2) *Kerala*,⁵ from *Perumpula* to *Putuppattanam*.
- (3) *Mushika*⁶ country, from *Putuppattanam* to *Kannetti*.
- (4) *Kuvula*⁷ country, from *Kannetti* to *Cape Comorin*.

¹ This Muhammadan Perumal must have lived subsequently to the seventh century A.D. when the Muhammadan religion was founded, and if, as the text says, *Cheraman Perumal* was the fifth of his successors, it follows that *Cheraman Perumal* must have lived after the seventh century A.D., whereas further on it will be seen, the text says, he went to heaven in the fourth or fifth century A.D. All the specific dates mentioned in the text are worthless.

² This gramam lay in South Canara.

³ To the present day this place lies in the Native State of Cochin.

⁴ Another version says the division took place in the reigns of the two Perumals last above mentioned as well as in this Perumal's reign (*Ind. Ant.* IX, 78). This version of the tradition materially helps the suggestions made further on in the text.

⁵ *N.B.*—Kerala here acquires a very restricted meaning, and corresponds precisely to what was the dominion of the North Kolattiris in historical times.

⁶ *N.B.*—This Province was in the previous distribution called *Kerala*.

⁷ *N.B.*—This Province was in the previous distribution called *Mushika*.

He is further said to have arranged it into seventeen *nads* or counties, and each *nad* into eighteen *kandams* or portions. He also, it is said, organized the country into desams (territorial military units) and named them.

He reigned with the aid of the councillors of the representative Brahman villages, and at the end of five (or twelve) years "the gods let down their chariot from the heavens, in which the Perumal went in a royal procession to heaven" to the great sorrow of the Brahmans.

They, however, next sent for *Kannan Perumal* "from the east country." He is said to have built a "king's house" at *Kundivaka* near Kannetti.¹ He reigned four (or twelve) years and went away to his country.

Then *Kotti Perumal* was sent for and crowned as king. He lived at *Kotti kollam*² for one year and died.

To him succeeded, it is said, *Mata Perumal* who reigned for eleven (or twelve) years and then thought of building a fort, so he sent for his younger brother *Eli Perumal*,³ i.e., the Perumal or Mount Deli, and went away to his country.

This *Eli Perumal*³ built, it is said, the *Matayeli*⁴ fort, and after reigning twelve years, he either died or went away to his native country.

Komban Perumal was next sent for, and it is said he lived for three years and six months in tents or in camp on the banks of the *Neytara* river, another name for the *Valarxattanam* river⁵ (*ante* p. 10).

Then came *Vijayan Perumal*, who built the fort at *Vijayan kollam*.⁶ He reigned for twelve years and went away to his country, leaving orders to appoint another king.

The Brahmans, it is said, next sent for *Valabhan Perumal* "from the eastern country" and made him king of Kerala.⁷ He is said to have consecrated gods and built a fort on the banks of the *Neytara*⁶ river (*Valarxattanam* river). The fort (*ante* p. 11) received the name of *Valarbhattu Kottu*, and he appointed this as the hereditary residence of the future kings of Kerala.⁷ He reigned for eleven years and died.

¹ In Travancore.

² Conf. p. 158. The assertion that this place was the modern Calicut (*Ind. Ant.* IX, 78) seems to be mere conjecture.

³ Conf. p. 6.

⁴ Note.—This is probably the original spelling of *Madayi*, the third most ancient of the king's houses of the Northern *Kolattiris*. It is in the immediate vicinity of *Palayangadi* referred to in the notice of the *Taliparamba* River (*ante* p. 10). Col. Yule, in "Marco Polo," has a note (II, pp. 375-70) on the various spellings of *Madayi*.

⁵ In North Malabar.

⁶ This place is subsequently mentioned in the text as being near *Kanyarott* (*Cassergode*) river in the Malayali portion of the South Canara district.

⁷ N.B.—Kerala, it will be noted, had now, according to the text, the restricted meaning of the territory lying between the *Perumpula* river and *Putuppattanam*, that is, the dominion of the Northern *Kolattiris*, North Malabar in fact.

Harischandra Perumal was next brought. He is said to have built a fort on the top of the *Purali* hill in Kottayam taluk.¹ It was, however, haunted² by forest deities, and men could not, it is said, safely go there and speak to the king. After reigning a few years, he is said to have disappeared.

Then *Mallan Perumal* was sent for. He built the fort of *Nallurumallan* in the *Mushika*³ province, and after a reign of twelve years went away to his country.

The next Perumal was *Kulasekhara Perumal*⁴ from the Pandyan country. He built his king's house in the *Mushika* Province, introduced Kshatriya families, and organized the country, it is said, into small chieftainships to protect it against the Mappillas. He is also credited with having introduced the study of sciences into the Malayali country, for the Malayali Brahmans were, it is said, ignorant of sciences up to this time. In this, he was assisted by a person styled *Udajatan*, also called the *che'ti* (foreign merchant), who endowed the teacher of science, *Prabhakara Gurukkal*, with land sowing 5,000 *kalams* (bushels) of seed. The Perumal's gift was of land sowing, it is said, 7,000 *kalams*: "*Kulasekhara Perumal* reigned for eighteen years and went to heaven with his body" in the *Purudisamasrayam* year of the Kaliyuga, or in A.D. 333,⁵ so it is said. The *Bhagavati* temple at *Tiruvanjakkulam* (near Cranganor) is also said to have come into existence in the same year.

And here it will be as well to pause to consider who these *Perumals* were, who are said to have succeeded to the Muhammadan *Pallitana Perumal* in the manner above related. It has already been set forth above (*ante* pp. 72-73, 158-159) that there are two well-known places called Kollam⁶—one in North Malabar and one in Travancore—that there are two Kollam eras in use in the Malayali countries and that the northern Kollam era began on 25th August 825 A.D. There is further extrinsic evidence (*ante* p. 196) that at or about this very time a king of Malabar, stated by the Mappillas to have been *Cheraman Perumal*, whom all—Hindus and Muhammadans alike—regard as having been the last of the kings of Kerala,

¹ In North Malabar.

² This tradition still survives.

³ That is, South Malabar, Cochin, and North Travancore, according to the distribution made above.

⁴ N.B.—This is still one of the titles of the Maharajas of Travancore, the Southern *Kolattiris*.

⁵ Note.—Considering that Muhammad himself was born only in the 7th century A.D., the date mentioned is obviously incorrect, if, as stated, this Perumal organised the country against the Mappillas.

⁶ Note.—It is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that the *Kolattiris* were really originally the *Kollattiris*, i.e., chiefs of the countries lying round the two Kollams. Kollam is only an abbreviated form of *Koyilagam* or *Kovilagam*, which word means "King's house." The word Kollam is also applied to many other places where there were "King's houses," e.g., *Kodungallur* or Cranganore. It may be objected that the Northern Kolattiris never held sway about North Kollam which lies to the south of *Putuppattanam* on the Kotta River, usually assigned as the North Kolattunad southern limit, but this is rendered doubtful by the fact that down to the present day Nayar women from North Malabar may not pass to the south of the *Ellattur* river. All to the north of this latter river, including North Kollam, was probably at first the dominion of the North *Kolattiris*.

embraced Muhammadanism, went to Arabia, and died at *Zaphar*, where his tomb is still to be seen. Further, there is reason to think that this date, 25th August 825, was the day of the Onam festival, when it was, and still is, customary for dependants to visit their suzerains and to do acts of homage either in person or by deputy to them, and this of all days in the year would be the day for a vassal to proclaim his independence of his suzerain. It is not, therefore, an improbable suggestion that this was the day on which the Southern Kolattiris and possibly also the Northern branch broke away, possibly under the pressure of foreign influences, or possibly out of disgust at *Cheraman Perumal's* perversion to Islam, from their allegiance to the last of the Kerala Perumals.

And again, for reasons which will be set forth further on, it may perhaps be guessed that the Northern *Kolattiris* had not up to this time attained to the dignity of a separate dynasty, whereas their cousins of the south, the Southern *Kolattiris* (Travancore), had, as the Jews and Syrians' deeds show, been a distinct ruling family for some time.

It is a noteworthy circumstance in this connection that even now-a-days the Travancore Maharajas on receiving the sword at their coronations have still to declare¹:—"I will keep this sword until the uncle who has gone to Mecca returns."

The use of this phrase would seem to point to another solution of the problem, namely, that the Southern *Kolattiris* only assumed independence after the Perumal had left the country, and then only on the understanding that it was to be laid aside directly he returned. There is more in favour of this view than the former, for it renders it easier to understand how the writs obtained by *Sheikh-ibn-Dinar* and his family from *Cheraman Perumal* obtained² ready acceptance and recognition at the hands of the various chieftains whose territories they visited with a view to the propagation of Islam.

Whichever of these views is correct, it will be noted that the principal actors on the Malayali stage after the flight or pilgrimage of the Muhammadan *Pallibana Perumal* ought to be the North and South branches of the *Kolattiris* and the other chiefs who attained independence in consequence of the Perumal's flight, and if the traditions contained in the *Keralolpatti* are correct, they ought, after relating the disappearance of the convert to Islam, to go on to describe the chiefs who at this time attained to independence: nor does this test fail, for it will be seen from the details given above that the Perumals described as having reigned after *Pallibana Perumal* are either the North or South *Kolattiris* or the *Tulu* or *Cochin* chiefs. The name "Kerala" even undergoes a change, and instead of meaning the whole of the land between *Gokarnam* and *Cape Comorin* it comes at this time to signify merely North Malabar, i.e., *Kolattunad*, the kingdom of the Northern *Kolattiris*.

¹ Mateer's "Native Life in Travancore." London 1883, p. 121.

² Pages 193-195.

In his review of the *Kerala Mahatmyam*, Dr. Gundert observed :—"The intention of the Purana is evidently to describe Kerala as being first under the rule of the united *Travancore* and *Kolattiri* dynasty, the sway of which being contracted by foreign aggression in the north, paved the way for the independent rule of the *Kolattiri* branch." This view, it will be seen, has much in common with what is set forth above, but it is more probable that the circumstances which finally led to the independence of the *Kolattiris* (or perhaps *Kollattiris*) were those detailed in what follows in the text.

The natural view to take of the text seems to be that two traditions—one probably a pure Brahman tradition, and the other a more popular tradition—have become mixed up, that *Pallibana Perumal* was really *Cheraman Perumal*, and that the Perumals who are recorded in the manner just set forth to have succeeded *Pallibana Perumal* were in reality the petty dynasties among whom *Cheraman Perumal* divided his dominions, in the manner to be presently described, before he set out on his pilgrimage to Arabia.

The *Keralolpatti* after recording the death of *Kulasekhara Perumal* proceeds to describe over again the organisation of the Brahmans into an arms-bearing caste in order to protect the country. It is said eight and a half of the gramams took up arms, and were subsequently joined by two others, and it is recorded that seventy-two chiefs of one of the four selected villages fell in battle, but when, or where, or how, is not stated. One person each from two others of the selected gramams are also stated to have fallen in fight. In these cases, the names and the date of the month on which they fell are preserved, chiefly, it is presumed, because death ceremonies had to be performed for them once a year ever afterwards. These armed Brahmans or protectors had, it is said, four chief things to attend to, viz. :—

- (1) To assemble to consult about Government affairs.
- (2) To assemble for play.
- (3) *Sankha Lakshanam*, which literally means the characteristic mark of assembly, whatever that may have been. To these three, which the protectors had from the beginning, was added—
- (4) Authority to fix the flag at *Tirunavayi*, i.e., presumably at the Mahamakham festival held there every twelfth year.

Regarding the above organisation it seems probable that an attempt was made to form some of the Brahmans into a military caste, but it is impossible at present to say when this occurred or what was the occasion for it. That it ever supplied the place of a ruling king in the country is inconsistent with established facts and is, from the account given of the institution, also incredible.

Having dealt with this institution, the *Keralolpatti* proceeds as follows:—"After the country had been thus governed by the Brahmans of the sixty-four gramams and the *Perumal*¹ for a short period, the sixty-four gramams assembled at *Trikkariyur*² temple, consulted and resolved as follows:—"This state of things will not do. The country will be lacking in the administration of justice. The Brahmans will have to leave the country and go away. A king is wanted." They went to the eastern country, obtained an interview with *Anakundi Krishna Rayar*, and after making various agreements with him asked him to send a king for Koralam to rule for every twelve years. ("He accordingly sent *Perumal*, the first king, and then *Pandi Perumal* to rule for twelve years, and after their reigns were ended) he sent the Kshatriya, *Cheraman Perumal*.

"They sat in the palace of *Trikkariyur* for the ceremony of coronation. Then the Brahmans of sixty-four gramams gave him an *Anayattitu*" (a kind of writ) to rule *Kerala*, the land 160 *Katam* (leagues) in length, and authorised him to rule as sole Emperor, giving him flowers and water. ("Thus *Cheraman Perumal* obtained the country of *Kerala*, 160 *Katam* (leagues) in length, with water. That *Kali* year was *Swargasandehaprapyam*⁵ (A.D. 428)."

The *Anakundi Krishna Rayar* mentioned can be no other than the well known (puppet?) King of Vijayanagar, who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century A.D.; and the statement that a *Perumal* nominated by him came to Kerala in A.D. 428 is sufficiently absurd. This date, like the others already mentioned, is worthless, and the allusion to *Krishna Rayar* of Vijayanagar must also be inaccurate, since he lived in the first century after the Portuguese arrival, and the account which follows of the partition of Kerala among the existing families of Rajas by a *Perumal* of his nomination is palpably erroneous.

It is said that *Cheraman Perumal* after inspecting the country found that *Trikkariyur*, *Tirunavayi* and *Valarppattanam* fort were holy places, and of the eighteen seaports (literally, entrances to the deep), he selected that at *Tiruvanchalimukham*, and there erected the temple of *Tiruvanchakkulam*.⁶

At the end of twelve years the Brahmans being pleased with him determined, it is said, to set at nought the injunction of *Krishna Rayar* that the *Perumal* was to reign for only twelve years, and they accordingly made him reign for another twelve years.

¹ The military organisation of the Brahmans seems by this to have occurred during the reign of one of the *Perumals*.

² Or, as another copy says, "assembled in full at the sandy island of *Tirunavayi*" (ante p. 163).

³ The passage within brackets is a variation in the text. It seems to be an incomplete version of a tradition about the predecessors of *Cheraman Perumal*.

⁴ Variation in the text.

⁵ Literally, "He went to heaven with his body." The value of the chronogram is 1,288,734 days of the *Kali Yuga*.

⁶ The temple at *Kodungallur* (Cranganore), but see ante p. 230, for another account of this temple.

They next wished to have a race of good Kshatriyas in Kerala, so they sent for a "*Surya Kshatriya*" woman, and to her two sons were assigned, respectively, the *Mushika*¹ country and the *Tulunad*¹ country.

It is not said that this was a wife of *Cheraman Perumal*, but on the contrary it is stated that the sons were the sons of a Brahman and of the Kshatriya woman after the fashion current now-a-days in the Malayali Rajas' families. This tradition relates, as will be seen presently, to the Cochin Raja's family. The woman was probably a sister or other near relative, natural or adopted, of *Cheraman Perumal*; and in corroboration of what is here stated the Jews, in connection with their copper-plate grant, explain the absence of the Cochin Raja's name from the list of witnesses to the deed by asserting that he was *Cheraman Perumal's* heir.

Then follows an account of three women (one Kshatriya and two Sudra), strangers from some northern land being stranded in a boat on Mount Deli. *Cheraman Perumal* took all of them to wife apparently, and on the descendants of the Kshatriya woman he conferred the title of *Elilumpun* (king of *Eli*) with "heredom to the kingdom," and he built for her the *Elott* king's house at the foot of *Elimala* (Mount Deli).

This tradition relates undoubtedly to the Northern *Kolattiri* family, the second most ancient seat of the family having been at this particular king's house under Mount Deli.

The descendants of the other two (the Sudra) women became, respectively, the ancestresses of the *Nerputt* and *Chulali* dynasties.

These families became the chief feudatories of the Northern *Kolattiris*. The *Chulali* dynasty apparently protected the trade² route between Coorg and the *Kolattiris'* dominion which passed through *Srikandapuram* or *Jarfattan*, where one of the original Muhammadan mosques, as already related, was built. If it is a correct tradition that the *Chulali* family is descended from *Cheraman Perumal*, it was a very natural thing for the Perumal to include among the letters given to *Sheikh-ibn-Dinar* one addressed to the *Chulali* family; and the building of the mosque at such an apparently out-of-the-way spot becomes in this light intelligible.

Another remark deserves to be here recorded, for these traditions explain a very powerful influence which was, and it may be added still is, always at work tending to the disintegration of Malayali families and Malayali inheritances. A Malayali king's natural heirs were his sister's or aunt's or female cousin's children. His own children were the heirs not of their father but of their mother. But from natural affection a suitable provision would always be made for the mother of

¹ *Mushika* here seems to mean the province between *Putuppattanam* and *Kannetti* and *Tulunad*, the country north of the *Perumpula*. This partition between the two sons of this woman is commented on further down.

² *Srikandapuram* is in the *Chulai* amsem of *Chirakkal* taluk. It is called in the *Keralolpatti Siranupattanam* (S. 7, Part 2), which is not far from the *Jarfattan* of the Arabs.

the king's children and her offspring; and this provision often took the shape of a grant of territory. It was undoubtedly this that the dominions of the Northern *Kolattiris* became so curtailed in extent. The *Kadattunad* family thus acquired the portion of their dominions which used at one time to be under the *Tekke Ilankur*, or Southern Regent of *Kollatunad*, with head-quarters at *Putuppattanum*, and the *Kerlaloopatti* explains how the *Nilesvaram* dynasty holding the Malayali portion of South Canara sprang from a matrimonial alliance between a prince of the *Kolattiri* and a lady of the Zamorin's house.

The more powerful the family of the lady was the more likelihood there was of the provision for her leading to the founding of a dynasty and to its semi-independence of the male parent stock. It is not at all improbable therefore that the Northern *Kolattiris* are descended from a matrimonial alliance between the last of the Kerala Perumals and a lady of the stock of the great southern feudatory, the Travancore (South *Kolattiri*) Rajas. The two families have always observed pollution, when deaths occurred in their respective houses, and, as matter of fact, the southern family would have ceased to exist long ago but for the adoption of heirs on several occasions from the northern family. In all probability a fresh adoption will have to be made in the course of the next few years.

This solution of the problem, while in strict accordance with the text, supplies a sufficient answer to the question why the Northern *Kolattiri* was not, while his cousin of the south, was a witness to the copper-plate grants whereby the Jews and Christians obtained extensive privileges from two of the Perumals in the eighth century A.D.

This absence of the name of the North *Kolattiri* from the list of witnesses to these deeds led Dr. Gundert to conjecture¹ that the North *Kolattiri* was, at the dates of their execution, independent of the Perumal, but so far as evidence is yet forthcoming there is nothing to show that the North *Kolattiri* dynasty had a separate existence in the eighth century A.D.; and it will be seen that the Muhammadan story about the introduction² of Islam into Malabar renders it probable that the last of the Perumals had sufficient influence over the North *Kolattiri* to induce him to grant a site for a mosque at *Madayi* and to endow the institution. This would not have been a very probable occurrence had the North *Kolattiri* been, for perhaps a century and-a-half previously, as Dr. Gundert conjectured, independent of the Perumals altogether.

Cheraman Perumal, the text goes on to say, encouraged merchants and invited *Jonaka*³ *Mappillas* (Muhammadans) to the country. In particular he invited⁴ a Muhammadan and his wife to come from his native land of Aryapuram and installed them at *Kannanur*

¹ M.J.L.S., XIII, Part I.

² Ante p. 194.

³ Vide foot-note p. 191.

⁴ There are other traditions about the origin of the family of the Chief of Cannanore and of the Laccadive Islands, which will be alluded to further on.

(Cannanore). The Muhammadan was called *Ali Raja*, that is, lord of the deep, or of the sea.

Cheraman Perumal had reigned for thirty-six years when Krishna Rayar, it is said, sent an expedition to subdue the country and enforce his commands.

Another version of the text says that it was not *Anakundi Krishna Rayar* but a *Pandyan* king who invaded the country in Cheraman Perumal's time : and the reason for the expedition is said to have been that the Perumal himself came from the *Chola* country, and the *Pandyan* was jealous of the growth of the *Chola* influence in Kerala. The *Pandyan*, it is said, ascended the *Anamala* mountains, descended through the forests on Kerala, and built a fort in the *Taravur* country.

To drive back the invaders *Cheraman Perumal*, it is said, employed Prince *Utaya Varmman* of the *Karippatt*¹ king's house, his son by the Kshatriya women : and he also sent for *Manichchan* and *Vikkiran* of *Puntura*,² or, according to another version, those noble youths while on a pilgrimage came to *Tirunavayi*, where the Perumal was residing after having sustained a defeat in battle. He was apparently even contemplating a flight in boats when assured by the youths that they would take the fort.

So the expedition was organised and despatched under the *Puntura* youths. It is unnecessary to relate the events of the campaign, as they are all more or less of a mythical character and include the mention of the use of fire-arms and cartridges !! The battle lasted for three days, and the result was, it is said, that the Rayar evacuated his fort, and it was seized by the Perumal's troops. It is also related that the well known body of Nayers, the Ten Thousand of *Polanad* (country about Calicut), were specially selected by the *Puntura* youths and miraculously marked by them with a vulture's quill. They distinguished themselves greatly on the occasion and earned, it is said, the reward of being stationed in the best district of the kingdom.

It is known from the Jews' and Syrians' deeds that the Zamorin's family had attained the dignity of *Udayavar* for at least a century before the dawn of the Kollam era ; the tradition then, which makes the Perumal summon the boys from school, as one version relates, to lead his army, is apocryphal unless indeed there is here to be found the real tradition of the founding of the family some considerable time previously to the reign of the last of the Perumals. It is not at all unlikely that a battle against invaders coming via *Anamala*, that is, through the Palghat gap, did take place, and the gallantry of the ancestors of the Zamorin brought them on that occasion into favourable notice, but it must have been on an occasion long prior to the beginning of the Kollam era.

¹ This is the earliest of the seats of the North *Kolattiris*. It lies in *Kurummattur* Amsam in Chirakkal taluk.

² *Punturakkon* (King of Puntura) is still one of the titles of the Zamorin Maharaja Bahadur of Calicut, and his official title is *Manavikraman*, a compound of the names mentioned in the text.

Again it is noteworthy that the North *Kolattiri*, whose name is also mentioned, seems to have played no part in the campaign conducted by the *Puntura* youths, although, as said above, the Perumal had selected him to drive back the invaders. But this is accounted for if it be supposed that Korala was threatened from two sides simultaneously—from the north *via* the coast, and from the east *via* the Palghat gap—and it may be added that, as the *Keralolpatti* itself says, invasions became frequent, and invaders apparently did come from both directions about this time. The North *Kolattiri* may possibly have reconquered for the Perumal the Malayali territory (North Malabar) which from the first description of the limits of Korala (*ante* p. 224) seems to have been previously lost to the latter. The “heirdom to the kingdom” conferred on him by the Perumal may have subsequently led to the designation of *Kolattunad* as Korala (*ante* p. 228); but however this may be, it is pretty certain that the North *Kolattiris* had the duty assigned to them of protecting the north of the Perumal’s domain, just as their cousins of the south (Travancore) had already for some generations been guarding the southern passes.

“At the time of this successful war” continues the *Keralolpatti*, “there was born as the son (or incarnation) of *Mahadevan* (Siva) a celebrated genius. It was he who was afterwards known as *Samkaracharyar*.” And the text goes on to give one of the versions of his life which have already been summarised.¹ He is further stated to have laid down laws for the guidance of the Malayali Brahmins in all the ordinary business of life, as well as for the Sudras and other classes. The Sudras (*Nayars*) were told off to “battle, hunting, service, guard, convoy, and escort.” It is also incidentally mentioned that subsequently to the reign of *Mayuravarmman* in Malayalam, or, as another version has it in *Toulavam*, i.e., the Tulu province (South Canara), the Rajas were in the habit of adopting the suffix of *Varmman* or *Sarmman* to their names. The text next diverges into a general account of the Malayali castes and mentions among other facts that the Chinese were among the merchant immigrants, as also were “the men of round hats (!)” of whom there were four castes, viz.:—1. *Parinki* (Portuguese), 2. *Lanta* (Dutch), 3. *Parintiriss* (French), and 4. *Inkiriss* (English). The various castes, including apparently the “round-hatted” Europeans, are said to have been told off to their various functions in the State by *Samkaracharyar* himself. The text runs: “Thus *Samkaracharyar* laid down the rules to be observed by the seventy-two classes,” and he is said to have solemnly proclaimed the same “on the day next after the *Mahamakham* which occurred in the month of *Kumbham* in the year of the cycle of Jupiter when he was in the sign of the Crab.”

This account of *Samkaracharyar*, which makes him a contemporary of the last of the Perumals, is interesting, because, as a matter of fact, the tradition on the point is probably correct. The last Perumal, for reasons stated, probably left Korala on his voyage

¹ *Ante* p. 167.

to Arabia on or shortly after the 25th of August 825 A.D., and the latest authority¹ for *Samkaracharyar's* date places it at 788-820 A.D. As the last Perumal is understood to have reigned for thirty-six years, it follows that he was a contemporary of the "gracious teacher."

The mention of *Mayuravarman's* name is also important, as it was he who, according to other extraneous traditions to be noticed shortly, first introduced Vedic Brahmans into Korala. The time when this occurred will be noticed further on, but it is important to observe that the tradition is that he was ruler of the Tuluwad (Canara) Province only.

The *Keralolpatti* next proceeds to detail the division made of the Malayali Provinces by *Cheraman Perumal*: "While *Cheraman Perumal* was thus ruling the kingdom independently he thought as follows:—'This country was given as a poured-out-gift by *Parasu Raman* to the Brahmans. I have enjoyed it for so many years. How am I to expiate that sin?' He consulted several *Sastris* (selected Brahmans). They informed him the expiation was not to be found in the six *Sastras* and three Vedas and that the remedy must be sought for in the fourth Veda."² Then it goes on to relate how the Perumal wished to punish his minister for a fault which strangely reminds one of the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. The minister was miraculously saved, it is said, by being taken straight up to heaven, and his last words were to the "Ten Thousand" to "do his office of body guard." The name of the minister was *Patumalanayar*³ and therefore he was a Sudra (*Nayar*). As he was ascending to heaven the *Perumal* asked him: "How can I attain eternal bliss?" and the reply of the minister was that he should join the Muhammadans, go to Mecca, and there he would through the efficacy of the fourth Veda attain half bliss.

This version of the tradition contains what was a sufficient reason for the secrecy of the Perumal's final departure as related by the Muhammadans. The Perumal had evidently for some reason entertained suspicions of the loyalty of the "Ten Thousand"—of the body guard, that is to say. He seems to have put the chief of that corps to death, and it was incumbent on the survivors by the old established custom of *Kudipakka*⁴ (blood feud), to seek his death in return.

Another tradition is that the *Perumal's* final dispute was with the Brahmans as they were bathing in the holy water on the day of *Mahamakhani*.⁵ It related to the Vedas, and it is said that, being

¹ Ante p. 187.

² Vide p. 191. The fourth Veda is the Koran.

³ *Pata* = warfare, *Mala* = hill, and *Nayar* = caste of fighting men.

⁴ Vide p. 169. The Nayar hostages on board Vasco da Gama's ships, when warned of the fate which awaited them because of the Zamorin's having treacherously detained da Gama on shore, replied:—"Yes, that there they were, and if any harm were done to the Ambassador on shore, the Portuguese might cut off their heads if they pleased, for they were men who had brothers and relations on shore who would revenge their deaths even upon the person of the King." (Correa.)

⁵ Vide p. 163.

offended, the Perumal determined to go to Mocca with the Mappillas [*Baudāhas (sic)*].

Whatever the immediate moving cause was, the Perumal, it is said, determined to partition his dominions among his friends and relatives. "Between *Gokarnam* and *Cape Comorin*, within *Kannetti*¹ and *Puttuppattanam*, there lie on the south *Changalappuratta* port, and on the north *Putupattanam*¹ port, on the east the eighteen mountain passes, on the west the eighteen entrances to the deep. Between these and the four corners, north-west, north-east, south-east, and south-west, lies the country of *Cheraman*¹ (*Parasu Raman's* land) 160 *Katam* in extent. The adjoining five countries are *Pandi*, *Kongu*, *Tulu*, *Vayanad*, *Punnad*."

"In this country of *Cheraman*, *Udayavarmman Kolattiri* was made *Perumal* of the north (Crowned King and Lord of *Korala*); *Kolattiri* was then crowned. The two barons of *Kolattiri*, namely, the two *Nambiyars*, *Chulanna (Chulali) Kammal* and *Nerpetta Kammal*, were each given twelve *Katams* (leagues) of territory and 12,000 *Nayars*. *Cheraman*, then blessed *Udayavarmman* and said to him: ² 'If I return you shall be *Ilankuru* (her apparent), if I don't return you shall have *Cheraman's* crown (chief authority).' Then in the south to the *Venatatikal*³ (of *Kulasekhara's* dynasty) were appointed 350,000⁴ *Nayars* armed to serve him in the *Omana* now king's house (on the right hand side of the fort at *Kalkkulam*) and territorial kingly authority (over *Onanad* and *Venanad*). *Cheraman* said to him: 'You must assist *Kolattiri* and expend money' and he appointed him ruler⁵ (*Valuvan*) of the *Kuzala* kingdom. Then to the *Surya Kshatriya*, he gave fifty-two *Katam* (leagues) of territory, many (fighting) men, eighteen barons, and forty-two (or seventy-two) ministers, and conferred on him the title of *Perimpatapp*⁶. . . (His younger⁷ brother *Kavisimhaveru* was appointed to protect the *Tulunad*, and was given kingly authority to the north of the *Perimpula*. Four chiefs were ordered to support him, viz., *Parampar (Bangar of Nandavar)* *Ajalar (Ajilar)* *Savittar (Chantar of Mudubidri)* and *Samantareru (Samantar of Mulukki)*." The text then goes on to say that donations of territory, etc., were given to the *Porulatiri* of *Polanad*, to *Kurumbaratiri* (or *Kurumbiyatiri*), (to the *Raja of Kollam*)⁸ to the

¹ N.B.—*Cheraman's* country by this description excluded the dominions of the two *Kolattiris*.

² Compare the declaration which the *Maharajas of Travancore* have to make at their coronations (*ante* p. 231).

³ The *Travancore Maharaja*.

⁴ The same number were assigned to the North *Kolattiri*.

⁵ It is beyond doubt that the *Travancore Chiefs* were *Udayavar* (the same word as the *Woddear*, e'c, of *Coorg*, *Mysore*, etc.) of the south long before the last *Perumal's* time. See also the declaration which the *Maharajas* still have to make at their coronations (*ante* p. 231).

⁶ This is still one of the titles of the *Raja of Cochin*.

⁷ From another version.

⁸ That is, north *Kollam* (*ante* p. 72). This occurs in one version of the text, and it is probably an interpolation to suit subsequently existing facts, and indeed of what is here stated seems to be in the same case, for the only *Maabar Udayavar* families mentioned in the *Jew's* and *Syrians'* deeds are the *Zamorins*, the *Valluvanad* and the *Palghat Rajas*.

Raja of *Pantalani* lying between *Venamad* and *Onanad*, to the *Parappur*, and *Vettatt*, and *Kayankulatt Cherayi* dynasties. To *Valluvakkonattiri* he assigned a *nad* (or country) and the privilege of conducting the *Mahamakham*¹ festival at *Tirunavayi*. He is said to have conferred on the *Valluvu Konattiri* the title of *Arangattu*² or *Arangottur*.³

Under this arrangement the *Zamorin* was left out in the cold, so, it is said, that as the *Perumal* was about to set sail for *Mecca*, the survivor, according to one version, of the two *Puntura* youths, one (*Manichan*) having fallen in battle, went to the *Perumal*, who told him he had already divided his kingdom, that there were left only one *Desam* so small that a cock⁴ crowing could be heard all over it, also one bit of thorny⁵ jungle, that he could give him these and that he was sorry he had not come sooner. The *Puntura* youth, it is said, agreed to take this insignificant gift accompanied, as it was said to be, with the *Perumal*'s sword,⁶ and with the advice to "die, and kill, and seize" and to make himself master of all the *Malanad*. The *Perumal* gave the territory and the sword with water, and one version says he gave the sword to *Manichan* and the water to *Vikkruman*, both being alive and present. The *Zamorin* was forbidden, it is said, to go to war with either the North or South *Kolattiris*, but he might go to war with the other chiefs.

The *Perumal*, it is further said, distributed territory among other petty chiefs and feudal lordships among others. He is also said to have appointed four men (named) to commit the laws and customs to writing, and they met at the *Mahamakham* festival on the day of *Puyam*, in the month of *Magaram*, when *Jupiter* was in *Cancer*.

"After doing all this the *Perumal* left the sandy island of *Tirunavayi* with the people of the *Veda* and descended from a ship at *Kodungallur* harbour and entered the palace of *Kodungallur* with a view to proceed to *Mecca* (*Cheruman* embarked for *Mecca*

¹ Ante p. 164.

² The title was in use before the last *Perumal*'s reign. The *Valluvanad* Raja was thus designated in the Jews' and Syrians' deeds. The name literally signifies the chief of the *nad* or district lying across (*angottu*) the river (*ar*) from the *Perumal*'s palace at *Kodungallur*, i.e., the district north of the *Ponnani* River.

³ Allusion is here made to the popular derivation of the name of *Callout Koll* (fowl) and *Kottu* (a corner or empty space) or *Kotta* (a fort).

⁴ Perhaps a salt swamp was intended if the thorny bush referred to was the waterholy (*chulli*) so common in the salt marshes.

⁵ The frontispiece to this volume is an engraving from a sketch of this weapon, as it is preserved by the *Zamorins*. The blade is rusted to the scabbard, and the whole of the weapon, which is 3 feet 2 inches in length, has been carefully coated with a copper covering to preserve the original. It is daily decorated with flower wreaths. The weapon used to play an important part at the *Mahamakham* festival at *Tirunavayi* (ante p. 163-6) and it was in all probability the weapon which the *Perumals* used on the occasions of the occurrence of the assembly every twelfth year of the people at that festival. It may have been the sword of *Bladrakali* referred to (ante p. 226).

with the people of the *Veda*). It was in the Kali¹ year [*Cheraman desaprappah*]” (A.D. 355). Then follows the *Mappilla* version of the story, as already summarised,² but with the addition that the ship in which he sailed was pursued by other ships and it was only by fighting hard that he escaped.

The proper light in which to regard these last traditions is undoubtedly to view them as a repetition of the traditions already commented on, which detail how various Tulu and North and South *Kolattiri Perumals* succeeded to the *Muhammadan* convert *Pallibana Perumal*. *Cheraman Perumal* may safely be taken as identical with *Pallibana Perumal*, the traditions about the latter being from a Brahman point of view, while those about the former are from the point of view of the common people.

The exclusion of the domains of the two *Kolattiris* or *Kollattiris* from the kingdom of the Perumal, and yet his having granted territory to them before leaving for Mecca is probably to be explained by the fact of his having conferred the “heirdom to the kingdom,” i.e., future independence of future Perumals, on the North *Kolattiris*, and of his having conferred somewhat similar authority on those of the South. Their independence may have been recognized before the Perumal sailed for Arabia. The dates on the *Zaphar* tombstone record the Perumal’s arrival at that place as having happened some time after the Kollam era commenced, and it has been already suggested (*ante*, p. 196) that he may have spent at sea and at *Shair Mokulla*, where he first landed, the interval that elapsed between the date on which he set sail (presuming that date to have been the initial day of the north Kollam era) and the date recorded on the tomb of his arrival at *Zaphar*. But it is equally probable that he did not sail till some time after having partitioned his dominions in the way described, and the initial day or days of the Kollam eras may have been the day or days on which he conferred the “heirdom of the kingdoms” on the two *Kolattiris* or *Kollattiris*. It is in favour of this view that the tradition regarding the partition *by himself of his own kingdom* is so strong.

The tradition about the grants of territory to the *Perimpatapp* (Cochin) and *Tukunad Rajas*, the sons of the *Surya Kshatriya* woman, presumably a sister or female relative, natural or adopted, of the Perumal, is merely a repetition of the tradition already commented on above (*ante*, p. 231). This tradition throws some light on the Muhammadan story about the introduction of Islam, for if the Perumal’s dominion extended only from *Putupattanam* to *Kannetti* as related, it is difficult to understand how the Perumal’s letters should have obtained for the Muhammadans such a favourable reception at Mangalore, Barkur and *Kanyarott* (Cassergode) which all lie in South Canara.

¹ Like the other dates already mentioned, this is evidently a random guess nowhere near the truth. Moreover it is contradicted by the last date mentioned above.

² *Ante* p. 192.

At the same time of course this tradition that the Perumal assigned the Tulunad to one of the brothers is inconsistent with the tradition, already commented on, that prior to this Perumal's reign the Tulunad had been definitely severed from the Kerala kingdom. It may be suggested that a connection, either natural or adoptive, existed between the Perumal and the Tulu king. After *Mayura Varmman's* time it will be noted the Perumals are said to have adopted the suffixes of *Varmman* and *Sarmman* to their titles. The first authentic instance of the use of such a surname by a Perumal occurs in the Jews' deed (circa 700 A.D.). This fact points to a close connection between the Perumals and the Tulu kings, and if the *Surya Kshatriya* woman was adopted by the Perumal from the Tulu king's family, it is not difficult to understand how her sons obtained Cochin and Tulunad, respectively, nor to understand how the Perumal even after his setting out for Mecca should have retained influence in Tulunad.

Finally, there remains the important point that the Zamorin was treated so shabbily by the departing Perumal in the matter of the grant of territory. The Jews and Syrians' deeds show that the Zamorin had long previously attained to the rank of *Utayavar* of *Eratinad* or *Ernad*, so that the family did not spring into existence at this time which was probably 125 years later than the date of the earliest of these grants. The differences between the Perumal and the Ten Thousand, whose headman the Perumal apparently put to death, had probably something to do with the matter, for the Ten Thousand were in later times at least the Zamorin's body-guard. The Ten Thousand were moreover the troops specially selected by the Zamorin with which he repulsed the invaders. The Nayar of Calicut, one of the small bits of territory assigned to the Zamorin, was, up to the time of the British occupation, one of the leaders of the Ten Thousand, and the text after describing the victory also runs that the Perumal out of gratitude for the success the Puntura youths had won called them before him, told them he would make them his successors, or heirs (*Anantaravar*), and station them at Calicut; so that there is much reason for the inference that the Zamorin had cast in his lot with his favourite troops and there is little wonder then that he was not in favour with the Perumal at his departure. It is not at all improbable under these circumstances to suggest that the Zamorin's power and influence had been increasing after his successful repulse of the invaders, that this had excited the Perumal's jealousy and had led him to adopt stringent measures against the Ten Thousand, ending naturally enough in his being obliged to flee the country after providing, as best he could, for his immediate relatives. In corroboration of this view it is at least suggestive that not one of the original Muhammadan mosques founded by Sheikh-ibn-Dinar was situated in territory under the sway of the Zamorin.

The grant of territory to the *Valluvakonattiri* (Valluvanad) and the grants to the other petty chieftains who are named in the text

were not, it may be presumed, made at this time; for the *Valluvakon*, as evidenced by the Jews and Syrians' deeds, had been an *Ulayavar* of a nad (county) like the Zamorin and Travancore Rajas for several generations before the Perumal left Malabar.

This ends the portion of the *Keralolpatti* dealing with the earliest traditions and with those current concerning the Perumals. The remaining traditions relate to the subsequent changes among the ruling families wrought after *Cheraman Perumal's* departure (circa 825 A.D.) and will be best considered further on.

It remains to sum up the traditions already narrated and commented on before proceeding to detail such scraps of the ancient history of Malabar as are to be gathered from other sources.

It cannot be doubted that the first half of the ninth century A.D. was an important epoch in the history of Malabar and of the Malayalis. It is beyond all doubt that events of sufficient importance occurred at this time to create an era, which, dating in Malabar, Cochin and North Travancore from the 25th day of August 825, continues down to the present day to be the era in common use by the people.

What those events were may perhaps be gathered from the traditions now under consideration. The chief event was the termination of the reign of the last of the Kerala or Chera Perumals or Emperors, who for centuries had been kings of the land; for it may be assumed, until evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, that the Muhammadan tradition is correct, and that the Hindu King of Malabar, who lies buried at *Zaphar* in Arabia, was indeed *Cheraman Perumal*. The dates on that tombstone, which however still require verification, place this event as closely contemporaneous with the inauguration of the new era. Why it was called the Kollam era these traditions also seem to explain; for the independence, until *Cheraman Perumal* should return, of the two branches of the *Kolattiri* (or perhaps *Kollattiri*) family seems to have dated from this time, and to have been brought about in the manner already described in the commentaries on these traditions.

Of the events which preceded, and of the Perumals who reigned in the country prior to that event, these traditions tell next to nothing, and the reason is not perhaps far to seek. These traditions are mainly of Brahmanical origin, and from facts which will be detailed in the following section it is pretty certain that the Brahmans had not, for more than a generation or two at most, been settled in the land when *Cheraman Perumal* assumed the reins of Government. The Brahmans are notoriously careless of history and of the lessons which it teaches. Their lives are bound hard and fast by rigid chains of customs. The long line of *Chera* kings, dating back to the "Son of Kerala", mentioned in the third century B.C., in King *Asoka's* rock-cut inscriptions, had for them no interest and no instruction; and it is not to be wondered, at that the mention of them finds in the *Keralolpatti* no place.

What is substituted for the real history of this period in these traditions is a farrago of legendary nonsense, having for definite aim the securing to the Brahman caste of unbounded power and influence in the country. The land was miraculously reclaimed for their benefit; the whole of it was made over to them with the "blood-guilty water of possession"; they were the first inhabitants; the kings were appointed and the land was governed by them; and the only allusion to prior occupants is an obscure allusion to the "serpents", from fear of which the first immigrants fled back to the country whence they came. This allusion to the serpents, who "protected" the land, contains perhaps an allusion to Jaina immigrants, worshippers of the twenty-third Jaina, *Tirtham Kara*, *Parva* or *Parasvanatha*, whose symbol was a hooded snake. That the Perumals were originally of the Jaina persuasion is not at all improbable, considering the facts already stated (*ante* p. 184-86) regarding the style of religious architecture still prevalent in the land.

Judging by the extent of country over which this Jaina style of religious architecture prevails, the limits of the old *Chera* kingdom were not improbably those which it is said *Parasu Raman* miraculously reclaimed from the sea, viz., Canara, Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. But when the bearers of these traditions first came into the land *Chera* or *Kerala* had dwindled down to the small province of South Malabar, Cochin and North Travancore (*Putupattanam* to *Kannetti*), and it was apparently to these limits that the name of *Kerala*, thus imported into Malabar at this time, was originally applied by Malayalis themselves.

There is also to be learnt from these traditions that the time was ripe for religious movements, the last Perumal became a convert to Islam, and the great *Sankaracharyar*, himself a Malayali, was engaged in creating the revival of Hinduism which has moved so profoundly every generation since. The "great¹ saying" had just gone forth, and the words "*Thou art that*" had set for the great mass of the people an exemplar which they have patiently and piteously, but very imperfectly, been studying over since to attain. It was a fitting time for the commencement of an era, and the dynasty of the ancient "Sons of Kerala" (*Keralaputran*) drew appropriately to a close as new religious light began to be disseminated in the land.

It has been noticed that the Maharajas of Travancore have still to declare at their coronations that they hold their territories only on sufferance until their kinsman returns from Mecca. The Zamorins too, at their coronations, have still, when crossing the *Kallayi* ferry, to take betel from the hands of a man dressed up as a Mappilla woman, and are actually put out of caste² by the ceremony, and have to live separately thereafter to their manifold discomfort.

¹ *Ante* p. 189.

² Was this brought about by their having been constituted as *Cheraman Perumal's* successors or heirs after the victory obtained over the invaders?

These are no doubt relics of the time when the Perumal turned Muhammadan and left the country to its own devices. The *Travancore*, the *Valluvakon* [literally king of the *Valluvar* (? *Pallavas*)], and the *Zamorin* Rajas were left free by his flight to establish themselves as independent kings of their respective little States. The *Cochin* and perhaps the *Tulunad* Rajas and the North *Kolattiri* Raja, the *Chulali* and *Nerpett Kammals*, being his heirs and children, respectively, were, as these traditions seem to show, provided for with grants of territory and with men to defend them; and thus the country was split up into little kingdoms, which under ordinary circumstances would have immediately set to work to devour each other. The organization of the militia, however, as will be explained presently, served to retard the process, and though it may seem strange that after the lapse of so many centuries nearly all of these identical families should have remained in existence, still it is a fact which deserves careful consideration that these very families were the chief among those with whom the British Commissioners came into contact in 1792 when reorganizing the country after Haider Ali's and Tippu's wild raids through it.

SECTION B.—EARLY HISTORY FROM OTHER SOURCES.

Some of the more remarkable of the vegetable and animal productions of the Malabar Coast have been known to Western nations from times antecedent to the Christian era, and have been the objects of maritime enterprise and commerce through all the succeeding centuries.

Perhaps as early as the time of Moses, the great Jewish law-giver, this commerce existed, for cinnamon and cassia played a part in the temple services of the Jews (Exodus xxx. 23, 24), and at any rate the commerce existed in the time of King Solomon (c. B.C. 1000), for the Bible narrative records that silver "was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon"—everything was of gold. "For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory,¹ and apes and peacocks" (I Kings x. 22).² With the exception perhaps of silver, these are all production of the Malabar Coast, and the biblical name for the peacock—*tuki*—is evidently the *Tam. Mal. tokei*, the bird of the tail.

Again, Solomon obtained his gold from *Ophir*. It is hazardous after all that has been written about this place to contribute anything more to the controversy, for as Master Purchas quaintly wrote about it; "This Golden Country is like Gold, hard to find, and much quarrelled, and needs a wise Myner to bring it out of the Labyrinths of darknesse, and to try and purifie the Myners themselves and their reports." (*Purchas His Pilgrimes* I, 25.) But it may as well be pointed out that *Beypore* lies at the mouth of the

¹ Elephants' teeth.

² *Conf. Genesis* x. 29; *I Kings* ix. 28, x. 11, and xxii. 49; *I Chronicles* xxix. 4; *II Chronicles* viii. 18, and ix. 10, 21; *Job* xxii. 24, and xxxix. 13; *Isaiah* xlii. 12.

river of the same name, which still brings down gold from the auriferous quartz region of South-East Wainad, the mines of which were well worked in pre-historic times; that *Tundis*, the "village of great note situate near the sea", mentioned in the early centuries A.D. by the author of the *Periplus Mar. Eryth.* (*ante.* pp. 76-80), lies close to Beypore on the southern bank of the same river; and that the country lying inland from these places is still called *Ernad*—the bullock, that is grazing, country. If *Ophir*, as is generally now supposed, meant the country of the *Abhira* or cowherds (? *Kurumb-bar*), then the name of *Ophir* fits the locality indicated as well as, or better perhaps than, any of the very numerous other places with which it has been identified. There has also been much learned disquisition on the word *Tharsish*, and the name perhaps survived¹ on the coast till the ninth century A.D. in the word *Tarisa-palli* or church of the *Tarisa* (Tharshish?) people, which occurs in the third of the ancient deeds published in Appendix XII.

The fact remains to the present day that Jewish colonies are settled on the coast, and if their progenitors, often of course replenished by further immigrations, did not come with King Solomon's fleets, they have at least traditions which carry back their arrival on the coast to the time of their escape from servitude under Cyrus in the sixth century B.C.

And if the Jews were settled on the coast at the early period mentioned in their traditions, they would have had no difficulty in maintaining intercourse with their native land, for in Herodotus' time (B.C. 484-413) the trade with the East was maintained. About 500 B.C. Scylax, a Greek sent by Darius, had voyaged home by sea from the mouth of the Indus. Herodotus mentions that the Red Sea trade in frankincense and myrrh, and cinnamon and cassia (the two latter being Malabar products), was in the hands of the Egyptians and Phœnicians, but these traders do not appear to have proceeded beyond the port in Arabia Felix (Aden probably) where these goods were procurable. Of India proper Herodotus' information is scanty, and, though capable of corroboration in some respects, inclines to the marvellous.

In the end of the fourth century B.C. the Greek writer Ktesias probably alluded to cinnamon, a common product of Malabar, as *karpion*, a name which seems to have been derived from the *Tam. Mal. karuppu* or *karp̄pu*.

In this same fourth century B.C. occurred Alexander the Great's expedition into Northern India, and Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador sent by Seleucus Nicator to the Indian King Chandragupta's (Greek *Sandrocottus*) court gathered some scanty information about Southern India. It is certain from his account that the *Pandyan* kingdom then existed, and the people whom he styles "*Charmæ*" and places correctly next to the "*Pandæ*" can be no other than the aborigines of *Chera*, who to the present day probably exist in the *Cherumar* or agrestic slaves of Malabar (*conf.* p. 147).

¹ M.J.L.S. XIII, part I.

It is also noteworthy in this connection that Megasthenes alludes to the fact that the southern peoples were ruled by queens. He accounts for it by a mythical story of the Greek hero Heracles having left the kingdom to his daughter. As all the Malayali chieftains' houses are still, theoretically at least, subject to the eldest lady in each, it is probable that in the earliest ages the kingdoms were in fact governed by females.

One of the successors of King Chandragupta in Northern India was the "King beloved of the gods"—King *Priyadasi*—who reigned in the middle of the third century B.C. This king, better known as Asoka, left behind him certain edicts engraven on rocks in different parts of the country, and in one which occurs at Girnar the legend runs as follows:—

"In the whole dominion of King Devanampriya Priyadarsin, as also in the adjacent countries, as *Chola*, *Pandya*, *Satyaputra*, *Keralaputra*, as far as *Tamraparni*, the kingdom of *Antiochus* the Grecian king, and of his neighbour kings, the system of caring for the sick, both of men and of cattle, followed by King Devanampriya Priyadarsin, has been everywhere brought into practice, etc., etc.

It is matter of controversy whether King Asoka, was Jain by religion or a follower of Buddha; but the evidence seems to favour the former conclusion. Jain missionaries doubtless at this time spread over the Malabar Coast, and there are still relics of them left in the Jain settlements in Canara, and in the peculiar Jaina style of architecture of religious edifices still prevalent all over the Malayali tracts and Canara. About this style of architecture Mr. Ferguson's very pertinent remarks have already (*ante*, pp. 185-6) been quoted. It is a significant fact that nothing like it exists at any point on the continent of India nearer than Nepal, and the coincidences which Mr. Fergusson points out in the circumstances of two countries geographically so distant from each other, makes it more than probable that Aryan civilization was first imported into Malabar by Jain missionaries, and this event probably occurred about the time of King Asoka in the third century B.C. If this style of architecture had been peculiar to the later Brahman colonists, and if these latter had, as usually asserted, such commanding influence in the country from the very first, it is almost certain that the Muhammadans would not have been permitted to adopt it in their mosques, for these too are almost universally constructed in the same style.

In this edict of King Asoka's the country is styled *Ketala* or *Kerala*, the name which occurs, as already described, in the *Keralolpatti*. It is a dialectic (Canarese) form of the ancient name *Keram*, or *Cheram*, or *Chera*, a name which still survives in the *Cheranad* or country lying round *Tundis*, the "village of great note situate by the sea" already more than once referred to, and in *Cherumar*¹ (*Megasthenes' Charmæ?*), the aboriginal inhabitants, now the agrestic slaves of the community.

¹ *Conf.* pp. 147-53.

On the breaking up of Alexander the Great's Empire, the cities of Phœnicia and their Red Sea trade passed with Egypt into the hands of the Ptolemies. Egypt then became not only the centre of literary cultivation and learning for the Hellenic world, but an emporium of trade and the centre of great commercial enterprises. The Red Sea trade, which had previously crossed the Isthmus of Suez to the Phœnician city of Tyre, was diverted to Alexandria. Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285-247) founded a city (called *Arsinoë* after his wife) in the Gulf of Suez, and proceeded to open a canal from that place to the Nile. But owing to the dangers of navigation in the gulf, this project was abandoned and a port (called *Berenice* after his mother) was opened nearly 500 miles down the Red Sea, and this gradually became an emporium of trade. The merchandise was thence transported overland to *Coptos* on the Nile, whence it descended the river to Alexandria. But *Myos Hormos*, lying further north than *Berenice*, was next found to be in some respects even more conveniently situated than the latter for the land transshipment of goods to *Coptos*, and so the trade with India for a time centred itself at this place. Like their predecessors the Phœnicians, however, the Egyptian Greeks contented themselves with buying Eastern merchandise from the Sabæans (Arabs), and Aden was probably the port in which the Arabian and Indian merchants met the Greeks and exchanged their goods.

It was not till about 120 B.C. that an attempt was made to go direct from Egypt to India. A Hindu said to have been wrecked in the Red Sea volunteered to take a ship to India. The ship was fitted out and in it sailed Eudoxus of Cyzicus. The voyage was successful; the ship brought back a valuable cargo, but it was appropriated by the king (Ptolemy Euergetes II). The same fate befell a second expedition sent out by Cleopatra. Strabo wrote of Eudoxus' attempt to reach India as something altogether new and exceptional.

These facts explain the barrenness of the Greek writers on the subject of India. Their accounts at this period are derived from Megasthenes and contemporaries of Alexander the Great, not from direct information obtained from merchants and travellers. Eratosthenes (B.C. 276) thought India lay east and west; he was familiar with Ceylon (Taprobane), but made it far too large—8,000 *stadia*—and extending east and west.

Very little advance on this state of knowledge had been made ever so late as the time of Strabo (about B.C. 54 to A.D. 25), but an important change came with the conquest of Egypt by the Romans, for the trade passed directly into their hands and they were not long in tracing it out to its sources.

The first important advance was made by a Greek named Hippalos, who, acting on information received probably from Arab or Hindu informants, boldly stood out to sea from Cape Fartak in Arabia, and sailing with the south-west monsoon trade winds, found a direct route to the pepper-bearing country of Malabar. This event, as already described (*ante*, p. 32), occurred in the early

part of the first century A.D. And about this same time (A.D. 24) the first Hindu embassy from King Porus, or, as others say, from the King of *Pandya*, proceeded to Europe and followed the Roman Emperor Augustus to Spain. It was on this occasion that an ascetic (probably a Jain) who accompanied the expedition voluntarily sacrificed himself at Athens on a funeral pyre.

With increased trade came increasing knowledge of the countries whence the spices came. The fullest account of the trade about this time is contained in the *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, from which a passage has already been quoted (*ante*, pp. 78-80). It is matter of controversy whether this account was written in the first century A.D. or at a later date (third century A.D.), but, however this may be, Roman authors of the first century A.D. amply attest the fact that a large trade existed.

Petronius in the early part of the first century A.D. reproached the Roman matrons for exposing their charms in Indian muslins, which he called "woven wind" or "a texture of cloud."

Pliny (A.D. 23-79) raked together without much discrimination a vast amount of information regarding the subjects he wrote about. He countenanced a story of Hindus having sailed round the north of Asia and Europe and having been wrecked on the coasts of Germany, but he seems to have acquired a very exact idea of the navigation as practised in his day after the discovery by Hippalos of the direct route to the Indian shores.

"Afterwards" he wrote, "it was found the safest course to proceed direct from the promontory of *Syagrus* in Arabia" (Cape Fartak) "to *Patalæ*" (probably *Pantalayini*¹ or *Pantalayini Kollam*, see pp. 72-73) "with the west wind (*Favonius*), which they call there the Hippalos, a distance reckoned at 1,435 miles. In the next generation it was judged to be both a safer and nearer course to proceed from the same promontory direct to *Sigerus*,² a port of India. And this mode of navigation was preserved for a long time until merchants discovered a shorter route, and the profits of India were thus brought nearer to hand. The voyage is now made every year with cohorts of archers on board the ships; on account of the pirates which infest those seas".

He estimated that India took 55,000,000³ *sesterces* annually, and the goods purchased brought a hundred times that amount when sold in Europe. He described the journey by the trade route through Egypt and then proceeded as follows:—

"They begin the navigation in the middle of summer before the rising of the Dogstar, or immediately after its appearance, and arrive

¹ Down to the present day this port is generally the first one touched at by ships from the Arabian coast, and it was to its immediate neighbourhood that the pilots brought Vasco da Gama's ships. Moreover it was in former times and even till quite recently—till steam ships superseded sailing ships—a very favourite port of departure for the Arabian coast and Persian Gulf. Pilgrims to Mecca used to set sail from it in large numbers formerly.

² The *Melezigara* of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi* and the *Melezigyris* of Ptolemy—probably *Vizigur*, 120 miles south of Bombay.

³ £486,979 sterling.

in about thirty days at *Ocelis* in Arabia, or *Cane* in the frankincense-bearing region. There is also a third port called *Muza* which is not frequented by those sailing to India, but by the merchants who trade in frankincense and other Arabian perfumes. In the interior is a city, the capital of the kingdom called *Sapphar*,¹ and another called *Sane*. But for those whose course is directed to India it is most advantageous to start from *Ocelis*. From thence they sail with the wind called Hippalos in forty days to the first commercial station of India named *Muziris* (*ante*, p. 78), which is not much to be recommended on account of the neighbouring pirates,² who occupy a place called *Nitrias*³ nor does it furnish any abundance of merchandize. Moreover the station of shipping is far from the land, and cargoes have to be loaded and unloaded in barges. The ruler of the country at the time of which I speak was *Cælobothras*.⁴ There is another more advantageous port, which is named *Barace*⁵ in the territory of a nation called the *Neacyndi*. The king of that country was named *Pandion*,⁶ who resided far from the port in a city of the interior which is called *Madura*. But the region from which pepper is brought to *Barace* in barges hewn out of single trees is called *Cottonara*.⁷ None of these names of nations or ports or cities are found in any former writer, from which it is evident what changes take place in the state of things in these countries. They commence the return voyage from India at the beginning of the Egyptian month of Tybis, which answers to our December, or at all events within the sixth day of the Egyptian month Meehir, that is, within our Ides of January. Thus it comes to pass they return home within the year. They make the return voyage from India with the south-east wind (*Vulturnus*), and, when they have entered the Red Sea, with the south-west or south wind."

Pliny also obtained information from the Ceylon ambassadors to the Emperor Claudius about A.D. 50 regarding Ceylon, and some mention seems to have been made of the Chinese (*Seres*) having at this time traded to Ceylon.

It is clear from this account that the kingdom of *Chera* did not extend in the first century A.D. to the south of South Kollam (*Quilon*). South Travancore at this time lay in the *Pandyan* dominions. Moreover this is precisely the account given by the

¹ This is evidently *Zaphar*, where *Cheraman Perumal* lies buried (*ante*, p. 106).

² *Conf.* pp. 69 and 72.

³ *Query*: Can this be *Nittur* in Kottayam taluk, adjoining Tellicherry?

⁴ In one manuscript it is written *Celobotras*. It is clearly intended for *Keraputran* or *Cheraputran* — king of *Chera*.

⁵ This place was probably situated close to Southern Kollam at the mouth of the Quilon river. It is called *Bakare* in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (*ante*, p. 79).

⁶ The *Pandya* kingdom, with *Madura* for capital, is here very clearly indicated.

⁷ Called *Kottonara* in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (*ante*, p. 80). Some writers have identified this place with *Kadattunad* in North Malabar, and with *Kolattu Nad* (North Malabar), but it is unnecessary to go so far afield, and the fact stated that the pepper came in barges hewn out of single logs of timber makes it in the highest degree improbable that these identifications can be correct. The country lying about 16 miles east of Quilon is still called *Kottaram* (royal residence) or *Kottarakkara* (place of royal residence): and it is tapped in various directions by the river, and connected backwaters; and it is here probably that the pepper grew.

author of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi* (*ante*, p. 79), but the latter's account differs from Pliny's in regard to the condition of *Mouziris* at or about this time, for it is described as "a city at the height of prosperity," frequented by ships from the coasts of Guzerat and by Greek ships from Egypt.

There is no doubt of the fact that Roman gold poured largely into the country at this time. Many such coins have been found, and in the collection of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore there are 9 *aurei* of the reign of the Emperor Augustus, 28 of Tiberius, 2 of Caligula, 16 of Claudius, and 16 of Nero. These and many other similar coins are understood to have been found in a remote part of North Malabar. "Great quantities of specie" is one of the import items mentioned in the *Periplus Maris Erythræi* (*ante*, p. 79), and from the facts vouched for by *Pliny* the commerce must have been on a very large scale.

Whether St. Thomas the Apostle visited the Malabar Coast about this time and founded the Christian Church, which certainly from a very early period down to the present day has existed there, is likely ever to remain a subject of controversy. But it will be seen that, had he been so minded, he would have found in these annual pepper fleets every facility for effecting his journey to Malabar.

The Jews, too, have a tradition that a large number of their nation came and settled in Malabar at this time, after the destruction (A.D. 68) of the temple at Jerusalem.

Ptolemy (A.D. 126—61) is the next writer from whose pages some information is to be gleaned. He wrote the title of the *Chera* king as *Kerobothros* and stated the fact that the capital of the kingdom was at *Karoura*, which name has been very generally accepted as identical with that of the modern town of *Karur* in the Coimbatore district. But this is after all very little more than conjecture, as there are no data such as are to be found in the *Periplus Maris Erythræi* in regard to *Tundis*, *Mouziris* and *Nelkunda* for accurately fixing the position of the place. Tradition, however, places the trijunction of the three ancient kingdoms of *Chera*, *Chola* and *Pandya* at a small stream (the *Karai-pottanar*) flowing into the Kaveri river eleven miles east of the modern *Karur*.

Accepting, then, till some better conclusion is forthcoming, that *Ptolemy's* *Karoura* is identical with the modern *Karur*, the boundaries of ancient *Chera* in the first to the third¹ centuries A.D. may be roughly gathered from the sources already cited. The boundaries seem to have been :—

North—as far at least as *Honore* or *Honavar* (the *Naoura* of the *Periplus*, *ante*, p. 79).

South—as far as the *Quilon* (Southern *Kollam*) river.

East—as far as *Karur*, or perhaps the *Kaveri* river at that point.

West—the sea.

¹ The *Periplus Maris Erythroei* is by some writers thought to have been written in the first and by others in the third century A.D.

But it is impossible at present to say if the boundary projected any further in a north-east direction. Some writers have taken the *Cheras* to be indentical with the *Gangas* or *Kongus* of Coimbatore and Mysore, and much confusion has in consequence arisen. Malayalis themselves call the country east of the Palghat gap the *Kongunad* or country of the *Kongus*. The *Kongu* language seems to have been Canarese, and not Tamil or Malayalam, and in fact, as will be seen further on, the *Kongus* were a distinct dynasty, who seem to have allied themselves with the *Western Chalukyas* and *Rashtrakutas* against the *Cheras*. The confusion on this point apparently arose from one or two clerical errors in the well-known chronicle of the kings of *Kongu* (*Kongudesu Rajakkal*). There is no evidence as yet on record to show that the *Cheras* did at any time extend their rule further to the east than *Karur* or the banks of the *Kaveri* river east of the Palghat gap, or that they ever held any territory on the Mysore plateau. And in this negative position the question must for the present rest.

In the Mackenzie Mss. the traditionary boundaries of Chera are recorded in three separate passages :—

Stanza I.

- “ 1. To the North, the place (or fano) *Palanna*¹—hail ! To the East, *Chengodu*²
 “ 2. To the West point, *Koli-kudu*³ will be. The seashore of
 “ 3. The margin, that will be the South : an 80 *katams* (leagues)
 “ 4. The *Cheranad* boundary ; speaking, say thou.”

Stanza II.

- “ 1. To the North, the place *Palani*¹—hail ! To the East, the South *Kasi*²,
 “ 2. The West point *Koli-kudu*³ will become. The seashore of
 “ 3. The margin that will make the South. An 80 *katams* (leagues)
 “ 4. The *Cheranad* boundary ; speaking, say thou.”

Another version.

- “ On the North *Palani*¹, to the East the great town (*Perur*), on the South the sea, on the West the great mountain, from East to West 40 *katams* (leagues), from South to North 40 *katams* (leagues), making together 80 *katams*.”

It is not easy to reconcile these traditions, but it is clear in the light of the writings of Pliny and Ptolemy and of the *Periplus* that the Tenkasi eastern boundary, which describes pretty accurately the Malayali limits now, is of later date than the first to third centuries A.D. The Malayalis have since those dates encroached

¹ The modern Pulney.

² Probably Shencotta, near Tenkasi in Tirunelveli.

³ Apparently intended for Calicut.

considerably to the south on the ancient *Pandya* dominions. Then, again, *Perur* may very well be the limits of *Chera* when it shrunk within the Malayali present limits at the Palghat gap, for there is a well-known town of that name to the west of Coimbatore and almost in the gap. It is much resorted to by Malayalis for *sraddha* ceremonies (*ante*, p. 183). As regards the northern boundary, these traditions say that it ended at *Palani*, a well-known temple and place of pilgrimage in the Mathurai district, just beyond the Palghat gap. The western boundary is variously stated to be either Calicut or "the great mountain," both of which lie in one sense to the north of *Palani*. If the limit on the coast line is taken to be mount *Deli* (*ante*, p. 6)—the "great mountain" of the pilots who conducted Vasco da Gama's expedition—then it would be very nearly correct, but it is clear that on this side too the Malayali limits had in the interval shrunk considerably within the boundary assigned by the author of the *Periplus*.

Intercourse between East and West from this time forward continued to be briskly maintained. After the Ceylon embassy to Claudius in A.D. 44, further embassies from India continued at long intervals to reach the Roman world. Trajan received one in A.D. 107, Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-61) another, Julian received a third in A.D. 361, and even so late as the reign of Justinian (A.D. 540) one was despatched to Constantinople. The trade during this period seems to have been steadily carried on. The Peutingerian Tables (supposed to have been compiled about A.D. 226) mention that there was a considerable Roman settlement at Mouziris (Cranganore), that there was there a temple to Augustus, and that two cohorts of soldiers were employed in protecting the trade. But notwithstanding this there is a singular deficiency in the contemporary Latin and Greek authors of any fresh information regarding the countries of the East, and after the fall of Palmyra in A.D. 274 this deficiency becomes still more marked.

Indeed the first really fresh and authentic piece of information about the Malabar Coast is that contained in the writings of a Byzantine monk by name *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, who lived in the early part of the sixth century A.D. He wrote: "In the Island Taprobane (*i.e.*, Ceylon) there is a church of Christians, and clerks, and faithful. Likewise at *Male* where the pepper-grows; and in the town *Kalliena*¹ there is also a Bishop consecrated in Persia."

And in further confirmation of the fact that Christianity had meanwhile taken root in Malabar, a letter in *Assemani's Bibliotheca*, from the Patriarch Jesajabus (died A.D. 660) to Simon, Metropolitan of Persia, blames his neglect of duty, saying that in consequence not only is India, "which extends from the coast of the kingdom of Persia to Colon,"² a distance of 1,200 *parasangs*, deprived of a regular ministry, but Persia itself is left in darkness." (Colonel Yule in foot-note. *Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar*, p. 27.)

¹ Near *Udipi* in South Canara.

² One of the *Kollams*, probably the southern (*Quilon* proper).

It would be out of place here to attempt to trace in detail the influences brought to bear during these centuries of commerce on India and Europe respectively. It is certain that Indian ideas and practices contributed largely to the form which orthodox Christianity in the West finally adopted. Monasteries and nunneries, tonsures, rosaries, confession, and celibacy all seem to have found their way to Europe from Indian sources. And in return, the West seems to have given to the East arts and sciences, architecture, the art of coining money, and in particular the high ideal of religion contained in Christianity, as St. Chrysostom (who died A.D. 407) wrote: "The Syrians too, and Egyptians, and Indians, and Persians, and Ethiopians, and innumerable other nations, translating into their own tongues the doctrines derived from this man, barbarians though they were, learnt to philosophise."

The Malabar Coast with its Christian settlers must have been one of the chief centres whence European influences spread throughout the land, so it is not to be wondered at that Vedantism at the hands of its expounder, the "gracious teacher"—*Samkaracharyar*—spread from Malabar over the whole of India; nor that the founder—*Madhavacharyar*—of the sect which approaches nearest of all to Christianity was born at Udupi, near the place (*Kalliana*) where, according to *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, a Persian Bishop was settled in the sixth century A.D.

It was probably not from any neglect or unwillingness that the Patriarch of Persia had failed to maintain regular Christian ministrations on the Western Coast, for a new influence had by this time (seventh century) begun to be felt. Islam was spreading rapidly over the face of the globe, and, with the conquest of Egypt (A.D. 638-40), the trade between India and Europe passed into fresh hands. These hands were, however, for many generations engaged with conquest rather than with trade, so that probably for two centuries at least after this time but little was done to extend commercial enterprise. The Christian settlements, however, were still on the coast, though sadly embarrassed at times for regular ministrations.

As regards Muhammadan progress in Malabar, writing in the middle of the ninth century A.D., a Muhammadan has left on record:—"I know not that there is any one of either nation" (Chinese and Indian) "that has embraced Muhammadanism or speaks Arabic." (*Renaudot's "Ancient Accounts of India, etc.,"* London, 1733).

It will be necessary to revert here to indigenous sources of information, scanty as these sources are. The true ancient history of Southern India, almost unrecorded by its own people in anything worthy of the name of history, appears as yet only as a faint outline on canvas. Thanks to the untiring labours of European scholars and of one or two native scholars these faint outlines are gradually assuming more distinct lines, but it is impossible as yet to offer anything even approaching to a picture in full detail of any period

or of any state, for the sources of information contained in inscriptions and deeds are extremely scanty, and even in genuinely ancient deeds it is frequently found that the facts to be gathered from them are unreliable owing to the deeds themselves having been forged at periods long subsequent to the facts which they pretend to state.

The Malayali country is, further, most peculiarly unfortunate in not having preserved its traditions in inscriptions and deeds after the manner in vogue elsewhere. The eulogies of court poets, as embodied in the inscriptions found in other parts of South India, though generally full of inflated language, relate the names and relationships and reigns of kings and princes from remote antiquity down to the time when the grant or privilege contained in the deed was finally conferred by the then reigning sovereign or chief. When these statements, taken from different inscriptions, agree among themselves, fairly reliable evidence of the facts is obtained. But in Malabar, besides the fact that such inscriptions are, so far as present knowledge goes, extremely rare, it further seems to have been the habit not to record the grant of privileges in this fashion, so that even this meagre source of information is not available.

Then, again, the inscriptions recording alleged grants by the neighbouring dynasty of the *Gangas* or *Kongus* are precisely those with which the greatest liberties seem to have been taken by forgers, and the consequent difficulty of eliciting what is true and of rejecting what is false has resulted in throwing doubt on information which might have been utilized to some extent in the history of the Malayalis.

It is then only when inscriptions of neighbouring dynasties throw some side-light on the course of events in Malabar, and thus supplement facts and inferences to be drawn from indigenous sources of information, that it is possible to make use of the studies of modern scholars in this direction. How small are the results so far shall now be set forth.

One dynasty, besides those—*Chera*, *Chola* and *Pandya*—already mentioned, stands prominently forward in the ancient history of the south. This dynasty is that of the *Pallavas*, as they are usually called, or *Pallavas* of *Kanchi* (Conjeeveram) as they are also sometimes styled. It is proved by inscriptions that the dynasty was in existence in the fourth or fifth century A.D. and at a still earlier period in the second or third century. When and how far they invaded Malabar, and whether, having taken the country, it was the Cherumars or the Kurumbars, or partly the one and partly the other that they displaced, is at present matter of speculation. It is quite possible that the dynasty is still represented in Malabar by the *Vallodi* or *Valluvanadi* caste of *Nayars*. There is also a servile caste of *Valluvar* who are labourers, fishers, ferrymen and sorcerers. Of these two classes, the former inhabit *Valluvanad* (i.e., the country of the *Valluvar*), which to the present day gives its name to one of the taluks of the district; while the latter are usually regarded as of superior rank to the huntsmen who abound

on the slopes of the Western Ghats and in Wainad. The latter are called *Kurumbar*, or *Kurchiar*, or *Kuravar*, and they too have a local habitation in the low country in the name of one of the present taluks called *Kurumbranad* or the country of the *Kurumbar*. The *Kurumbar* were originally, and are to the present day in districts east of the ghats, shepherds and herdsmen, and from their having given their name to such an unpastoral portion of the district as *Kurumbranad*, it is perhaps safe to conclude that it was only occupied by them under compulsion, and that there they made a stand for some considerable time. The *Valluvar* country, on the other hand, is a fine pastoral country lying close to the south-west slopes of the Nilgiris, just such a country as shepherds and herdsmen would select.

It is not improbable, therefore, if the *Cherumar* (agrestic slaves) are, as suggested, the real aborigines of the ancient *Chera* kingdom, that they were displaced to some extent at least by a more independent race of shepherds, who in turn gave way to the *Valluvar* (? *Pallavar*). The fact that the *Kurumbar*s preferred a roving life in the jungles to a sedentary one in subjection on the plains, proves them to have been a superior race, and indeed to the present day they very markedly retain this characteristic.

As to when the *Tiyar* or Islanders (Cingalese) and the *Nayars* (militia) came into Malabar it is at present hardly possible even to suggest.

These castes constitute by far the largest portion of the Hindu population at the present day. They were certainly both settled in the country at the time when the Jews' and Christians' deeds of privileges were granted (A.D. 700 to 825), but there is very little evidence to show one way or other how long they had at that time been settled in the land.

The Cingalese tradition is that the *Cholas* invaded Ceylon so early as in the third century B.C., and again in the second century B.C., and for a third time in the second century A.D.; that the Cingalese retaliated and invaded the mainland, and that after the second century A.D. there were constant wars between the two races. These dates are quite uncertain, but it is perhaps to be inferred that the islanders obtained possession of some portion of the mainland, and were in turn brought under subjection by an irruption of the Tamil race (*Nayars*) under Kshatriya leaders from the East Coast. If, as tradition says, the islanders brought with them the coconut tree—the “southern tree” as it is still called—then, judging from the facts stated in the foot-note to page 79, this must have happened some time after the beginning of the Christian era; and, judging from the fact that the tree was well known to, and fully described by Cosmas Indicopleustes, the islanders (*Tiyar*) must have been settled in the country before the middle of the sixth century A.D.

The *Nayars* again were certainly settled in the country before A.D. 700, and they are consequently not the descendants of the

Cholas, who are historically known to have subjected the greater portion of Southern India in the end of the ninth and in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. It must have been an earlier invasion of Tamils that brought the Nayers into Malabar. Judging from the fact to be alluded to presently that the whole of South India, including Kerala, was in the seventh century A.D. under the sway (suzerainty) of the Pallavas of *Kanchi* (Conjeeveram), and from the fact that the Tamil and Malayalam languages were in those days practically identical, it may be inferred that the ruling caste of Nayers were already settled in Malabar in the early centuries A.D., and may possibly have been on the coast at a very much earlier period. Mr. Ellis considered¹ that Malabar was divided into chieftainships (*Ulayavar*) about 389 A.D., and there is a strong tradition in favour of so early a date.

The *Pallavas* of *Kanchi* continued in power for many centuries after they first come to notice in the fourth or fifth century A.D. Indeed they did not disappear as a power till the fourteenth century, although for a long period before that time they had subsided into the position of mere feudatories. According to the earlier grants, in the fourth or fifth century A.D. they had pushed their dominions as far north as *Badami*, for they are styled "crushers of *Vatapi*," the ancient name of that place. But their conquests in that region seem to have excited opposition, for an early dynasty of *Kadambas* comes to notice, and one of that line—*Mrigesa*—in the fifth century is mentioned as having been "a very fire of destruction to the *Pallavas*," and of another of them (*Ravi Varma*) it is recorded that he "uprooted *Chandadanda*, the Lord of *Kanchi*." The *Pallava* kingdom probably about this time reached its greatest dimensions, and there is hardly any room for doubt that it was to it that *Fah Hian*, the Chinese pilgrim (about 400 A.D.), referred when he wrote regarding the great kingdom of the *Tha-Thsen* (*Dakshina* or south). "Those who desire to proceed thither" he wrote, "should first pay a certain sum of money to the king of the country, who will then appoint people to accompany them and show them the way." This custom clearly refers to the well-known ancient Malayali system of *Changalam* (convoy, guard) from which the Nayar chieftains used to derive some revenue.

These are small matters enough to serve as links of connection between the ancient *Pallavas* and the *Nayers*, but a deed is still in existence of date about the fifth century A.D., in which the genealogy of some of the ancient *Pallava* kings is given, and in which one of the *Pallava* headquarters is said to be a place called "*Palakkada*," which may, as a writer in the *Indian Antiquary* (V, 154) has suggested, be taken to be Palghat, lying within a few miles of *Valluwanad* [i.e., the *Valluvar* (? *Pallava*) country].

It will be seen presently that in the ancient deeds a clear distinction is drawn between the *Keralas* and the *Pallavas*. These names, and likewise those already so often mentioned—*Chola* and *Pandya*—

¹ See Dr. Gundert's note to ed. of Deed No. 1, Appendix XII.

were, however, dynastic names rather than names of distinct nations. The Tamil race seems to have spread over the whole of the peninsula and to have split up into three kingdoms—*Chera*, *Chola* and *Pandya*—corresponding to these very ancient and well-known divisions of the Peninsula. The *Pallava* kingdom of *Kanchi* was probably a fourth dynasty founded when the Tamils thus spread as a conquering race over the South.

In 500–504 A.D. it is recorded by Chinese writers that a king of India sent an ambassador as far as China, taking with him presents consisting of pepper, ginger, sugar, sandalwood, tortoise-shell, etc., and it was said that this Indian nation traded to the West with the Romans and Parthians, and to the east as far as Siam and Tonquin. Their sovereign was said to wear a small lock of hair dressed spirally on the crown of his head, and to wear the rest of his hair very short. The people, it is also said, wrote on palm leaves and were excellent astronomers. The produce sent as presents, the trade to East and West, and the manner of wearing the hair, are all so essentially Malayali, that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the ambassador must have been sent from some place on the Malabar Coast.

With the founding about the end of the sixth century A.D. of the dynasty of the *Chalukyas*, a most important political influence began to bear on the nations, if they may so be called, of the South. The founder of the dynasty (*Pulakesi I*) is styled the “Lord of *Vatapi*” (*Badami*), “the best of cities.” The dynasty was founded by dispossessing the *Pallavas* of that city, and, in the reign of *Pulakesi I*’s successor *Kirtti Varma*, by the breaking up of the “confederacy of the *Kadambas*,” with whom the *Pallavas* had already been at war. *Kirtti Varma*, whose reign terminated in 567–68 A.D., is recorded to have “broken the *Kadamba* tree” and to have subdued the *Kadambas* of *Vanavasi*. *Kirtti Varma*’s younger brother (*Mangalisa*) next reigned for some years during the minority of *Kirtti Varma*’s son (*Pulakesi II* or *Satyasraya*), but, being ambitious of securing the kingdom for his own son, he seems to have lost his life in the attempt, and the family perhaps in consequence of these dissensions split up about the beginning of the seventh century A.D. into two branches, which are respectively known as the Western and Eastern *Chalukyas*. It is with the former alone that it is necessary to deal in considering the history of Malabar.

Of the first king of the Western *Chalukya* branch, *Pulakesi II*, it is recorded: “When he prepared himself speedily for the conquest of the *Cholas*, the river” (*Kaveri*) “which abounds in the rolling eyes of the carp, abandoned its contact with the ocean, having (the onward flow of) its waters obstructed by the bridge formed by his elephants, from whom rut was flowing. There he caused the great prosperity of the *Cholas* and the *Keralas* and the *Pandyas*, but became a very sun to (melt) the hoar frost which was the army of the *Pallavas*.” He is also said to have “caused the Lord of the *Pallavas*, who had arrived at the eminence of his

own power, to hide his prowess within the ramparts of the city of *Kanchi*." This, the first of the Western *Chalukya* irruptions, seems to have taken place in the early part of the seventh century A.D.

It is to be inferred from this that *Pallava* influence had, some time prior to these events, become to some extent paramount in the south, overshadowing the other dynasties, to whom it was a relief that an invader from the north should have been able to drive the *Pallava* king to take shelter within the ramparts of his own capital.

Contemporary grants do not record that *Kerala* became at this time tributary to the Western *Chalukya* king, but in a forged grant of about the tenth century it is recorded, not of *Pulakesi II*, the founder of the Western *Chalukya* line, but of *Pulakesi I*, the founder of the whole family, that he "made the kings of *Chola*, and *Chera*, and *Kerala*, and *Simhala* (Ceylon), and *Kalinga*, to pay tribute," and punished the *Pandya* and other chieftains. There is no reason to suppose, however, that such was the fact. The forger of the grant evidently confused the two *Pulakesis*, amplified the exploits of the later of the two kings and tacked them on to the earlier of the two, whose authority he wished to have in favour of his grant.

But the fact of a deed (albeit forged) of the tenth century recording that *Chera* was distinct from *Kerala* opens up ground for remark. It has already been noticed (page 224) that the traditionary limits of the original *Kerala* extended from *Putupattanam* on the *Kotta* river to *Kannetti* in Travancore. If this was *Kerala*, where then was *Chera*?

The answer to this is not easy to suggest. The forger may have referred to the *Ganga* or *Kongu* dynasty under the name of *Chera*, and the confusion as to *Gangas* and *Cheras* may have had an origin as ancient as his time. The fact that he would have been historically incorrect in such an allusion would not matter to one who could be so far wrong as to mistake *Pulakesi I* for *Pulakesi II*.

In a genuine deed nearer the time of the occurrences it is specifically said that *Pulakesi II*, in his southern raid, was "closely attended by the *Gangas*." And it may be noted in passing that this confederation seems to have been brought about first by the conquest of the *Gangas* by *Mrigesa*, the *Kadamba* already mentioned as having fought the *Pallavas*, and secondly by the subsequent conquest of the *Kadambas* by the *Chalukyas* under *Kirtti Varma*. The *Gangas*, under these circumstances, must have in turn accepted the *Chalukyas* as their suzerains, and it was quite natural that they should under such circumstances join in *Pulakesi II*'s raid against the *Pallavas*.

If the forger did not refer to the *Gangas*, then it is to be inferred that the reference was to a *Chera* dynasty as distinct from the *Kerala* dynasty. Perhaps the *Pallavas* still held that part of Malabar where their name still seems to linger—the *Valluvunad*. The chieftain of this nad, the *Valluva Konattiri*, or as he is sometimes

called, the *Vallabhan* or *Vellattiri Raja*, is in the Jews' deed (c. A.D. 700) styled the *Arangott Utayavar*, meaning the chieftain who held the country on the other side (*Angotta*) of the river (*ur*), and as this is a title by which the *Valluva Konattiri* is still known on account of his dominions lying to the north of the *Ponnani* river, it may perhaps be correct that in the seventh century this part of *Chera* was held by the *Pallavas* (*Valluvar*) as distinct from the *Keralas*. It is certain that the *Valluva Konattiri* after the last Perumal's departure in A.D. 825 became the protector of the *Maha Makham* feast at Tirunavayi, and this looks as if he had held a distinguished place among the Malayali chiefs before that time—a place so distinguished that he appears to have superseded the last Perumal's lawful heir (Cochin) as protector at this festival.

In the seventh century it is certain that *Gokarnam*, the traditional most northerly point of *Kerala*, was already famous as a place of worship, for *Siva* is alluded to about this time as the "Lord (*svami*) of *Gokarna*."

It is almost certain that the Vedic Brahmans proper had not at this time migrated to the south. "The bones of the dead," so wrote in 605 A.D. one of the numerous Chinese pilgrims who flocked at this time to India "are burned and their ashes placed in a *so-tu* (*stupa*)," a practice which Malayalis certainly observed originally if the evidence of the rude stone monuments of the district signifies anything (*conf.* pp. 179-83).

"So long as the bones remain undisturbed and undefiled,

"So long does the soul enjoy heaven"—

seems, as already said, to have been the original faith.

But with the advent of the Vedic Brahmans came a change in this respect. These posed before the rude chieftains with whom they came in contact as "God-compellers." Their sonorous mantrams and spells could compel the gods to take the wandering ghosts of even the worst of men direct to heaven. There was no necessity for costly death houses, and for furnishing such with all the deceased's weapons and implements in use by him during life. A few sonorous phrases, a ringing of bells and burning of incense, and the thing was accomplished, and it only remained to scatter the ashes of the deceased over the surface of some holy river to ensure to him a welcome into the heaven of Indra.

In a grant of perhaps the fifth century A.D. and coming from the far north (*Illichpur*), it is recorded by a king that "in order to increase our spiritual merit, life, strength, conquests, and rule, and for the sake of our welfare in this and the next world," he gave some land to certain Brahmans, on the condition, however—a unique fact perhaps, but perhaps necessary before the sacred status of the Brahmans had been established beyond doubt—that they should continue to be loyal and peaceful citizens.

From this time forward grant after grant by different dynasties—*Western Chalukya, Kalinga, Gurjara, Mahavali, Rashtrakuta, Ganga*—

record that lands were given to Brahmans, with libations of water (the well-known incident of the *Nirattiper* tenure in Malabar), in order to increase the religious merit of the grantors *and of their deceased relatives*.

And so the faith in the necessity for *śraddha* ceremonies, and in the necessity for the removal of the ashes of the dead to sacred rivers, seems gradually to have worked its way southwards towards Malabar in the wake of the "God-compelling" Vedic Brahmans. There is no reason however, for thinking that such a change in the faith of the Malayalis had taken root before the beginning of the seventh century A.D.; indeed it will be seen presently that the great Brahman migration into Malabar did not probably take place till a century later.

Between the years 629-45 A.D. the Chinese traveller Hwen Thsang visited South India, and from the work of his two pupils, translated by M. Stan. Julien, many facts can be gathered regarding the condition of the south at this time. He visited the Pallava kingdom called *T'a-lo-pi-tch'a* (*Dravida*), and he described the capital—*Kanchi*—as being 30 *li* in circumference. He described the people as brave and eager (*ardent*), profoundly attached to good faith and justice, and holding science in esteem. He found 100 monasteries with 10,000 Buddhist or perhaps Jain votaries, and 80 temples of the gods frequented by naked heretics, whom Dr. Burnell, for substantial reasons (*Ind. Ant.* I, 309) has identified as Digambara Jains, followers of the 24th Tirthamkar. From *Dravida* he proceeded to *Malakuta*, which lay in the *Kaveri* delta of Tanjore. The people there were black, rough (*dur*) and passionate, having among them partisans both of the truth and of error. They did not care for the cultivation of the arts "*et mettent tout leur habileté à poursuivre le lucre.*" The naked heretics (Digambara Jains) were in great force. Unfortunately he did not visit the Malabar Coast. He, however, noticed the fact that sandalwood and a camphor-bearing tree (cinnamon) grew on the mountains of *Mo-la-ye* (*Malaya*), "*dont les sommets escarpés dominent des vallées profondes.*" And he further noticed that a certain island which he described as lying to the south-west of Persia was peopled only by women. Reference is probably here made to the Island of Minicoy, and this subject will again occur in considering Marco Polo's account of the male and female islands. Hwen Thsang's description is here transcribed: "*Au sud-ouest du royaume Po-la-see (Persia) dans une île, se trouve le royaume des femmes d'occident; on n'y voit que des femmes et pas un seul homme. Ce pays abonde en productions rares et précieuses; il est sous la dépendance du royaume de Fo-lin, dont le roi leur envoie chaque année des maris qui s'unissent avec elles: mais lorsqu'elles mettent au monde des garçons les lois du pays défendent de les élever.*"

About the time of Hwen Thsang's visit the *Pallavas* seem to have made an effort and to have recovered temporarily from the Western *Chalukyas* the town of *Vatapi* (*Badami*), and in this they were

apparently assisted as foudatories by the three rulers of *Chola*, *Pandya* and *Kerala*.

The *Chalukya* king *Pulakesi II* at his death seems to have left three infant sons. During their minority *Vijaya bhattarika* assumed the reins of government. The oldest son died and made way for *Vikramaditya I*. The southern powers apparently saw, while this interregnum lasted, a chance of suppressing the rising dynasty and accordingly combined against it.

That the combination was successful at the time is borne out by more than one *Chalukya* grant. The *Pallava* king is referred to in one of these as the leader "who had been the cause of the discomfiture and the destruction of that family which was as pure as the rays of the moon."¹

But retribution speedily came, for it is recorded of *Vinayaditya* that during the lifetime of his father *Vikramaditya I* (about 670-80 A.D.), and by his command, he "arrested the extremely exalted power of the *Pallavas*, whose kingdom consisted of three component dominions." This last phrase, though it occurs more than once and in different deeds, is not explained therein.

In regard to it Mr. Fleet thus expresses his views : "The expression points distinctly to there being three well-defined and recognised divisions of the *Pallava* dominions. They may have been each ruled by a separate king of a separate branch of the dynasty ; or they may have been under one monarch with a viceroy in each of the three provinces."

There is little room for doubt that the expression refers to the "*Chola*, *Pandya* and *Kerala*" rulers, who, in another grant of *Vinayaditya's*, are specifically referred to as "the proud summits" of three mountains which he "rent open (like *Indra*) with the thunderbolt which was his prowess."

How much *Vinayaditya* and his father *Vikramaditya I* accomplished in this raid into the South it is not easy to suggest. *Vikramaditya I* is said to have "had the water-lilies which were his feet kissed by the diadem of the Lord of *Kanchi*, who had bowed down before no other," and of *Vinayaditya* it is recorded that he "caused the rulers of *Kamera* and *Parasika* and *Simhala* and other islands to pay tribute to him." The name *Kamera* occurs in two grants ; in another it occurs as *Kavera* (perhaps *Kaveri*), and in a fourth the word used is *Kerala*. *Parasika* is the modern *Halsi* in Belgaum, the capital of the early *Kadamba* dynasty, and *Simhala* is Ceylon.

It is not improbable that the *Chalukyas* entered into separate tributary relations with the *Kerala* ruler at this time. Their policy would certainly be to break up the southern confederacy which had nearly proved fatal to them. And the isolated position of the *Keralas* behind their mountains would render it easier to detach them than any of the other combined powers.

¹ The *Chalukyas* claimed to belong to the *Somavamsa* or Lunar Race.

It is not improbable also that it was at this time that the *Kerala* territory lying to the east of the *Palghat* gap (*vide* page 252) which to this day Malayalis call the *Kongunad*, was lopped off from their possessions. For in more than one grant of *Vinayaditya's* allusion is made to him as the king "by whom the *Pallavas*, the *Kalambras*, the *Keralas*, the *Haihayas*, the *Vilas*, the *Malavas*, the *Cholas*, the *Pandyas* and others were brought into a similar state of servitude, with the *Aluvas* and *Gangas* and others who were hereditarily (subject to him)." The *Gangas* or *Kongus* (as Malayalis call them) must have followed their suzerain in his southern raid, and not improbably drove the *Keralas* inside their mountain limits at this time (c. A.D. 680-96).

Of *Vinayaditya's* successor in the early part of the eighth century A.D. nothing further is related regarding measures affecting the southern powers than that he is said to have "uprooted the clumps of thorns among the kings of the south."

But the next of the Western Chalukya kings—*Vikramaditya II* (A.D. 732-47)—seems to have directed all his energies to the subjugation of the *Pallavas* of *Kanchi*. It is said he slew the *Pallava* king, whose name *Nandi Potavarma* is given, and took a big drum belonging to him called "Roar of the Sea." He directed three expeditions apparently against *Kanchi*, and his successor *Kirtti Varma II*, whilst heir-apparent, seems to have commanded in one of them. As regards the other powers of the south, nothing more is recorded than that *Vikramaditya II* "withered up *Pandya*, *Chola*, *Kerala*, *Kalabra*, and other kings."

These expeditions, however, which were probably in great measure unsuccessful as permanent conquests, seem to have exhausted the Western *Chalukya* resources, and the natural reaction set in. In the reign of *Kirtti Varma II* (A.D. 747-57) the *Rashtrakuta* dynasty rose to power and effaced for a time the glories of the *Chalukyas*. The *Rashtrakuta* king *Dantidurga*, coming from the north, subdued the victorious army of *Karnata* (*Chalukya*), and of *Kirtti Varma II* it is recorded that "through him the regal fortune of the *Chalukyas* became impeded on the earth."

Dantidurga the *Rashtrakuta* king's date has been fixed by means of grants as A.D. 725-55, and with his conquest of the Western *Chalukyas* a fresh political influence began to bear on the kingdoms of the south. That he came into collision with the southern powers is not stated. It is merely recorded of him that he conquered the army of *Karnata* (Western *Chalukya*), "which had been expert in defeating the Lords of *Kanchi* and *Kerala*, the *Chola*, the *Pandya*, *Sriharsha* and *Vajrata*." But after this the dynasty rapidly acquired great and extensive influence. It extended its rule not only over the *Dekhan* proper, but over the *Konkana*, a portion of *Gujarat* and Central India, up to the *Vindhya* mountains, and its influence made itself felt much further to the north.

It was *Krishna I*, the successor of *Dantidurga*, who built the temple of *Ellura*, and the second king after *Krishna I*, by name *Dhruva* (about 770-79 A.D.), seems to have set himself in earnest to conquer the south. The *Pallavas* of *Kanchi* had probably, in the Western *Chalukya* wars, lost much of their influence in the south. *Dhruva*, it is recorded, managed to hem in the army of the *Pallavas* between his army on the one side and the ocean on the other, and despoiled the conquered of their fighting elephants, which were much prized in the armaments of Indian kings. The *Pallava* king seems to have had but little choice left to him than "to bow down before him" as another grant records.

With the conquest of the Western *Chalukyas* the tributary lion on *Kerala* and the suzerainty over the *Gangas* must also have passed to the *Rashtrakutas*. The *Ganga* king seems to have rebelled against the yoke, for *Dhruva*, it is recorded, conquered and imprisoned him, and from this time forward down at least to the beginning of the tenth century the *Gangas* continued to follow their *Rashtrakuta* suzerains in their battles.

In the reign of *Govinda III*, his successor (A.D. 803-814-15), they were in particular used in the wars against the Eastern *Chalukya* dynasty, one of whose kings (*Vijayaditya* or *Narendra Mriga Raja*) fought, it is recorded, a hundred and eight battles against the combined *Rashtrakutas* and *Gangas* in the short space of twelve and a half years. It was perhaps on account of this good service that *Govinda III* released the captive *Ganga* king (imprisoned by *Dhruva*), but his lenient policy failed, for he had again shortly to retake and reimprison him.

Whether it was at this time, or shortly before or after it, is uncertain, but the *Keralas* also began to give trouble. Of *Govinda III* one grant records that " (Having conquered) the *Keralas*, the *Malavas* (and) the *Santas*, together with the *Gurjaras* (and) . . . who dwelt at the hill fort of *Chitrakuta*, then he (became) a very *Narayana* on the earth in respect of fame." And again in another grant belonging to the allied dynasty (*Rathor*) of *Gujarat* it is recorded, ". . . and the array of the *Mahasamantas*¹ of the region of the south, terrified, and not holding together, and having their possessions in the course of being taken away from them by *Srivallabha* " (i.e., *Govinda III*), "through (showing) respect, obtained protection from him " (i.e., *Indra III*, the *Rathor* king of *Gujarat*).

It may be doubted whether, as alleged, the victory over the *Keralas* was very complete. But the fact that expeditions into Malabar did about this time occur is in consonance with local tradition². Local tradition, however, says that they were repulsed, and that the *Eradi* chiefs of the *Zamorin's* house were, with the aid of the *Ten Thousand Nayers* of *Polanad*, the chief instruments of the

¹ The Malayali chieftains all claim to be of the *Samantha* caste, with the exception of one or two who claim *Kshatriya* rank.

² Pages 236-37.

discomfiture of the invasion *via* the Palghat gap, while the Northern Kolattiri seems to have arrested that which came by way of the coast.

It is doubtful whether after this time (early part of the ninth century A.D.) the *Rashtrakuta* dynasty had any dealings directly with *Kerala*. The invaders were probably driven back, as Malayali tradition indeed asserts. At any rate there is apparently nothing yet on record to prove that the *Rashtrakutas* conquered Malabar; whereas, on the contrary, the fighting with the *Pallavas* and with the Eastern *Chalukyas* continued from this time down to about the beginning of the tenth century A.D., and this probably occupied most of their attention.

It was about this latter time that the great irruption from the south into the *Dekhan* took place. The *Cholas* had probably during all these years been husbanding their strength, and when the other dynasties had exhausted themselves in barren conflicts, the greater part of their dominions fell an easy prey to the southern dynasty. The final blow to the *Rashtrakuta* supremacy was dealt by *Tailapa* or *Taila*, who revived the dynasty of the Western *Chalukyas* in the latter half of this same tenth century A.D.

But it will be necessary to revert here to matters more immediately concerning Malabar, and the epoch is a convenient one for the purpose, because, on the 25th August 825 A.D., there dawned, as already explained (pp. 157-60), the *Kollam Era* of the *Malayalis*.

There are three ancient Malayali deeds which have excited much interest, not only because of their antiquity, but because of the interesting fact that by them the ancient kings of *Kerala* conferred on the Jewish and Christian colonies certain privileges which those colonies, to a certain extent, do still possess. These deeds have been more than once translated, and in Appendix XII will be found translations of them by the most erudite of Malayalam scholars, Dr. H. Gundert.

The dates to be assigned to these deeds have been much discussed, but there is a general agreement among those best capable of judging that the Jews' deed (No. 1) is of date about the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century A.D. Dr. Burnell says of No. 2, the settlement deed of the main colony of Christians, that "the only possible date is A.D. 774." And as regards No. 3, the settlement deed of the southern Christian colony, it is on general grounds placed about 50 years later than No. 2, or about A.D. 824, and in corroboration of the correctness of this conclusion it may be pointed out that two Nestorian priests, by name Mar Sapor, and Mar Peroz, or Peroses, or Pargos,¹ are known to have proceeded about 822 A.D. from Babylon to Quilon, and to have founded a Christian colony there, and the name of the grantee of the privileges conveyed by No. 3, namely, Maruvan Sapor Iso is evidently identical with the name of the first-mentioned of these priests.

¹ Forster's "*Fra Bartolomæo*," London, 1,800 foot note to p. 91.

These three deeds, when read together¹ and along with No. 4, the date of which has not yet been authoritatively fixed, afford evidence of the following facts :—

Chera, or to use its better known Canarese equivalent *Kerala*, was at this time (end of seventh to first quarter of ninth century) a petty empire extending in a southerly direction at least as far as Quilon, and in a northerly direction at least as far as Calicut.

The petty suzerains who ruled this tract of country were—

At the time of No. 1 (c. A.D. 700)—*Bhaskara Ravi Varma*.

At the time of No. 2 (A.D. 774)—*Vira Raghava Chucravarti*,
and

At the time of No. 3 (c. A.D. 824)—*Sthanu Ravi Gupta*.

These three names are, so far as investigations have yet proceeded, the only really authentic names known of the kings or Perumals of ancient Chera or Kerala. And the last named of them is probably identical with the Cheraman Perumal (a title meaning literally *the bigman of the Cheras*), whose name is in the mouth of every child on the coast. His title of *Gupta* seems to point to the family having been of Mauryan descent and it very possibly came from the Konkana.

Below the suzerain were a number of chieftains or princes (*Udayavar*=literally owners) of *nads* (counties), including among them the well-known families of *Venad* (Travancore), *Eralanad* (Zamorin), *Valluvanad*, and *Nedumpuraiyurnad* (Palghat).

The *nad* (country) was the territorial organization of the ruling caste (Nayars), and, in two instances at least (*Venad* and *Cheranad*), it was the territory of the "Six hundred."

These "Six hundred" were the supervisors (*Kanakkar*) and protectors of the *nad*.

The importance to the country of this Nayar organization has already² been dwelt upon. It was, as the *Keralolpatti* expressly says, their duty "to prevent the rights from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse." They were, in short, the custodians of ancient rights and customs; they chastised the chieftains' ministers when they committed "unwarrantable acts," and were the "Parliament" of the land.

Under such circumstances it becomes easy to understand how institutions existed unchanged for centuries, and how some of the influential families (continued when necessary by adoptions from allied families) who ruled the *nads* in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. still continued to rule them when the British acquired the country in 1792.

Custom was the law of the land, and it did not escape the attention of some of the early British administrators that this was so. Lord William Bentinck wrote in 1804 that there was one point in regard

¹ See the foot-notes in the Appendix.

² *Conf.* pp. 88, 89, 132, 133.

³ *Conf.* p. 89.

to the character of the inhabitants of Malabar, on which all authorities, however diametrically opposed to each other on other points, agreed, and that was with regard to the "independence of mind" of the inhabitants. This "independence of mind" was "generally diffused through the minds of the people. They are described as being extremely sensible of good treatment, and impatient of oppression; to entertain a high respect for courts of judicature, and to be *extremely attached to their customs*. Agriculture is considered as an honorable occupation, and the rights of landed property and the division of the produce of the soil between the landlord and tenant are *perfectly defined and confirmed by immemorial usage*." The "independence of mind" which is here referred to by Lord William Bentinck, and which has been noticed by every district officer then and since, could only have been the slow growth of a steady political system, and there can be no doubt that this territorial organization of the Nayers into supervising and protecting agencies was the system which produced such (for India) unexpected results.

To the Jews and Christians organizations were given similar to that of the Nayers. Their headmen (Joseph Rabban and Iravi Corttan respectively) were raised with hereditary rank to (at least a nominal) equality of rank with the chieftains (*Udayavar* = *Woddear* of Mysore and Coorg) of the nads. The privileges conferred on them along with their rank as *Udayavar* are very curious, viz. :—

(a) *The seventy-two Viduper, attached to lordship over the land.*—What these were cannot now be fully stated, as the only information regarding them is contained in clause (b) of No. 1 and in clause (k) of deed No. 3 (Appendix XII). From the instances there given they appear to have been generally of a sumptuary character, such as the *use of elephants carrying earth and water in marriage or other processions*; *tribute from subordinate landholders*—the *revenues of the land* granted; the *light by day*, a well-known privilege still highly prized by the ruling houses of Travancore and Cochin and other chieftains; the *spreading cloth* to walk upon; the *litter* or *palanquin* still in common use; the *umbrella*, another privilege still highly prized by Malayali chieftains; the *Vaduca drum*; the *trumpet*, that is, the conch shell, which still figures in the emblazonments of the Travancore and Cochin rulers; the *gateway with seats*, that is, probably the power of administering justice; *ornamental arches and similar awnings and garlands*, still thrown across the paths taken by members of the ruling houses—"and the rest."

(b) *Remission of tribute* to the Supreme Government.

(c) *Remission of taxes* to the king's house due from townspeople.

(d) *The privilege of receiving presents* when townspeople receive them.

(e) *Feast cloth*.

(f) *House pillars* or *pictured rooms*.

(g) The *curved sword or dagger*, that is, probably, the right to make war armed with the distinctive Nayar¹ weapon, the *ayudha katti* (war-knife), or, as it is sometimes called, the *kodunga katti* (curved knife).

(h) *Sovereign merchantship* over the four classes (*cheri*), who were probably all foreigners; Jews and Christians were certainly two of the classes; another of them may have been the Islanders or Cingalese (*Dvipar*, *Divar*, *Tiyar*, and *Simhalar*, *Sihalar*, *Ilavar*); the fourth were Chettis (East Coast merchants) or Arabs, or perhaps Chinese.

(i) *Right of proclamation*.

(j) *Forerunners* in processions.

(k) *The five musical instruments*.

(l) *Lordship over the oil-makers and the five kinds of artificers*, that is, the carpenter, blacksmith, goldsmith, brazier, and tanner.

(m) *Brokerage and customs of all general classes of goods*.—The phrases used (Deed No. 2, Appendix XII) in describing the articles to which this privilege extended are noteworthy: “all that may be measured by the *para* (bushel), weighed by the balance, stretched by the line, of all that may be counted or carried.” This is almost an exact reproduction of the phrase so familiar to Roman jurists: *Quoe pondere, numero, mensurave constant*, and it has been suggested in a foot note to the deed that perhaps the currency of the phrase at Kodungallur (Cranganore, *alias Monziris*) is traceable back to the time of the Roman trade with that city.

But the interest in the deeds does not end here; and deed No. 3² in particular is replete with allusions to the state of society then prevailing.

Put into few words the transaction therein recorded seems to have been this: Maruvan Sapir Iso had obtained a “water” grant of some land over which one or more headmen of the Christian community (*Palliyar*) already had some (inferior) claims. He bought up their existing privileges, and transferred to certain persons, with the sanction of the authorities, the superior title he himself had acquired. It is in regard to the notice of the various rights and privileges thus bought up and conveyed that the interest in the deed seems to culminate.

A good deal has already been said (pp. 110 to 113) about the light which this deed (No. 3) seems to throw on the origin of the Hindu caste system, and it is unnecessary to repeat it here.

The deed itself was executed with the “concurrence” of

(a) The local chieftain (Travancore).

(b) His next heir.

(c) His officers.

(d) His ministers.

(e) The “Six hundred.”

¹ The use of this knife was proscribed by Act XXIV of 1854 in consequence of the deadly use made of it by fanatical Mappillas.

² Appendix XII.

- (f) The neighbouring lords ; and with the "sanction" of
 (g) The Perumal or suzerain.

Moreover the "Six hundred," that is, the Nayar congregation of the nad, were associated with the Jewish and Christian communities (*Anjuvannam* and *Manigramam*) in the protection of the subordinate community of Christians founded by this deed. The reason of this seems to have been that the "Six hundred" were always on the spot, while *Anjuvannam* and *Manigramam* were a long way off. The church in question is understood to have been situated at Southern Kollam (Quilon), or somewhere in South Travancore territory, while *Anjuvannam* and *Manigramam* lay at Cranganore some miles north of Cochin.

It will be noted further that in addition to the "sanction" of the Perumal, the "concurrence" of the various persons detailed above was considered necessary to complete the formality of the grant. Why was this? The answer seems to be plain enough. The local chieftain (Travancore) was evidently the headman of the local "Six hundred." Until Maruvan Sapir Iso obtained from the Perumal this "water" grant the local chief and the local "Six hundred" were the protectors of this as well as of the other territory of their nad, and, most probably, entitled as such to the *Pati's* share of the produce. If this was so, it will be seen that the Perumal was bound in justice to make this grant only after he had ascertained that such proposals—transfer to the Jewish and Christian corporate bodies of the protection trust, and along with it the *Pati's* share of the produce—would be agreeable to the authorities of the nad. The neighbouring lords were probably individuals who had already received similar "water" grants of other bits of the nad.

The following is a list of the rights and privileges noticed in this deed. Some of these are obscure in meaning, and possibly further research may show that some of the terms have been misunderstood.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <i>Varakol</i> (share ¹ staff) of certain | } Inferior rights and privileges. Clauses (b) and (c). |
| Iluvār and other families. | |
| (b) Foot-rope right. | |
| (c) Ladder right | |
| (d) Tax on elephant feeder. | |
| (e) Wash gold (tax on washerman). | |
| (f) Harvest gold. | |
| (g) Nightly meal of rice. | |
| (h) Pot-measure. | |
| (i) <i>Cavvan</i> (? tribute). | |
| (j) <i>Karanmei</i> (<i>Karayma</i> ² modern) of land. | } Superior right. Clause (d). |
| (k) Power to seize and possess with the ceremony of water ³ drops. | |

¹ It would seem that a share of the earnings of all classes formed part of the Perumal's revenue, and this is in accordance with the usage in some Hindu States down to the present day.

² *Conf.* pp. 110-13 and Chapter IV, Section (a).

³ *Conf.* p. 221.

(l) Power to punish offences.	} Prices of males and females sold into slavery for caste offences.	} Special privileges given to the holders of the "water-contact birth-right" in this instance. Clause (e).
(m) Levy of fines.		
(n) Levy of expenses.		
(o) Head price.	} Prices of males and females sold into slavery for caste offences.	} Privileges of the <i>Pati</i> (over-lord). Clauses (f) and (g).
(p) Breasts price.		
(q) Protection.	} Privileges of the <i>Pati</i> (over-lord). Clauses (f) and (g).	} Limitation of the privileges conferred on the "water" grantees. Clause (i).
(r) Power to enforce the grant.		
(s) Limitation of citizenship to sixty-one in number.	} Limitation of the privileges conferred on the "water" grantees. Clause (i).	} Ordinary privileges of the "water" grantees. Clause (k).
(t) Liability to pay poll-tax.		
(u) Limitation of hire for conveyances.		
(v) Do. do. animals.		
(w) Limitation of mode of disposal of merchandise.		
(x) Liability to control by the <i>Pati</i> (over-lord) in carrying on the business of a lord (<i>svami</i>).		
(y) Liability to pay <i>Ko-pattu-varam</i> (king's share of produce) and <i>Pati-pattavaram</i> (over-lord's share of produce).	} Privileges of the <i>Pati</i> (over-lord). Clauses (l) and (m).	} Ordinary privileges of the "water" grantees. Clause (k).
(z) The seventy-two <i>Viduper</i> , or privileges attaching to the "water" grant of a piece of land (<i>see above</i>).		
(aa) Right to withhold tribute due to the <i>Kon</i> (king) if injustice were done.		
(bb) Investigation of offences by members of their own body.	} Privileges of the <i>Pati</i> (over-lord). Clauses (l) and (m).	} Ordinary privileges of the "water" grantees. Clause (k).
(cc) <i>Karanmei</i> (modern <i>Karayma</i>) of the town.		

The light thrown by these deeds on the state of society as it existed in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. exhibits a community in a very advanced state of organization. At the head of all was the *Kon* or King or *Perumal*—drawing from the land a share of the produce of the soil called the *Ko-pati's* share (*varam*). Another share of the produce went to the *Pati* (over-lord) intermediary between the *Kon* and the actual landholder. The *Pati*, it seems, was not any particular person, but a body corporate of the Jews in their municipal township of Anjuvannam and of the Christians in their's of Manigramam, and (inferentially) of the Nayers in their corporation called the "Six hundred." But each body corporate had a hereditary headman or chieftain.

These bodies corporate seem to have constituted the political back-bone of the country, and their particular functions in the State were those of protecting and of supervising to which several allusions have already¹ been made.

But whom did they "protect," and whom did they "supervise"? The Keralolpatti expressly says their duty was "to prevent the rights from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse," and what has already been said about the organization of the caste system seems to make it certain that their function in the body politic was to keep every one in the place allotted to him by *hereditary* descent, *i.e.*, by *caste*, and to see that he fulfilled his hereditary functions. And, more than this, their duty as supervisors (*Kanakkar*)—the men of the "*eye*", the "*hand*", and the "*order*," as the Keralolpatti calls them—entitled them to a share² in the produce of the land while collecting the *Kon's* (king's) share, the public land revenue in fact.

It is easy to understand, then, how this "protecting" and "supervising" caste of Nayars spread themselves over the face of the land in the positions in which they are still to be found.

And it is further easy to understand how society, organized on such lines as these, was capable of enduring almost unchanged through the long centuries which elapsed before their country finally fell under the sway of foreign rulers.

There is one other point which requires more than a passing notice here. In deed No. 2 the witnesses are thus cited:—"With the knowledge of the two Brahman divisions of Panniyur and Chowaram village have we given it, etc." There is no such attesting clause to deed No. 1, nor is there any such to deeds Nos. 3 and 4.

Now these two Brahman divisions or villages, as they are called, are the two well-known Nambutiri Brahman factions of the *Panniyur* (literally, pig village) and *Chovur* (literally, Siva village) already alluded to (p. 120).

These facts seem to throw some light on the much-disputed point as to when the Vedic Brahman irruption into Malabar occurred, and such facts as are available on this point may conveniently be here brought together.

It is certain that when Hwen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited Southern India east of the ghats in A.D. 629-45, he either found no Vedic Brahmans at all, or they were in such numbers and influence as not to deserve mention. The "*sectaires nus*" whom he met in large numbers were, as Dr. Burnell was the first to point out, Digambara Jains, *i.e.*, adherents of the 24th Tirthamkar.

¹ Pages 87 to 90, 111-12, 131 to 133, 168.

² The *Kana-pattam* (*Kanampat-varam*=the share of the man who had *Kanam* authority, *i.e.*, the share of the supervising caste of Nayars). The bearing of this on the question of land tenures is most important, and will be stated in its proper place.

In deed No. 1—the Jew's deed—the Brahman factions were not cited as witnesses. This happened about the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

In A.D. 774 they attested the deed No. 2.

They were not cited as witnesses to deed No. 3 of date about 822–24 A.D.

Now the communities founded by deeds Nos. 1 and 2 were located at the Perumal's head-quarters at Kodungallur (Cranganore), while by No. 3 was founded a Christian community located somewhere in South Travancore. Down to the present day no Nambutiri family of pure birth has settled to the south of the Quilon river in South Travancore. The Travancore Rajas have "in vain tried by every means in their power to induce them to reside there." (Day's *Land of the Perumals*, p. 23; Mateer's "Land of Charity," p. 29.) The table given at pages 117–18 shows that they congregate most largely in the Calicut, Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani taluks of Malabar, and in the Cochin territory and in North Travancore they are also to be found in large numbers. These tracts constituted very nearly the whole of the portion of the Malabar coast first named¹ as Keralam in the Keralolpatti, and the chief seat of the Kerala Perumal was at Kodungallur (Cranganore), where were located the headquarters of the Jewish and Christian communities.

But reasons have already been assigned (pp. 223–24) for thinking that the territory over which the Kerala Perumal finally ruled was this very tract styled Keralam (Putupattanam to Kannetti), in which the Brahmans settled most thickly.

It is not an unnatural inference consequently that the Brahmans arrived in the declining days of the Perumals, and as they were powerful enough to be cited with Travancore and other chieftains as witnesses to deed No. 2, and do not appear along with the same chieftains as witnesses to deed No. 1, it may also be inferred that they became a power in the land somewhere between the early years of the eighth century and the year A.D. 774.

Moreover in North Malabar, where they have settled very sparsely, one of their villages (Peiyannur) has adopted the law² of inheritance customary among Hindus on the coast. And it is noteworthy that the Muhammadans settled there (Mappillas) have done the same thing. The *Peiyannur* village is near the extreme north of the Northern Kolattiri's ancient domain. This looks as if the Brahman immigrants coming from the north along the coast had only been permitted to settle down in those parts after adopting the laws peculiar to it. Very probably this demand to conform to the customs of the country did not suit them. Their non-settlement in the country of the Southern Kolattiri (Travancore) is also noteworthy in this connection. One of the last acts of

¹ Page 224.

² *Marumakkatayam* or descent in the female line to the exclusion of the male.

Cheraman Perumal was (according to the Keralolpatti) to confer separate dominions on the Northern and Southern Kolattiris. The Northern Kolattiri was employed apparently in driving back invaders coming by the way of the coast, and the Southern Kolattiri had evidently guarded the southern passes for some generations. If the Northern Kolattiri, after driving back the invaders, allowed Brahman immigrants to settle down in his dominions only on condition that they changed their habits of life and conformed to the custom of the country, it is not difficult to understand how the Brahmans refrained altogether from settling down in the Southern Kolattiri (Travancore) domains.

This, too, points in the same direction, namely, to the settlement of the Nambutiri Brahmans on the coast somewhere about the time of the last of the Perumals.

Turning next to native traditions *other than Malayali*, there are in the Mackenzie MSS. two separate accounts current in the early years of the present century among the Canarese and among the Mahrattas.

The Canarese account, taken from the St'hala Mahatmyam of Banavasi, relates how one Mayura Varmma, a Kadamba king of Banavasi, impressed with reverence for a Brahman who refused to eat in a country where no Brahmans were settled, established this man in his capital. Mayura Varmma's son, called Chandrangatan, it is said, called in a large colony of Brahmans and located them in Kerala, in Tuluva, Haigiri, Concana, and Corada. The Kerala Brahmans are said to use Malayalam. *It was after this*, so it is further said, that Parasu Raman came¹ to the country, bringing with him sixty-four families, among whom he established his own Vaidika (ascetical) system.

The Mahratta account states that Parasu Raman turned the *Boyijati* (fisherman² caste) into Brahmans in order to people Kerala. They were to summon him from Gokarnam, whither he had retired, if they had any cause of sorrow or regret. They summoned him unnecessarily and he cursed them and "condemned them to lose the power of assembling together in council, and to become servile. They accordingly mingle with Sudra females and became a degraded race." "About this time one Mayura Varmma, considering these Brahmans to be contemptible, sent for others from Hai-Kshetram and located them at different places in his dominions." Mayura Varmma was a Kadamba king, and was "selected," so the tradition runs, to rule over "Kerala and Caurashtaka Desam."

Both traditions,³ it will be seen, credit the Kadamba king Mayura Varmma with having been mainly instrumental in introducing Vedic Brahmans into Kerala, and it is known from other

¹ *Conf.* p. 221.

² Probably intended as a slur on the origin of the Nambutiris. In Malabar also there are indications of some such tradition having been at one time current.

³ For further notices of the tradition as current among the Canarese, both Jains and Brahmans, see *Buchanan's Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Volume II, pp. 225, 250, 269, 270, 279, Madras edition, 1870.

reliable sources that Mayura¹ Varmma was the first of a resuscitated dynasty of Kadamba kings, one of whom (Tailapa) reigned from A.D. 1077 to 1108. Calculating back from these dates through the sixteen generations which had elapsed between Mayura Varmma's time and Tailapa's, and allowing twenty-four years as an average,² Mayura Varmma's accession may be placed in the last years of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century A.D.

This again points to the Vedic Brahman immigration having been in the early years of the eighth century A.D., and to their having come into Malabar by way of the coast from the Tulu country (South Canara).

Until better evidence is forthcoming, therefore, it may be concluded from the above facts and traditions that the "God-compelling" Vedic Brahmans, with their mantrams, and spells, and doctrine of salvation for deceased persons through the efficacy of their sacrifices, came in the wake of the conquering Western Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas and their allies. The former were Vaishnavites and their emblem was a boar, and the Panniyur (pig village) faction of the Nambutiris no doubt was at first in a position of equality with the Saivite faction, but the Rashtrakutas were chiefly Saivites, and the Chovur faction of the Nambutiris managed in the end to get the ascendancy. To this day the latter party assert that the Panniyur faction is, as already stated (p. 120), excluded from the Vedas altogether. At the time of deed No. 2 (A.D. 774) both factions seem to have been in power in Malabar.

There is only one other matter to be pointed out in connection with these deeds. The privileges granted thereby were princely privileges, and that such favours were conferred on foreigners engaged in trade like the Jews and Christians is matter for remark.

Such privileges are not usually to be had for the asking, and the facts set forth in this section seem to point to their having been granted—in the case of the Jews' deed (No. 1), at or very near the time³ when the Western Chalukya raids into Southern India resulted in the dismemberment of the Pallava kingdom, and its three confederate and apparently subordinate dynasties of which Kerala was one; and in the case of the Christians' deed (No. 2), at or very near the time⁴ when the Rashtrakuta invasions of Southern India had resulted in the final subjugation of the Pallava dynasty of Kanchi (Conjeeveram). Indeed in the latter case the date of the deed (A.D. 774) falls in the reign of Dhruva, the Rashtrakuta who hemmed in the Pallava host between his own army and the sea, and who, after despoiling them of their fighting elephants, seems to have let the opposing host go free in shame and contumely after making their sovereign "bow down before him."

¹ There was a second of the name, but his date is much later, long after the time when, from deed No. 2, it is known for certain that the Vedic Brahmans were firmly settled in Malabar.

² This is a fair average for Indian kings of this class.

³ *Conf.* pp. 262-3.

⁴ *Conf.* pp. 263-5.

At such times money would be required in large sums to buy off opposing hosts, and it is not therefore an improper inference to draw from the facts that, in offering assistance in this shape, the trading foreigners met the Perumal's wishes, and naturally enough secured at the same time for themselves a higher standing in the land in which they traded.

A few years¹ later it may be further noted—about the time of deed No. 3—fresh invasions of Kerala took place. It was, as the Keralolpatti tradition indicates, threatened from two sides at once. The Northern Kolattiri chief was appointed by the Perumal to stop the invaders—probably Kadambas or some other feudatory of the Rashtrakutas—coming along the coast from the north, while the raid from the east *via* the Palghat gap, probably by the Gangas or other feudatories of the Rashtrakutas, seems to have been defeated by the *Eradi* chiefs of the Zamorin's house.

How this last exploit led to the exaltation of the latter family, to the last Perumal's flight to Arabia, and to the sinking into humble rank of his family—the present Cochin² Raja's dynasty—has already been set forth in the preceding section.

There can be little doubt that it was at this time (first half of the ninth century A.D.) that the Malayalam-speaking races became consolidated within the limits which they occupy down to the present day. At the time mentioned, as these deeds show, Malayalam and Tamil were practically one language, at least in their written form. From that time forward Malayalam and the Malayalam races began to draw apart from Tamil and the races east of the ghats. Shut in by their mountain walls except at the Palghat gap, the Malayalis became in time a distinct race, and, owing to their excellent political constitution, which on the one hand kept them free from the aggressions of their neighbours, and on the other hand maintained steadfastly among themselves the ancient order of things, there is little wonder that they presented through many succeeding centuries the example of a Hindu community of the purest and most characteristic type.

SECTION C.—825 TO 1498 A.D.

The Keralolpatti, after describing the partition of his dominions by Cheraman Perumal, and after describing how the original settlement of Muhammadans was effected in the way³ already described, proceeds to give some account of the changes which followed the retirement of Cheraman Perumal among the petty Rajas whom he left behind. The details given, however, do not admit of anything but the most cursory treatment.

¹ *Conf.* p. 265.

² The Jews, it will be noted—Dr. Gundert's note to deed No. 1—have preserved the tradition that the Cochin Raja was the last Perumal's lawful heir.

³ Pages 192–95.

It relates how the Zamorin became the most famous of the Malayali Rajas. He seems to have adopted the high sounding title of *Kunnalakkon*, or king of the hills (*kunnu*) and waves (*ala*). The Sanskrit form of this title *Samudri*, or as it is pronounced by Malayalis *Samutiri* or *Tamutiri* (or vulgarly *Samuri* or *Tamuri*), is that by which the chief Raja of this house became known to Europeans as the Zamorin of Calicut.

The Zamorins in the eighth century had been *Ulayavar*¹ of Eralinad or Ernad, the Bullock country. Down to the present day the second eldest male of the family bears the title of Eralpad. And the family is sometimes called the Eradi dynasty, and sometimes the Netiyiruppu dynasty from the locality (in Ernad) where probably was located the original family residence. Another tradition has it that the original family residence was at Puntura, whence the title also sometimes applied of Punturakkon or king of Puntura. Where this last named place was situated is not definitely known, but one tradition has it that the family came originally from a place of that name situated somewhere in the valley of the Kaveri River.

The Zamorin was also sometimes called the "Lord of Men," and a distinction was drawn between him and the North and South Kolattiri chiefs who were respectively styled the "Lord of Horses" and the "Lord of Elephants". Cannanore, the capital of the former chief, was in former days a great emporium of the trade in horses between Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and Southern India.

The Zamorin's first act of aggression after the departure of the Perumal was to dispossess the chieftain of Polanad—the country round about Calicut—the country in fact of the Ten Thousand with whose assistance it is said he won the victory² over the invaders coming by the Palghat gap. One tradition says that for forty-eight years he warred with the chief of Polanad, the Porlattiri Raja, and in the end succeeded by winning over his opponent's troops, the Ten Thousand, and by bribing his opponent's minister and mistress. The Zamorin's troops having been admitted by treachery into his fort, the Porlattiri chief fled to the protection of the North Kolattiri, and from one of the females of this family the present Kadattunad Raja of North Malabar is descended.

The treacherous minister and mistress of Porlattiri were rewarded with territory and honours—the former received the rank of Ernad Menon and the latter that of Talachennor of Calicut. Sometime afterwards however misunderstandings arose, and half of the Ten Thousand (the Vadakkampuram faction) marched to the Zamorin's palace to oppose the other half of the Ten Thousand (the Kilakkampuram faction). But peaceable councils prevailed, and by timely concessions and liberal allowances the Zamorin and his ministers finally won over the Ten Thousand and their country (Polanad) round Calicut.

¹ *Conf. Deeds Nos. 1 and 2, App. XII.*

² *Conf. pp. 236, 238, 241, 242.*

The tradition preserved in the Keralolpatti as to the founding of Calicut and its rapid rise as a trading centre are very probably founded on fact. The Zamorin had apparently built a fort at a place called Velapuram in Calicut probably in order to have a firmer hold of Polanad. A merchant (Chetti) from the East Coast, who had been on a trading voyage to Mecca reached Calicut with a ship overloaded (it is said) with gold. The ship was about to sink in consequence, and the merchant brought it close in shore at Calicut, took out a box of treasure, laid it before the Zamorin, and told his story. The Zamorin directed him to bring the treasure ashore and to store it in his palace. The merchant accordingly built (it is said) a granite cellar in the king's house and deposited therein as much of the treasure as could not be conveniently taken away in his ship. He then sailed for his own country, and after a time returned to Calicut, opened the cellar in the presence of the Zamorin, counted out the treasure, and finding it correct divided it into two portions and offered the Zamorin one-half of it. But the Zamorin replied, "I do not want your treasure, you may take away the whole." The Chetti being "convinced that this was the most truthful of all kings and *Svarupams* (dynasties)" then asked and obtained permission to trade at Calicut. In this way the bazaar was founded. The Chetti's name was Ambaresan, and, so the Keralolpatti runs, "the cellar erected by him in the *Kovilagam* (king's house) bears even to this day¹ the name of *Ambaresan kett* (Ambaresan built)."

After this, it is said, "the men of the port began to make voyages to Mecca in ships, and Calicut became the most famous (port) in the world for its extensive commerce, wealth, country, town, and king."

Yet another tradition is also preserved in the Keralolpatti, somewhat to the same purport as that last above related. It runs, that in the town of Muscat two sons were born to a Muhammadan; after they had grown up, the father addressed the elder of the two sons saying:—"After my death you two will fight with each other. The other will kill you. Both of you should not be in this same place. You had better go to some land and pass your days. I shall give you enough of gold for that." Thus the father sent away the elder son in a ship. He visited various countries and laid presents before their respective sovereigns. The presents consisted of pickle-boxes full of gold, and he used to represent to each king whose honesty he wished to test that the box contained only pickles. All the kings he visited on discovering what the boxes really contained concealed the fact and appropriated the gold, but at last the experiment was tried on the Zamorin, and the Zamorin at once called him up and said:—"You mistook one thing for another. This is not pickles but gold." The traveller thereupon concluded that here at last was a trustworthy king; and so he settled down at Calicut and became the *Koya* (Muhammadan priest) of Calicut.

¹ The tradition has been lost since the Keralolpatti was written (seventeenth century A.D.).

Both traditions it will be seen rely on the fact that property was made secure in Calicut, and that in consequence of this the trade of the place and the trading settlers increased largely.

Among the latter the Arab and Muhammadan element became in time predominant. And the Keralolpatti tradition asserts, that it was through the aid rendered by the Muhammadan settlers at Calicut that the Zamorins made their next great encroachment on the neighbouring chiefs.

Up to this time¹ the *Valluva kon* or king of the Valluvar [(?) Pallavas] had been the presiding chief at the great *Kuttam* or Assembly of Keralam which took place every twelfth year at the Maha Makham² festival at Tirunavayi. The Koya of Calicut was desirous of seeing the ceremonies, and accordingly went to one of the festivals. On his return to Calicut he told the Zamorin that, if he wanted it, he would conquer the country for him and instal him as presiding chief at the festival. To this the Zamorin agreed, and the celebration of the festival under the auspices of the Zamorins dates from the time when the Muhammadan took up arms on behalf of the Zamorin. It is unlikely that it was only with the Valluva kon that hostilities ensued, for the Cochin Rajas seem to have been despoiled by the Zamorins about the same time of the Kutnad and Chavakkad portions of the Ponnani taluk.

It is impossible to say exactly when these events happened. Other traditions previously related³ seem to show that, when the line of Kerala princes ended with Cheraman Perumal in 825 A.D., the Cholas acquired the suzerainty of Kerala. Moreover, the Keralolpatti has preserved the name of one of the Chola kings Adityavarman, who is generally supposed to have overrun a large part of South India about A.D. 894. And the tradition also exists that invasions became frequent about this time. Both Pandya and Cholas apparently struggled for the mastery, and the latter appear to have driven back the Kongus or Gangas and so freed Kerala, for a time at least, from attack *via* the Palghat gap. The Zamorins about this time—the first century after 825 A.D.—were probably busy consolidating their hold on the country round Calicut, and it was not till some considerable time later that their preponderance among the Malayali chieftains began to be recognized.

The Cochin Rajas as Cheraman Perumal's direct heirs, shorn however of the territories transferred to the Kolattiris (North and South), and of other territory, besides by the defection of the Zamorins, seem to have been the principal power in central Kerala, and it is in accordance with this that in the Kollam year 93 (A.D. 917-18) an expedition (probably of Kongus⁴ or Gangas) from Mysore was driven back when attempting an invasion of Kerala *via* the Palghat gap. Local tradition assigns this as the date on which the Cochin Rajas acquired the small district of Chittur

¹ *Conf.* p. 239.

² Still allied to the Rashtrakuta dynasty.

³ *Conf.* pp. 163-68.

⁴ *Conf.* pp. 225-26.

still held by them and lying to the east of Palghat in the very centre of the gap. And the Palghat Rajas assert that the territory was assigned by them to the Cochin Rajas to enable the latter the better to protect the country from invasions at that point.

About 973-90 the Rashtrakuta dynasty succumbed to the Western Chalukya king Taila II, "who lifted up the royal fortunes of the kingly favourites of the Chalukya family which had been made to sink down by the deceitful practices of the Rashtrakutas." Kerala, after this time probably, had peace on its Kongu or Ganga frontier, for the resuscitated dynasty of Western Chalukyas does not appear to have extended its power to its old limits in the South, and about a century later (1080 A.D.) the Gangas or Kongus gave place finally to the Hoysala Ballalas. After the overthrow of the Rashtrakutas the Gangas or Kongus were probably a decaying power.

It was about this time, or more exactly A.D. 970-1039, that Al Biruni wrote his account of the coast—"Beyond Guzarat are Konkan and Tana; beyond them the country of Malibar,¹ which, from the boundary of Karoha to Kulam,² is 300 parasangs in length. The whole country produces the pan, in consequence of which Indians find it easy to live there, for they are ready to spend their whole wealth on that leaf. There is much coined gold and silver there, which is not exported to any other place. Part of the territory is inland and part on the sea-shore. They speak a mixed language, like the men of Khabhalik in the direction of Rum, whom they resemble in many respects. The people are all *Samanis* (Buddhists) and worship idols. Of the cities on the shore the first is Sindabur, then Faknur,³ then the country of Manjarur,⁴ then the country of Hili,⁵ then the country of Sadarsa,⁶ then Jangli,⁶ then Kulam.⁷ The men of all these countries are Samanis. After these comes the country of Sawalak⁸ which comprises 125,000 cities and villages. After that comes Malwala,⁸ which means 1,893,000 in number. About forty years ago the king of Malwala died, and between his son and the minister a contest arose, and after several battles they ended with dividing the territory between them. The consequence is that their enemies obtained a footing and are always making the ir incursions from different parts of Hind, and carrying

¹ *Conf.* p. 203.—"Male, where the pepper grows," has now developed into Malibar. And this last form of the name has to be distinguished from *M'abar*, which name Al Biruni assigns to the country extending from 'Kulam to the country of Silawar' 300 parasangs along the shore."

² Quilon (South Kollam).

³ Barkur in South Canara.

⁴ Mangalore in South Canara.

⁵ This evidently refers to the North Kolattiri dynasty whose second most ancient family seat was in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Deli, the Hili of Al Biruni.

⁶ These names have probably not been accurately handed down.

⁷ Kulam is evidently Quilon (South Kollam), the country of the South Kolattiris (Travancore).

⁸ These names being derived from numerals, the Laccadive and Maldive Islands are probably here referred to. The Laccadive Islands have always been the prey of sea-robbers.

and viands, sugar, wine, cotton cloths, captives and great booty. But through the great wealth of that country no serious injury is done."

By the eleventh century A.D., the time when the above account was written, the Pallavas had sunk into the position of mere feudatories of the Cholas, and the Cholas seem to have become the great suzerain power of South India. The *Mala-nad* (hill country, West Coast, Malabar) was more than once invaded by the Cholas at this time, and they doubtless drew tribute from one or more of the Malayali chiefs. These invasions, however, do not seem to have left any permanent impression on the country or to have given rise to any changes among the ruling families.

The *Vikramanka deva charita* of Bilhana affects to give an account of a brilliant Western Chalukyan expedition made into Southern India in the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. or in the first quarter of the twelfth by Vikramaditya VI styled The Great. And in this expedition the poet relates that the king of Kerala was slain. That Vikramaditya the Great ever came so far south as Malabar is not to be credited for various reasons, but it would appear that some of his feudatories (Sindas of Erambarago) made an incursion to the West Coast, in the course of which they are said to have burnt Uppinakatti (? Uppinangadi in South Canara) and Goa and to have seized the Konkan. This was probably exploit enough for the court poet to magnify into a magnificent royal procession throughout South India.

The Chola supremacy in South India continued throughout the twelfth century A.D.; it attained its widest bounds probably in the reign of Kulottunga Chola (about 1064-1113 A.D.), and in 1170 Madura, the Pandyan capital city, had become incorporated in the Chola dominions.

"Five miles by sea (from Kulam Mali) lies the Island of Mali, which is large and pretty. It is an elevated plateau but not very hilly, and is covered with vegetation. The pepper vine grows in this island, as in Kandarina¹ and Jirbutan,² but it is found nowhere else but in these places"—so wrote *Al Idrisi*, a Muhammadan geographer settled at the court of Roger II of Sicily in the end of the eleventh century A.D. He then described the pepper vines, and explained how white pepper is obtained from pepper "beginning to ripen or even before" and finally he asserted that the pepper-vine leaves curl over the bunches of grapes to protect them from rain and return to their natural position afterwards—"a surprising fact"!! *Al Idrisi* obtained his information chiefly from books and from travellers; he had no personal knowledge of the countries in India about which he wrote, and his account is much confused. The following is his description of the places named above: "From

¹ Afterwards written as Fandarina by the author. *Conf.* pp. 72, 192, 194, 195.

² *Conf.* pp. 10, 195, footnote 234.

Bana (Tanna) to Fandarina is 4 days' journey. Fandarina is a town built at the mouth¹ of a river which comes from Manibar² where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor. The inhabitants are rich, the markets well supplied, and trade flourishing. North of this town there is a very high mountain³ covered with trees, villages and flocks. The cardamom⁴ grows here and forms the staple of a considerable trade. It grows like the grains of hemp, and the grains are enclosed in pods." "From Fandarina to Jirbatan, a populous town on a little river,⁵ is five days. It is fertile in rice and grain, and supplies provisions to the markets of Sarandib. Pepper grows in the neighbouring mountains."

At this time the rising power in the south were the Hoysala Ballalas of Halabid; they had in *Al Idrisi's* time apparently already obtained a footing on the West Coast, for among the places he mentions is Saimur which "belongs to a country whose king is called Balhara," and Nahrwara (? Honore) seems to have been at this time also in their possession.

In the first half of the twelfth century the Ballala king Vishnuvardhana took Talakad, the Ganga or Kongu capital, and brought that dynasty to a close, and a few years later (A.D. 1182 or 1189) the suzerains of the Gangas or Kongus—the Western Chalukya dynasty—came to an end in the reign of Somesvara Deva, the last king of that branch of the family, their territory being swallowed up by the Yadavas of Devagiri coming from the North, and by Bijjala of the Kulabhuriya Kula who was in turn supplanted by the Ballalas advancing from the South.

About this time and a little later the Cholas were kept busy by invasions from Ceylon, apparently in aid of the Pandyas, and by attacks of the Orungal dynasty in the North, and although the Ballalas took Canara which they called Kerala it does not yet appear that they had anything to do with Kerala proper, that is, Malabar.

In 1263-75 *Al Kazwini*, another Muhammadan geographer, compiled his account of India from the works of others, and among other places he mentions "Kulam⁶, a large city in India. Mis'ar bin Muhallil, who visited the place, says that he did not see either a temple or an idol there. When their king dies the people of the place choose another from China⁶. There is no physician in India except in this city. The buildings are curious, for the pillars are (covered with) shells from the backs of fishes. The inhabitants

¹ Query—Did the Kotta River at this period flow into the Agalapula and find an outlet into the sea at Pantalayini Kollam? It is not improbable. *Conf.* p. 12.

² Malabar—*Conf.* p. 279, footnote 1.

³ The portion of the Wynad plateau lying north-east of P. Kollam has always been and is still celebrated for the excellence of its cardamoms.

⁴ This description fits Srikandapuram—*Conf.* p. 195. But in another place the author apparently places Jirbatan on the sea-coast.

⁵ Quilon.

⁶ Was Quilon at this time a Chinese Factory?

do not eat fish, nor do they slaughter¹ animals, but they eat carrion", and he goes on to describe the pottery made there and contrasts it with China ware. "There are places here where the teak tree grows to a very great height, exceeding even 100 cubits."

A more trustworthy account of the coast than *Al Kazwini's* is to be found in the Book of Travels containing the adventures of Messer Marco Polo and his companions in the East. Marco Polo's first visit to India on a mission from Kublai Khan was about 1290 A.D., and on his return journey in the suite of the Princess Koka-chin he passed up the coast in 1292 or in 1293, the probabilities being in favour of the latter year. "When you leave the Island of Seilan and sail westward about sixty miles you come to the great province of Malabar², which is styled India the Greater; it is the best of all the Indies and is on the main land." After giving an interesting account of the countries east of the Ghauts, and after describing the "kingdom of Coilum"³ and the "country called Comari"⁴, a short chapter⁵ is devoted to the "kingdom of Eli".⁶

"Eli is a kingdom towards the west, about 300 miles from Comari. The people are idolaters, and have a king, and are tributary⁷ to nobody; and have a peculiar language. We will tell you particulars about their manners and their products, and you will better understand things now because we are drawing near to places that are not so outlandish.

"There is no proper harbour in the country, but there are many great rivers with good estuaries⁸, wide and deep. Pepper and ginger grow there, and other spices in quantities. The king is rich in treasure but not very strong in forces. The approach to his kingdom, however, is so strong by nature that no one can attack him, so he is afraid of nobody.

"And you must know that if any ship enters their estuary and anchors there, having been bound for some other port, they seize⁹ her and plunder the cargo. For they say, 'you were bound for somewhere else, and 'tis-God has sent you hither to us, so we have a right to all your goods.' And they think it no sin to act thus. And this naughty custom prevails all over these provinces of India, to wit, that if a ship be driven by stress of weather into some other

¹ This looks as if the people had been Jains or Buddhists.

² This name is applied by Marco Polo to the country east of the Ghauts comprising the ancient territories of the Pallavas of Kanchi, of the Cholas, and of the Pandyas. *Conf.* footnote, p. 279.

³ Quilon (South Kollam).

⁴ Cape Comorin.

⁵ Colonel Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd edition, Vol. II, p. 374.

⁶ Mount Deli—*Conf.* pp. 6, 229.

⁷ This statement confirms the assertion made in the text that the Ballalas had nothing to do with Kerala proper.

⁸ *Conf.* pp. 9, 10, 11.

⁹ *Conf.* p. 171.

port than that to which it was bound, it is sure to be plundered. But if a ship comes bound originally to the place, they receive it with all honour and give it due protection. The ships of Manzi¹ and other countries that come hither in summer lay in their cargoes in six or eight days and depart as fast as possible, because there is no harbour other than the river² mouth, a mere roadstead and banks, so that it is perilous to tarry there. The ships of Manzi indeed are not so much afraid of these roadsteads as others are, because they have such huge wooden anchors which hold in all weather.

“There are many lions and other wild beasts here, and plenty of game, both beast and bird.”

There can be no reasonable doubt that the “kingdom of Eli” here referred to is identical with the kingdom of the Northorn Kolattiris, whose original settlement was at Karipatt³ in Kurummattur amsam in Chirakkal taluk. The second most ancient seat of the family was at the foot of Mount Deli (Eli mala), and the site of one at least of their residences at the time of Marco Polo’s visit is probably still marked by a small but very ancient temple—with a stone inscription in Vatteluttu characters—not very far from the big Ramantalli temple on the banks of the river near Kuvvayi, and lying close in under the mount on its western or sea face. While residing at this Eli Kovilagam or king’s house, the family seems to have split up—after the fashion of Malayali *taravads*—into two branches, one of which (Odcamangalam) settled at Aduthila in the Madayi amsam, while the other (Palli) had various residences. The head of both branches (that is, the eldest male) was the Kolattiri for the time being. He, as ruling prince, lived apart from the rest of the family and had residences at Madayi⁴, Valarpattanam⁵, and other places. Madayi was probably, as the Keralolpatti seems to indicate, the more ancient of the two seats of the ruling prince, for down to the present day the Madayi Kava is looked on as the chief temple of the Kolattiri household goddess Bhagavati, and the next most important temple of the goddess is at the *Kallari-
vatukal* (Fencing School gateway) temple at Valarpattanam.

After describing the kingdom of Eli, Marco Polo in what appears to be an interpolated passage proceeds: “Melibar⁶ is a great kingdom lying towards the West. The people are idolaters; they have a language of their own, and a king of their own, and pay tribute

¹ China, south of the Hwang-ho (Yellow river)—Yule’s Marco Polo, II, 8. It is possible that the Chinese had at this time one or more settlements on the coast. (Conf. p. 281.)

² This refers no doubt to the rivers (Nilesvaram and Eli mala) which unite and enter the sea immediately north of Mount Deli (p. 9). In this neighbourhood, at a place called Cachchilpattanam, there was a settlement of trading foreigners who, with the Jews of Anjuvannam and Christians of Manigramam, formed three of the four settlements (*cheri*) of foreigners referred to in Deed No. 2, Appendix XII.—See full details in the notice of Chirakkal taluk regarding this settlement in “The Legend of Payanur”.

³ Conf. p. 236.

⁴ Conf. p. 229.

⁵ Conf. p. 229.

⁶ Conf. pp. 279, 281, 282.

to nobody." He then proceeds to describe the pirates of Melibar and of Gozurat, and their tactics in forming sea cordons with a large number of vessels, each five or six miles apart, communicating news to each other by means of fire or smoke, thereby enabling all the corsairs to concentrate on the point where a prize was to be found. Then he goes on to describe the commerce: "There is in this kingdom a great quantity of pepper, and ginger, and cinnamon, and turbit, and of nuts of India. They also manufacture very delicate and beautiful buckrams. They also bring hither cloths of silk and gold and sendels; also gold and silver, cloves and spikenard, and other fine spices, for which there is a demand here, and exchange them for the products of these countries.

"Ships come hither from many quarters, but especially from the great province of Manzi.¹ Coarse spices are exported hence both to Manzi and to the West, and that which is carried by the merchants to Aden goes on to Alexandria, but the ships that go in the latter direction are not one² to ten of those that go to the eastward; a very notable fact that I have mentioned before."

After giving short accounts of "Gozurat", "Tana", "Cambaet", "Semenat" and "Kesmakan" Marco Polo proceeds: "And so now let us proceed, and I will tell you of some of the Indian islands. And I will begin by two islands which are called Male³ and Female." "When you leave this kingdom of Kesmakoran, which is on the mainland, you go by sea some 500 miles towards the south, and then you find the two islands, Male and Female, lying about thirty miles distant from each other. The people are all baptised Christians, but maintain the ordinances of the Old Testament⁴; thus when their wives are with child they never go near them till their confinement, or for forty days thereafter.

"In the island, however, which is called Male, dwell the men alone, without their wives or any other women. Every year when the month of March arrives the men all set out for the other island, and tarry there for three months, to wit, March, April, May, dwelling with their wives for that space. At the end of those three months they return to their own island, and pursue their husbandry and trade⁵ for the other nine months.

¹ Conf. foot-note, p. 283.

² The preponderance of the Malabar trade towards China and the East at this time is, as Marco Polo states, "a very notable fact". The Red Sea trade had suffered by the rise of the Muhammadan powers.

³ Conf. p. 281, where Hwen Thsang's parallel tradition is given.

⁴ "The islanders have, from time immemorial, adopted the precaution of separating lepers from among them. On the appearance of the disease the sufferer is called before the Kazi (Priest) and, if the leprosy is pronounced to be contagious, he is expelled to the north end of the island where a place is set apart for the purpose. A hut is built for him, and he subsists on supplies of food and water which his relatives bring at intervals and leave on the ground at a safe distance"—*Mr. Winterbotham's official report on Minicoy, dated 31st May 1876. Conf. Leviticus, Chapters XIII and XIV.*

⁵ "383 men were absent on voyages to Bengal and other places"—*Mr. Winterbotham's report on Minicoy of 25th May 1876.*

"They find on this island very fine ambergris.¹ They live on flesh, milk and rice. They are capital fishermen,² and catch a great quantity of fine large sea-fish, and them they dry, so that all the year they have plenty of food, and also enough to sell to the traders who go thither. They have no chief except a Bishop, who is subject to the Archbishop of another island, of which we shall presently speak, called Socotra. They have also a peculiar language.

"As for the children which their wives bear to them, if they be girls they abide with the mothers; but if they be boys the mothers bring them up till they are fourteen, and then send them to the fathers. Such is the custom of these two islands. The wives do nothing but nurse their children and gather³ such fruits as their island produces: for their husbands do furnish⁴ them with all necessities."

There has been much debate whether such islands have ever existed anywhere, for similar stories have a wide currency, and no small amount of speculation has been bestowed on the question as to what islands are specifically referred to by Marco Polo; for as Colonel Yule observes,⁵ "Marco's statement that they had a Bishop subject to the Metropolitan of Socotra certainly looks as if certain concrete islands had been associated with the tale."

The following facts, and the foot-notes appended to the text, make it not improbable that the Female Island referred to may have been Minicoy.

¹ Found on the Laccadives and Minicoy and considered a royalty.

² "The pursuit of the mass-fish is the most lucrative (industry). The boats used in mass-fishing are built on the island. * * They are the finest boats I have seen in the East, and are managed most skilfully by the men of the island."—Mr. Logan's official report on Minicoy, dated 28th February 1870. The mass-fish comprise two kinds of bonito; the boats under full sail pass and repass through the shoals of these fish when they visit the neighbourhood of the island. Two men, provided with stout rods and short lines, trail long unbarbed hooks of white metal at the stern of each boat, and as the fish, mistaking these trailing hooks for fish-fry, dash at them and are hooked, the point of the rod is raised, and the fish without further ado is swung round into the boat, and, disengaging itself readily from the unbarbed hook, is left to flounder about in the bottom of the boat while the fisherman proceeds to capture another. While this is going on a third fisherman is busy in the bottom of the boat ladling out fish-fry of which a supply is kept ready to hand in a well in the centre of the boat. The catch is occasionally enormous and the dried fish is exported largely to Ceylon and other places.

³ The gathering of coconuts is one of the chief occupations of the women of Minicoy. The collection is made monthly, and "each woman engaged in collecting nuts receives eight nuts a day and 4 per cent of the number she collects."—Mr. Winterbotham's report on Minicoy, dated 25th May 1876.

⁴ "Every woman in the island is dressed in silk. The gowns fit closely round the neck and reach to the ankles. The upper classes wear red silk and ear-rings of peculiar fashion. The Melacheri women are restricted to the use of a dark striped silk of a coarser quality. Every husband must allow his wife at least one candy of rice, two silk gowns, and two under-clothes a year. He also presents her on marriage with a fine betel-pouch (brought from Galle) and a silver ornament containing receptacles for lime and tobacco, and instruments of strange forms intended for cleaning the ears and teeth."—Mr. Winterbotham's report on Minicoy, dated 25th May 1876.

⁵ Marco Polo, II, p. 397.

The following are extracts from an official report regarding the island, written in 1876 by a District Officer (Mr. H. M. Winterbotham) who visited the island in the early part of that year:—
 "One (custom) which, so far as I know, is without parallel amongst any society of Mussulmans is that the men are monogamous.¹ I was assured that it was an established custom that no man could have more than one wife at one time. When I took the census there were 1,179 women on the island and only 351 men. The other men were absent on their voyages. But when all are present on the island the women exceed the men by 26 per cent." "The women appear in public freely with their heads uncovered, and take the lead in almost everything except navigation. The census was made through them in a manner peculiar to the island. Orders were issued by Ali Malikhan to certain women in authority, and they called together an adult female from every house. About four hundred females assembled and told off the number of their households with much readiness and propriety." "After marriage the wife remains in her father's house,² a very convenient custom when the men are mostly sailors, absent from the island a great part of the year. Three or four couples find accommodation in the same chamber, each enveloped in long-cloth mosquito curtains. If the daughters are numerous, they leave the parental roof in order of seniority, and the houses erected for them become their property. The men, I was told repeatedly, have no right of ownership over the houses."

From the facts as they exist even down to the present day, it is easy to understand how mariners casually visiting the island would be astounded to find none but women to receive them and everything arranged and managed by the women. The men who remained on the island would probably keep out of the way until the strangers cleared out. These islands (Laccadives and Minicoy) were notoriously the prey of sea-robbers in former days, and it would have fared badly with the remaining men if they had offered resistance. In the *Lusiad* there is a vivid description of a company of Portuguese mariners running riot in an island of this description.

Again, seeing that the islands described by Marco Polo are "Indian islands" and not either Arabian or African, it follows that the locality to be sought lay on the Indian side of the Arabian Sea, and the Island of Minicoy consequently better fulfils the description given than either the Kuria Muria Islands lying off the Arabian coast or any others lying nearer Africa.

Shortly after Marco Polo's visit, Southern India was convulsed by a Muhammadan irruption from the North under Malik Kafur (A.D. 1310). It has sometimes been supposed that the Malabar coast fell in common with the rest of the peninsula before the Muhammadans at this time, but there is nothing to show that this

¹ If the Minicovites were at one time "baptised Christians" (see Marco Polo's account of the islanders) the fact would be accounted for, the custom having survived their conversion to *Muhammadanism*.

² Or rather her mother's—see what immediately follows.

was the case, and the name applied at this time by Marco Polo (1293 A.D.) and by Ibn Batuta (1342-47 A.D.) to the eastern portion of the peninsula—namely, Malabar—probably gave rise to the idea. Chola and Pandya both however succumbed to the Muhammadans, and Kerala probably owed its immunity from attack to its ramparts of mountains and forests.

With the founding, however, of the Vijayanagar dynasty in 1336-50 a new political influence began to bear on the South, and it was about this time (1342-47 A.D.) that Sheik Ibn Batuta of Tangiers came to Malabar. The following interesting sketches of the coast at this period have been taken from an abridged account¹ of his travels :—

“ We next came into the country of Malabar which is the country of black pepper. Its length is a journey of two months along the shore from Sindabur to Kawlani.² The whole of the way by land lies under the shade of trees,³ and at the distance of every half mile there is a house⁴ made of wood, in which there are chambers fitted up for the reception of comers and goers, whether they be Moslems or infidels. To each of these there is a well, out of which they drink ; and over each is an infidel appointed to give drink. To the infidels he supplies this in vessels ; to the Moslems he pours⁵ it in their hands. They do not allow the Moslems to touch their vessels, or to enter into their apartments ; but if any one should happen to eat out of one of their vessels, they break it to pieces. But in most of their districts the Mussulman merchants have houses, and are greatly respected. So that Moslems who are strangers, whether they are merchants or poor, may lodge among them. But at any town in which no Moslem resides, upon any one's arriving they cook, and pour out drink for him, upon the leaf of the banana ; and, whatever he happens to leave, is given to the dogs. And in all this space of two months' journey, there is not a span⁶ free from cultivation. For everybody⁷ has here a garden, and his house is placed in the middle of it ; and round the whole of this there is a fence of wood, up to which the ground of each inhabitant comes. No one travels in these parts upon beasts of burden ; nor is there any horse⁸ found, except with the king, who is therefore the only person

¹ “ The Travels of Ibn Batuta, etc.” by the Rev. Samuel Lee, B.D., London, Oriental Translation Committee, 1829.

² South Kollam—Quilon.

³ The country must have been thickly planted (as now) with coconut and other palms.

⁴ From the description which follows, the water-pandals, still so common on all frequented roads in the hot season, seem to be here alluded to.

⁵ This practice is still followed. For certain low castes a long spout is provided, made from bamboo or from the midrib of the sago palm leaf. The low caste man stands at the end of the spout and receives the water in his hands, and thus the high caste dispenser of the drink is kept free from pollution by the too near approach of the drinker.

⁶ Ibn Batuta probably exaggerates a little, but the land was evidently highly cultivated.

⁷ This description might be literally written of the Malabar of to-day.

⁸ Horses and ponies are still very few in numbers, notwithstanding the improvement in the roads of recent years.

who rides. When, however, any merchant has to sell or buy goods, they are carried upon the backs ¹ of men, who are always ready to do so (for hire).

"Every one of these men has a long staff,² which is shod with iron at its extremity and at the top has a hook. When, therefore, he is tired with his burden, he sets up his staff in the earth like a pillar and places the burden upon it; and when he has rested, he again takes up his burden without the assistance of another. With one merchant you will see one or two hundred of these carriers, the merchant himself walking. But when the nobles pass from place to place, they ride in a *dula* ³ made of wood, something like a box, and which is carried upon the shoulders of slaves and hirelings. They put a thief ⁴ to death for stealing a single nut, or even a grain of seed of any fruit, hence thieves are unknown among them; and should anything fall from a tree, none, except its proper owners, would attempt to touch it.

"In the country of Malabar are twelve kings, the greatest of whom has fifty thousand troops at his command; the least five thousand or thereabouts. That which separates the district of one king from that of another is a wooden gate upon which is written: "The gate of safety of such an one." For when any criminal escapes from the district of one king and gets safely into that of another, he is quite safe; so that no one has the least desire to take him so long as he remains there.

"Each of their kings succeeds to rule, as being sister's ⁵ son, not the son to the last. Their country is that from which black pepper is brought; and this is the far greater part of their produce and culture. The pepper tree resembles that of the dark grape. They plant it near that of the coconut, and make framework ⁶ for it, just as they do for the grape tree. It has, however, no tendrils, and the tree itself resembles a bunch of grapes. The leaves are like the ears of a horse; but some of them resemble the leaves of a bramble. When the autumn arrives, it is ripe; they then cut it, and spread it just as they do grapes, and thus it is dried by the sun. As to what some have said that they boil ⁷ it in order to dry it, it is without foundation.

"I also saw in their country and on the sea-shores aloes, like the seed-aloe, sold by measure, just as meal and millet is.

* * *

"We next came to the town of Hili,⁸ which is large and situated upon an estuary of the sea. As far as this place come the

¹ Still largely true of the district.

² Still occasionally to be seen.

³ Palanquin. The *Manchal*, a long and broad strip of canvass suspended at each end to a stout pole is more frequently seen now-a-days.

⁴ *Conf.* p. 174 and p. 293.

⁵ *Conf.* pp. 153, 154 and 155.

⁶ The practice is different now, the vine is planted at the foot of jack, mango, and *Murikku* trees (*Erythrina Indica*) which serve as standards for the vine.

⁷ To make white pepper probably.

⁸ Eli or Mount Deli—*Conf.* pp. 8, 9, etc.

ships of China,¹ but they do not go beyond it; nor do they enter any harbour, except that of this place, of Kalikut and Kawlām.

“The city of Hili is much revered both by the Muhammadans and infidels on account of a mosque,² the source of light and blessings, which is found in it. To this sea-faring persons make and pay their vows, whence its treasury is derived, which is placed under the control of the principal Moslem. The mosque maintains a preacher, and has within it several students, as well as readers of the Koran, and persons who teach writing.

“We next arrived at the city of Jarkannan,³ the king of which is one of the greatest on these coasts. We next came to Dadkannan,⁴ which is a large city abounding with gardens, and situated upon a mouth of the sea. In this are found the betel-leaf and nut, the coconut and colocassia. Without the city is a large pond⁵ for retaining water; about which are gardens. The king is an infidel. His grandfather, who had become Muhammadan, built its mosque⁶ and made the pond. The cause of the grandfather's receiving Islamism was a tree, over which he had built the mosque. This tree is a very great wonder; its leaves are green, and like those of the fig, except only that they are soft. The tree is called *Darakhti Shahudel* (the tree of testimony), *darakht* meaning tree. I was told in these parts that this tree does not generally drop its leaves; but at the season of autumn in every year, one of them changes its colour, first to yellow, then to red; and that upon this is written with the pen of power, “There is no God but God; Muhammad is the Prophet of God;” and that this leaf alone falls. Very many Muhammadans, who were worthy of belief, told me this; and said that they had witnessed its fall, and had read the writing; and further, that every year, at the time of the fall, credible persons among the Muhammadans, as well as others of the infidels, sat beneath the tree waiting for the fall of the leaf; and when this took place, that the one-half was taken by the Muhammadans, as a blessing, and for the purpose of curing their diseases; and the other by the king of the infidel city, and laid up in his treasury as a blessing; and that this is constantly received among them. Now the grandfather of the present king could read the Arabic; he witnessed, therefore, the fall of the leaf, read the inscription, and, understanding its import, became a Muhammadan accordingly. At the time of his death he appointed his son, who was a violent infidel, to succeed him. This man adhered to his own religion, cut down the tree, tore up its roots, and effaced every vestige of it. After two years the tree grew, and regained its original state, and

¹ *Conf.* p. 284.

² *Conf.* p. 194. The city referred to was probably Palayangadi (*lit*—old Bazaar).

• ³ Afterwards written Jarafattan—*Conf.* pp. 194, etc.

⁴ Afterwards written Badafattan. This no doubt refers to Valarpattan—*Conf.* pp. 10 and 11.

⁵ This probably refers to the magnificent tank at the Chirakkal Kovilagam of the Kolattiri family where the Chirakkal Raja now usually resides.

⁶ This fact strengthens the conclusion at p. 194, that the fourth of the original mosques was not placed at Valarpattan.

in this it now is. This king died suddenly ; and none of his infidel descendants, since his time, has done anything to the tree.

“ We next came to the city of Pattan¹ (Pattan), the greater part of the inhabitants of which are Brahmins, who are held in great estimation among the Hindoos. In this place there was not one Muhammadan. Without it was a mosque, to which the Muhammadan strangers resort. It is said to have been built by certain merchants, and afterwards to have been destroyed by one of the Brahmins, who had removed the roof of it to his own house. On the following night, however, this house was entirely burnt, and in it the Brahmin, his followers, and all his children. They then restored the mosque, and in future abstained from injuring it ; whence it became the resort of the Muhammadan strangers.

“ After this we came to the city of Fandaraina,² a beautiful and large place, abounding with gardens and markets. In this the Muhammadans have three districts, in each of which is a mosque, with a judge and preacher. We next came to Kalikut³ one of the great ports of the district of Malabar, and in which merchants from all parts are found. The king of this place is an infidel, who shaves his chin just as the Haidari Fakeers of Room do. When we approached this place, the people came out to meet us, and with a large concourse brought us into the port. The greatest part of the Muhammadan merchants of this place are so wealthy, that one of them can purchase the whole freightage of such vessels as put in here, and fit out others like them. Here we waited three months for the season to set sail for China : for there is only one season in the year in which the sea of China is navigable. Nor then is the voyage undertaken, except in vessels of the three descriptions following : the greatest is called a junk, the middling size a zaw, the least a kakam. The sails of these vessels are made of cane-reeds, woven together like a mat ; which, when they put into port, they leave standing in the wind. In some of these vessels there will be employed a thousand men, six hundred of these sailors, and four hundred soldiers. Each of the larger ships is followed by three others, a middle sized, a third, and a fourth sized. These vessels are nowhere made except in the city of Elzaitan in China, or in Sin Kilan, which is Sin Elsin. They row in these ships with large oars, which may be compared to great masts, over some of which five and twenty men will be stationed, who work standing. The commander of each vessel is a great Emir. In the large ships too they sow garden herbs and ginger, which they cultivate in cisterns (made for that purpose), and placed on the sides of them. In these also are houses constructed of wood, in which the higher officers reside with their wives ; but these they do not hire out to the merchants. Every vessel, therefore, is like an independent city.

¹ This referred probably to Darmapattanam—*Conf.* p. 194.

² Pantalayani or Pantalayini Kollam, North Kollam—*Conf.* pp. 72, 194.

³ The modern Calicut.

Of such ships as these, Chinese individuals will sometimes have large numbers; and, generally, the Chinese are the richest people in the world.

“ Now when the season for setting out had arrived, the Emperor of Hindustan appointed one of the junks of the thirteen that were in the port for our voyage. El Malik Sambul therefore, who had been commissioned to present the gift, and Zahir Oddin, went on board, and to the former was the present carried. I also sent my baggage, servants, and slave-girls on board, but was told by one of them, before I could leave the shore, that the cabin which had been assigned to me was so small, that it would not take the baggage and slave-girls. I went, therefore, to the commander, who said, ‘ There is no remedy for this; if you wish to have a larger, you had better get into one of the kakams (third-sized vessels); there you will find larger cabins, and such as you want.’ I accordingly ordered my property to be put into the kakam. This was in the afternoon of Thursday, and I myself remained on shore for the purpose of attending divine service on the Friday. During the night, however, the sea arose, when some of the junks struck upon the shore, and the greatest part of those on board were drowned; and the rest were saved by swimming. Some of the junks, too, sailed off, and what became of them I know not. The vessel in which the present was stowed, kept on the sea till morning, when it struck on the shore, and all on board perished, and the wealth was lost. I had indeed seen from the shore the Emperor’s servants, with El Malik Sambul and Zahir Oddin, prostrating themselves almost distracted; for the terror of the sea was such as not to be got rid of. I myself had remained on shore having with me my prostration carpet and ten dinars, which had been given me by some holy men. These I kept as a blessing, for the kakam had sailed off with my property and followers. The missionaries of the king of China were on board another junk, which struck upon the shore also. Some of them were saved and brought to land, and afterwards clothed by the Chinese merchants.

“ I was told that the kakam, in which my property was, must have put into Kawlam.¹ I proceeded therefore to that place by the river. It is situated at the distance of ten days from Kalikut. After five days I came to Kanjarkara, which stands on the top of a hill, is inhabited by Jews, and governed by an Emir who pays tribute to the king of Kawlam. All the trees (we saw) upon the banks of this river, as well as upon the sea-shores, were those of the cinnamon and bakam², which constitute the fuel of the inhabitants; and with this we cooked our food. Upon the tenth day we arrived at Kawlam, which is the last city on the Malabar coast. In this place is a large number of Muhammadan merchants; but the king is an infidel. In this place I remained a considerable time, but heard nothing of the kakam and my property. I was afraid to return to the Emperor, who would have said, ‘ How came you to

¹ Southern Kollam—Quilon.

² *Cassalpinia sappan*.

leave the present and stay upon the shore ? ' for I know what sort of a man he was in cases of this kind. I also advised with some of the Muhammadans who dissuaded me from returning and said : ' He will condemn you because you left the present : you had better, therefore, return by the river to Kalikut. '

* * * * *

" I then left him for Hinaur¹ and then proceeded to Faknaur,² and thence to Manjarur,³ thence to Hili, Jarafattan, Badafattan, Fandaraina, and Kalikut, mention of which has already been made. I next came to the city of Shaliat,⁴ where the Shaliats are made, and hence they derive their name. This is a fine city ; I remained at it some time and there heard that the kakam has returned to China, and that my slave-girl had died in it ; and I was much distressed on her account. The infidels, too had seized upon my property, and my followers had been dispersed among the Chinese and others."

Ibn Batuta twice afterwards visited Calicut and other places on the coast, but no further particulars of interest are recorded. Setting sail finally from Calicut he arrived at Zafar in April 1347 and thence returned to Egypt and North Africa.

The Muhammadans continued their raids into Southern India during the fourteenth century, and in 1374, in one of these, under Mujabid Shah of the Bahmani dynasty, they came as far south as Rameswaram, but the rapid rise and extension of the Vijayanagar Raj in the last half of the century put an end for a time to these Muhammadan raids into the South.

There can be no doubt, however, that even in Malabar, which was free from such expeditions, Muhammadan influence was on the increase, and it is not at all improbable that it was about this time (end of fourteenth century A.D.) that the influence of the Zamorins began to preponderate in Malabar ; and this there can be no doubt was brought about (as indeed the Keralolpatti indicates) by a close alliance with the Muhammadan traders attracted to Calicut by the freedom of trade enjoyed there.

One of the first effects of this Muhammadan alliance seems to have been that the trading rivals of the Muhammadans, the Chinese merchants, whose fleets *Ibn Batuta* so graphically describes received some bad usage at the Zamorin's hands, and deserted Calicut and the Malabar coast generally after undertaking an expedition of revenge in which they inflicted no small slaughter on the people of Calicut. This happened, Colonel Yule thinks,⁵ about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

There is certainly no mention made by 'Abdur Razzak⁶ of Chinese trade, except that the sea-faring population of Calicut were

¹ Honor.

² Barkur—*Conf.* p. 194.

³ Mangalore—*Conf.* p. 194.

⁴ *Chaliyam*, the island lying between the Boypore and Kadakundi rivers (p. 13)—*Conf.* p. 194.

⁵ Marco Polo, II, 381.

⁶ Elliot, IV, 98-103.

nick-named, at the time of his visit (1442 A.D.), "*Chini buchagan*" (China boys); and, as he says, that the trade with Mecca was chiefly in pepper and that at Calicut there were "in abundance varieties brought from maritime countries, especially from Abyssinia, Zirbad, and Zanzibar," it is probable that the preponderance of the Malabar trade with China and the East, noticed¹ by Marco Polo, had by this time given place to a trade with the West in the hands of Muhammadan merchants, and in proof that Muhammadans were then both numerous and influential at Calicut, it may be cited that there were when Abdu-r-Razzak visited the place, two cathedral mosques (Jamath mosques) at Calicut.

Abdu-r-Razzak gives a very interesting account of his sojourn at Calicut, which he describes as a "perfectly safe harbour." The Calicut port is, and from the shelving nature of the sea-bottom probably always will be, an open roadstead, so that the traveller intended to convey that the safety of its harbour depended on other circumstances than the nature of its shores, and these he proceeds to describe thus:—

"Such security and justice reign in that city that rich merchants bring to it from maritime countries large cargoes of merchandise which they disembark and deposit in the streets and market-places, and for a length of time leave it without consigning it to any one's charge or placing it under a guard. The officers of the Custom House have it under their protection, and night and day keep guard round it. If it is sold they take a customs duty of 2½ per cent; otherwise they offer no kind of interference."

This corroborates in a very remarkable way the tradition² preserved in the Keralolpatti that it was owing to the security of trade which merchants found at Calicut that they were induced to settle there.

Abdu-r-Razzak also notices that wrecked vessels were not taken at Calicut by the authorities. The people went about naked, bearing "a Hindi dagger" (bright) as a drop of water" in one hand and in the other a shield "of cow's hide large as a portion of cloud." King and beggar were both thus attired, but Mussalmans dressed in costly garments. The king was called "*Samuri*," and the traveller noticed the peculiar law of inheritance in force. "No one becomes king by force of arms," he observed, and seemed astonished at the fact. At his audience with the king he was made to sit down and his letter was read, but "The *Samuri* paid little respect to my embassy so leaving the court I returned home." His presents while *en route* had been taken by pirates, and this no doubt contributed to his cold reception. The result was that he remained "in that wretched place, a comrade of trouble, and a companion of sorrow" for some time. At last came a herald from Vijayanagar with a letter to the *Samuri* "desiring that the ambassador of His Majesty the *Khakan-i-Said* should be instantly sent to him" the Raja of Vijayanagar, and the traveller thereupon remarked:—"Although the *Samuri* is not under his

¹ See p. 285.

² Conf. p. 280.

³ Conf. p. 137.

authority, nevertheless he is in great alarm and apprehension from him, for it is said that the king of Bijanagar has 300 sea-ports, every one of which is equal to Kalikot, and that inland his cities and provinces extend over a journey of three months."

There was evidently a settled and independent Government at Calicut, and the pleasing account given of the security there afforded to merchants accounts for the pre-eminence to which the city of Calicut rose about this time. The trade in Malabar products seems to have been exclusively in the hands of Muhammadan merchants, and it may be safely concluded that, after the retirement of the Chinese, the power and influence of the Muhammadans were on the increase, and indeed there exists a tradition that in 1489 or 1490 a rich Muhammadan came to Malabar, ingratiated himself with the Zamorin, and obtained leave to build additional Muhammadan mosques.

The country would no doubt have soon been converted to Islam either by force or by conviction, but the nations of Europe were in the meantime busy endeavouring to find a direct road to the pepper country of the East. The first assured step in this direction was taken when Bartholomew Dias sailed round the "Cape of Storms" in 1486. The Cape was promptly rechristened the "Cape of Good Hope," and the direct road to India by sea was won.

Section (D).

THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD.

A.D. 1498-1663.

The next adventurer who weathered the Cape of Good Hope was an unlettered man "of middle stature, rather stout, and of a florid complexion." He was of noble birth. In character he is described as being possessed of "a violent and passionate temper," which led him to the commission at times of atrocious cruelties. But he could, when he chose, command his temper, and he had "a large fund of dissimulation." His great qualities were "indomitable constancy" and a will which brooked no questioning. The most pleasing trait in his character was his affection for his brother, who sailed with him in this voyage of exploration.

Starting from Belem near Lisbon on the 25th of March 1497, Vasco da Gama's fleet consisted of three small vessels called the San Raphael (his own ship, 100 tons), the San Gabriel (his brother Paulo da Gama's ship, 120 tons), and the San Miguel (commanded by Nicholas Coelho, 50 tons). Each ship carried eighty men, officers, seamen and servants.

After a voyage of nearly five months the fleet arrived at St. Helena Bay (18th August 1497). From that point they stood out to sea for one month and then made for the land. Failing in weathering the Cape on that tack, they again stood out to sea for two

two months, and on making for the land they found that they had weathered the Cape (November 1497). After entering one or two rivers east of the Cape they left the coast, and on 8th December 1497 the squadron encountered a great storm and the crews rose in mutiny. The officers stood by their commander, the ringleaders were put in irons, and the ships went on their way, sighting the coast of Natal on Christmas Day. On 6th January 1498 the squadron entered the River of Meroy (dos Reis or Do Cobre), and there they remained for a month careening the ships and breaking up the *San Miguel*, the crew of which was distributed between the other two ships, Coelho himself thereafter sailing with Vasco da Gama in the *San Raphael*. Leaving the place in February, they passed the banks of Sofala and in the end of March the expedition reached Mozambique. There they remained about twenty days and left it on Sunday, 8th or 15th April. On 21st April the squadron reached Mombasa, and on Sunday, 29th April, Melinde.

Their stay at Melinde extended to three months, for the "new moon of July" was the beginning of the season for departure from Melinde for India.

The king of Melinde most hospitably entertained the strangers, and provided them with pilots and with a broker to help them in their trade. And it was by his advice that the expedition eventually sailed for Calicut instead of for Cambay, whither the broker wished to take them.

Leaving Melinde on 6th August 1498, the two ships ran across with the south-west monsoon and sighted the coast of Malabar on 26th August.

The pilots foretold that the first land to be seen would be "a great mountain,"¹ which is on the coast of India in the kingdom of Cannanore, which the people of the country in their language call the mountain *Delielly*, and they call it of the rat, and they call it *Mount Dely*, because in this mountain there were so many rats that they never could make a village there."

Running down the coast from Mount Deli the expedition passed Cannanore without stopping, which town seems to have presented much the same appearance then as it does now, for it is described as "a large town of thatched houses inside a bay."

"The ships continued running along the coast close to land, for the coast was clear without banks against which to take precautions: and the pilots gave orders to cast anchor in a place which made a sort of bay, because there commenced the city of Calicut. This town is named *Capocate*."²

* Shortly afterwards Da Gama appears to have moved his ships a few miles to the northward and to have anchored them inside the mudbank lying off Pantalayini Kollam.

¹ *Conf.* p. 7.

² *Conf.* p. 73.

The arrival of this Portuguese expedition aroused at once the greatest jealousy in the Moors or Muhammadans, who had the Red Sea and Persian Gulf trade with Europe in their hands, and they immediately began to intrigue with the authorities for the destruction of the expedition. There appear to have been three persons in authority under the Zamorin, the Overseer of the Treasury, the king's Justice, and the Chief Officer of the Palace Guard. The two first of these were the first to be liberally bribed to obstruct the new-comers.

Accordingly, when Da Gama sent Nicholas Coelho on shore with a message to the Zamorin asking him to sanction trade, the authorities tried his temper by making him wait, thinking thus to cause a break with the Portuguese; but being warned by a Castilian whom they found in the place, he exercised patience, and on declining to give his message to any but the king himself, he was at last admitted to an audience, and after some further delay the king gave his sanction, written on a palm leaf, for opening trade.

Trade accordingly began, but the Portuguese were supplied with nothing in the way of goods but rubbish, and scantily even with that. They accepted it, however, in default of better stuff, but the jealousy of the Moors prevented them eventually from getting even this much.

Da Gama accordingly determined to visit the Zamorin in person, and demanded hostages for his safe conduct. By the Castilian's advice the nephew of the king's Justice was accepted as a sufficient¹ hostage. Intrigues were rife however, and when Da Gama made his first attempt to land he found that the Zamorin had gone to a place at some distance, and the authorities were prepared to take Da Gama thither by force if he landed. Again warned by the Castilian, Da Gama sent messengers in front to ascertain if the king was really there to receive him, and on finding that he was not, Da Gama, without landing, re-embarked.

Finding that he was not to be outwitted, the authorities eventually arranged for an interview. Sending a factor in front of him with the presents¹ for the king, Da Gama ascertained that this time he was there and ready to receive him, and he proceeded to the interview accompanied by twelve men of good appearance and well dressed. He himself was "in a long cloak coming down to his feet of tawny-coloured satin, lined with smooth brocade, and underneath a short tunic of blue satin, and white buskins, and on his head a cap with lappets of blue velvet, with a white feather fastened under a splendid medal, and a valuable enamel collar on his shoulders, and a rich sash with a handsome dagger." The appearance of the

¹ Piece of very fine scarlet cloth, piece crimson velvet, piece yellow satin, chair covered with brocade of much nap studded with silver gilt nails, cushion of crimson satin with tassels of gold thread, cushion of red satin for the feet, a hand-basin chased and gilt with ewer, of the same kind "a very handsome thing," "a large very splendid gilt mirror," fifty scarlet caps with buttons and tassels of crimson twisted silk and gold thread on the top of the caps, fifty sheaths of Flanders knives with ivory handles and gilt sheaths. The presents were "all wrapped in napkins, and all in very good order."

king at this interview is thus described.—“The king was sitting in his chair which the factor” (who had preceded Da Gama with the presents) “had got him to sit upon: he was a very dark man, half-naked, and clothed with white cloths from the middle to the knees; one of these cloths ended in a long point on which were threaded several gold rings with large rubies which made a great show. He had on his left arm a bracelet above the elbow, which seemed like three rings together, the middle one larger than the others, all studded with rich jewels, particularly the middle one, which bore large stones which could not fail to be of very great value. From this middle ring hung a pendant stone which glittered: it was a diamond of the thickness of a thumb; it seemed a priceless thing. Round his neck was a string of pearls about the size of hazel nuts, the string took two turns and reached to his middle; above it he wore a thin round gold chain which bore a jewel of the form of a heart surrounded with large pearls, and all full of rubies; in the middle was a green stone of the size of a large bean, which, from its showiness, was of great price, which was called an emerald; and according to the information which the Castilian afterwards gave the Captain Major of this jewel, and of that which was in the bracelet on his arm, and of another pearl which the king wore suspended in his hair, they were all three belonging to the ancient treasury of the Kings of Calicut. The king had long dark hair all gathered up and tied on the top of his head with a knot made in it; and round the knot he had a string of pearls like those round his neck, and at the end of the string a pendant pearl pear-shaped and larger than the rest, which seemed a thing of great value. His ears were pierced with large holes with many gold ear-rings of round beads. Close to the king stood a boy, his page, with a silk cloth round him: he held a red shield with a border of gold and jewels, and a boss in the centre, of a span’s breadth, of the same materials, and the rings inside for the arms were of gold; also a short drawn sword of an ell’s length, round at the point, with a hilt of gold and jewellery with pendant pearls. On the other side stood another page, who held a gold cup with a wide rim into which the king spat; and at the side of his chair was his chief Brahman, who gave him from time to time a green leaf closely folded with other things inside it which the king ate and spat into the cup.”

Da Gama on reaching the king’s presence made profound salutations, “and the king, bowing his head and his body a little, extended his right hand and arm, and with the points of his fingers touched the right hand of the Captain Major and bade him sit upon the dais upon which he was.” But Da Gama declined the honor, and remained standing during the interview,¹ in which he pressed for freedom to

¹ The Zamorin’s return present to Da Gama consisted of twenty pieces of white stuff very fine with gold embroidery “which they call Beyramies,” twenty other pieces called “Sinabafes,” ten pieces coloured silk, four large loaves of Benzoin as much as a man could carry, and in a porcelain jar fifty bags of musk, six basin, of porcelain of the size of large soup basins, six porcelain jars each holding thirt pints of water. These things were for Da Gama himself. If he had parted amicably with the king he was to have received a special present for the King of Portugal,

trade in the produce of the kingdom, explaining what he could give in return.

The interview would probably have had the desired result, but the Moors had meanwhile been busy bribing the Chief Officer of the Palace Guard, an official of great power, for "if any one entered where the king dwelt without his leave, immediately he would order his head to be cut off at the door of the palace without asking the king's pleasure." To him then the Moors resorted in their alarm, and fresh dangers immediately beset Da Gama.

The Portuguese had been allowed to erect a factory on shore for trading purposes, and Da Gama was at this factory after his interview with the king, when the Chief Officer of the Palace Guard arrived there with a palanquin to conduct Da Gama, as he said, to a second interview. Encouraged by the seemingly satisfactory result of the first interview, Da Gama appears to have been off his guard for the time, and accompanied by eight of his men carrying sticks—their arms having prudently been left behind—he was borne off in the palanquin.

They journeyed leisurely till nightfall and were lodged all together in a house in the middle of other houses, having for food boiled rice and boiled fish and a jar of water. Next morning the doors of their house were opened very late, and only those who wished to go out for offices of nature were permitted to do so.

Thus they remained a day and another night.

On the next day they were taken "among thickets until about midday, stifled with the great heat of the sun," and then they reached the banks of a river, where they were put into two Indian boats and so went on. The boat with Da Gama went ahead and reached some houses, where rice was cooked and offered to them. The other boat with five men in it remained behind, and at night they were landed and put into another house.

"When a great part of the night had passed" a message was brought to Da Gama to say the Chief of the Palace Guard wanted to speak to him, and one man who acted as interpreter, by name Joan Nuz (Nunez), was alone permitted to accompany him. He was taken by himself through a path in the bushes by a Nayar to a house where he was shut in by himself. The Moors tried hard to persuade the Chief Officer to kill him at this point, but he did not, it is said, dare to allow it, because the king would have utterly extirpated him and his.

In the morning Da Gama was taken before the Chief Officer, who received him very ungraciously and questioned him about the object of his voyage. Da Gama almost laughingly put him off and said he ought to take him to the king and he would tell him the truth. The Chief Officer was very angry at receiving this answer and Da Gama did not reply to his further questions.

The next device resorted to was to get Da Gama to promise to land all his merchandise from the ships, and to then excite the king's cupidity by telling him it was no sin to take the goods as the Portuguese were only robbers and pirates who ought to be executed.

Acting on this, Da Gama was told on the following day that the king had ordered all the goods to be landed, and he thereupon consented to do so; but seeing in this a means of communicating with the ships and letting his brother know of the predicament in which he was placed, Da Gama added that it was necessary to send some one with a message to the ships, and this was agreed to.

The place where Da Gama and his men then were was only a league from the factory, so one Joan De Setubal was sent in a boat to the ships to tell all that had happened.

One boat-load of goods was accordingly sent ashore and the goods were taken to the factory. Da Gama thereupon promised to send all the rest if he were allowed to go on board, but to this the Chief Officer would not consent.

Then Da Gama sent a message to his brother to say that even if all the goods were landed he did not think they would let him go; so he directed him to send the hostages ashore with much honour and many gifts, and to make sail for Europe.

Paulo da Gama refused to obey this order, and the goods not having been landed, the Chief Officer went before the king, charged Da Gama with breaking faith, and suggested that the Moors should be permitted to take the ships and appropriate the goods for the king's use. The king agreed to this, but the jealousy of the king's Brahman and of his Treasurer had been aroused at the Chief Officer's having it all his own way, and first the one and then the other interfered and pointed out that the Portuguese had so far done no harm, and great discussions thereupon arose.

At this juncture Paulo da Gama released the hostages on board honourably and with rich presents, and made pretence to sail away. The hostages demanded to be put to death by the king if Da Gama were to be slain, and their demands were backed up by both the Treasurer and the king's Justice out of envy at the rich presents offered by the Moors to the Chief Officer of the Palace Guard.

The king then seeing the ships, as he thought, departing without doing harm, repented and ordered the goods in the factory to be paid for. He also sent for Da Gama and begged his pardon, and gave him a present and dismissed him, "asking his pardon frequently."

As Da Gama was thus going away, he met the factor coming to tell the king that the factory had been robbed. The king's Treasurer accompanied Da Gama to his boats, and when Da Gama vowed to him he would have his revenge, he said "he regretted very much the manner in which he had been treated, but that the king was not in fault."

On hearing from the Castilian, who returned on shore after seeing Da Gama on board, the true account of what had happened, the king sent off a boat with one of his Brahmans to ask Da Gama to return in order to see the justice the king would execute on the persons through whose fault offence had been given to the Portuguese, and to offer also to complete the lading of the ships, but Da Gama, thankful to be safe on board once more, declined the invitation and offer.

The expedition appears to have remained for about seventy days at Pantalayini Kollam, and to have left the place about the 4th November 1498.

Running up the coast they were met by boats sent out by the King of Cannanore (the Kolattiri Raja) to intercept them, and Da Gama decided to visit the place, but declined to land.

To show his good-will, the Kolattiri sent them all they required and more for the loading of their ships, and Da Gama was equally liberal in the goods sent in exchange: branch coral, vermilion, quicksilver, and brass and copper basins. To the Kolattiri himself he sent a present of green cloth, brown satin, velvet crimson damask, a large silver basin, thirty scarlet cloth caps, two knives in sheaths, and five ells of darker scarlet cloth.

Thereupon the Kolattiri would not rest till he had seen the commanders with his own eyes and for this purpose, as Da Gama would not land, he had constructed for himself a narrow wooden bridge made out into the sea to the distance of a cross-bow shot, and at the extremity of it he had a small planked chamber prepared. Thither the Kolattiri came to be nearer to the ships, and there the brothers Da Gama visited him giving and receiving valuable presents, and talking of the vile treatment received by Da Gama at Calicut. The Kolattiri likewise sent a present to the King of Portugal and gave Da Gama a golden palm-leaf on which all was written.

The expedition left Cannanore on 20th November 1498, proceeded to Angediva Island, which they left on 10th December. They reached Melinde on 8th January 1499, sailed again on 20th January, touched at Terceira Island for the burial of Paulo da Gama in the end of August, and finally, on 18th September 1499, the two ships again reached Belem.

Of the momentous results to Asia and Europe of this most memorable voyage this is not the place to write, as it forms part of the general history of India. Suffice it to say that the Moors of Calicut had good cause to be jealous of the Portuguese interlopers who bade fair soon to make their Red Sea and Persian Gulf trade unprofitable, and who in a very short time showed that they meant to suppress the Moorish trade on the Indian coasts altogether.

The profits realised on the cargoes taken home in Da Gama's ships were enormous, and accordingly in the following year (1500 A.D.) a fresh expedition was fitted out and entrusted by the King

of Portugal to the command of Pedro Alvarez Cabral. It was this expedition which laid the foundations of the Portuguese settlement at Cochin, and the following account thereof is extracted from Day's "Land of the Perumauls; or Cochin, its Past and its Present" (Madras, 1863), p. 79:—

"In the following year, Pedro Alvarez Cabral was despatched from Portugal with ten ships and two caravels, carrying one thousand five hundred men besides twenty convicts, to establish a factory by fair means if possible, but otherwise to carry fire and sword into the country. Some of those who had sailed with Da Gama accompanied him, and Bartholomew Diaz commanded one of the vessels, and five friars of the Order of St. Francis accompanied the fleet.

"Cabral received secret orders that if he succeeded in negotiating with the Zamorin, he was to endeavour to induce him to banish the Moors from his dominions. On 5th March 1500 the sailors embarked, Cabral was presented with a royal banner, which had been blessed by the Bishop of Viseu, and a cap which had received the Pope's benediction; thus armed, on the 9th the fleet commenced their voyage. On 24th May they encountered a sudden tempest near the Cape of Good Hope, and four vessels foundered with all hands on board; but on 13th September the remainder of the fleet arrived off Calicut. Cabral then despatched a deputation to the Zamorin of one European and four natives, the latter being some of those carried away by Da Gama, but as they were fishermen (Mukkuvar) and consequently low-caste men, the Zamorin could not receive them.

"Cabral then demanded that hostages should be sent on board to obviate any treachery in case he wished to land, and named the Cutwall and a chief Nayar as the most suitable persons; they, however, declined the honor, but on other hostages being furnished, Cabral landed with thirty officers and men.

"An interview then took place, at which rich presents were exchanged, and a treaty of friendship, 'as long as the sun and moon should endure', was entered upon.

"About this time a vessel from Cochin of six hundred tons burden passing the port, the Zamorin requested Cabral to capture it, which he succeeded in doing, but subsequently restored it to the Raja of Cochin. A factory was soon established at Calicut, in which seventy Europeans were located. Cabral, however, found that he still progressed very slowly, having only succeeded in loading two vessels with pepper in two months. The Moors appear to have effectually prevented the Portuguese from obtaining any large supply of this valuable condiment.

"Cabral at length became very impatient at the delay, and informed the Zamorin that he must immediately receive lading for his vessels as he was anxious to return to Europe, complaining

¹ The Chief Officer of the Palace Guard, who had ill-treated Da Gama. It was perhaps as well for him that he did not go on board.

that the Moors had been served with all the spices, thus precluding his procuring any. The Zamorin hesitated and appeared embarrassed how to act, and Cabral, with a view to hasten his decision, on 17th December attacked and seized a Moorish vessel, which was loading in the harbour, on which the Moors on shore became greatly excited and besieged the factory, slaughtering fifty of the Portuguese in sight of their countrymen, who, however, could render no assistance: the remaining twenty contrived to escape by swimming off to the ship's boats, which were lying as close to the shore as was safe.

"Cabral demanded satisfaction for this outrage, but not receiving any, he bombarded the town, killing six hundred of the inhabitants: and then seized ten of the Zamorin's vessels, to pay for the merchandise left on shore, which was valued at four thousand ducats: some of these ships contained merchandise, and on board one of them were three elephants, which were killed and salted for the voyage. Having thus revenged himself, Cabral sailed for Cochin, protesting that in Calicut the people could not be trusted, and that truth and honor were alike unknown. It appears, on the other hand, that Cabral was hasty and perfectly regardless of the sacrifice of human life, being quite ready to slaughter Moors and Nayars indiscriminately, with or without provocation, and with no expectation of doing any good.

"On 20th December¹ 1500 the fleet arrived at Cochin, and a Syrian Christian, Michael Jogue, who was a passenger in one of the vessels (for the purpose of visiting Rome and afterwards proceeding to the Holy Land) was despatched on shore accompanied by an European to visit the Raja, Tirumumpara, who received them in a very friendly manner and sent a message to Cabral that he might either purchase spices for money, or give merchandise in exchange for them, as was most convenient to him.

"Cabral was in every respect much pleased with the Raja of Cochin, who, although much less wealthy than the Zamorin, and consequently not living in so much state,² was greatly superior to him in every other respect, being honest in his dealings and intelligent and truthful in his conversation.

"Cochin at this time was described as a long low sandy island covered with coconut trees and divided by a deep river, a quarter of a mile broad, from the neighbouring island of Baypin, or Vypeen. Passing up this river for half a mile, a wide expanse of backwater appeared, which extended for about a hundred miles north and south.

"The town of Cochin was small and situated close to the river, and in it was the Raja's palace (where Muttancherry now stands), by no means an imposing edifice, and badly furnished. A few Moors resided there, and possessed better houses than those of the native population, which were merely composed of mats, with mud walls and roofs thatched with leaves. At this period no buildings

¹ Or 24th by other accounts.

² It appears he was at this time tributary to the Zamorin.

were allowed to be constructed of stone or brick and tiled, excepting temples and palaces; but Moorish merchants were permitted to surround their dwellings with stone walls for the security of their merchandise.

The Raja suggested that to avoid any misunderstanding and to create mutual confidence, it would be best for him to send Nayar hostages on board the fleet. This was accordingly done, the Nayars being exchanged for others every morning and evening, as they could not eat on board without violating some religious rules. An alliance of friendship was signed, and the Portuguese promised Tirumumpara at some future date to instal him as Zamorin and to add Calicut to his dominions. A factory was then given the Portuguese, in which seven factors were placed to sell their merchandise. The Raja allowed them a guard and permitted them to sleep within the walls of his palace. One night this factory caught fire, which of course was attributed to the vindictiveness of the Moors, but no injury appears to have resulted.

“Whilst Cabral was at Cochin he received deputations from both the Rajas of Cannanore¹ and Quilon, inviting him to visit them and promising to supply him with pepper and spices at a cheaper rate than he could obtain them at Cochin, but their offers were politely declined.² Two natives also paid Cabral a visit and requested a passage to Europe, stating that they were members of a large Christian community residing at Cranganore (Kodungallur), about twenty miles north of Cochin, in which some Jews of little note were also located.

“Just as Cabral was preparing to leave Cochin on 10th January 1501, a fleet belonging to the Zamorin, carrying one thousand five hundred men, was deseried off the harbour. The Raja immediately sent messengers to inform the Portuguese of the appearance of the enemy and to offer them any assistance they might require. But the Calicut people held off and had evidently no wish to come to an engagement. On the following day finding that they did not attack, Cabral chased them, but was overtaken by a violent storm which carried him out to sea. He did not subsequently return to Cochin, but put into Cannanore, where he received on board an ambassador from the Raja of that country to the King of Portugal. From thence he proceeded to Europe, carrying with him the hostages, whom he had forgotten to land.

“Thus was Cochin first visited by European vessels, filled with Portuguese, who after their recent capture of the Raja's vessels, apprehended retaliation, but instead met with nothing but kindness and hospitality, as well as every assistance³ in obtaining lading for their ships.

¹ The Kolattiri.

² Notwithstanding this it appears that (as stated further down) Cabral visited Cannanore before sailing for Europe, as Da Gama had done before him.

³ The fact no doubt was that the Cochin Raja hoped, with the assistance of the foreigners, to regain some of the power and independence of which the Zamorin, with Muhammadan assistance, had robbed him.

“Cabral in return, unfortunately, but as he asserted accidentally, carried off the Nayar hostages to Europe, leaving his factor and people on shore without any attempt either to provide for their safety or to reconvey them to their native land. But they were taken every care of by the Cochin Raja and subsequently honorably returned to their friends.

“As the number of vessels lost in these first expeditions counterbalanced the profits, the King of Portugal proposed that merchants should trade to India in their own vessels on the following terms, namely, that twenty-five per cent. of the profits should go to the king and the trade in spices remain wholly in the hands of government officials, who were to decide upon all mercantile transactions even to the necessary expenditure for factors. It is hardly requisite to observe that no persons came forward to avail themselves of this extremely liberal proposition.

“The next Portuguese navigator, or rather buccancer, who arrived in Cochin was John de Nueva, who was despatched from Portugal in March 1501 in command of four vessels. The king supposing all difficulties with Calicut amicably settled by Cabral, ordered de Nueva to leave two of these ships at Sofala and to proceed with the remaining two to Calicut: in case he met with Cabral he received instructions to obey him as general. At St. Blaze he found an old shoe hanging from the branch of a tree, which contained a letter from Pedro de Tazde, giving an account of what had lately occurred at Calicut, and also of the friendly dispositions of the Rajas of Cannanore and Cochin. It was thought best on receiving this information to take all four vessels on to India as the whole force did not exceed eighty men. Nueva anchored at Anchediva in November and from thence proceeded to Cannanore, where he was amicably received by the Raja, who offered him lading for his vessels. This Nueva declined until he had consulted the factor at Cochin, whilst *en route* to which place he attacked and captured a Moorish vessel opposite Calicut. On his arrival at Cochin, the factor came on board and informed him that although the Raja was naturally extremely indignant with Cabral for having carried away his hostages and departed without bidding him adieu, he had nevertheless treated him and the other Portuguese who were left in his territory in a friendly manner.

“Being apprehensive lest their enemies the Moors might attempt to massacre them, the Raja had even lodged them in his own palace and had provided them with a guard of Nayars to protect them when they went into the town. He also stated that the Moors had persuaded the native merchants to refuse to exchange their pepper for Portuguese merchandize, and that therefore ready-money would be required for all purchases. Nueva being unprovided with this, returned at once to Cannanore, but found that owing to the machinations of the Moors, it was as necessary there as at Cochin. He now quite despaired of procuring lading for his vessels, but the Raja of Cochin, when informed of his dilemma, at once

became his security for a thousand hundred-weights of popper, four hundred and fifty of cinnamon, fifty of ginger, and some bales of cloth. Whilst lying off this place on 15th December, about one hundred and eighty vessels filled with Moors arrived from Calicut with the intention of attacking the Portuguese fleet. The Raja immediately offered Nueva any assistance in his power; this was however civilly declined, and all the ordnance at the command of the Portuguese vessels was speedily brought to bear on the enemy. By this means a number of their vessels were sunk and the remaining Moors were too much discouraged to continue the action. Owing to the generosity of the Raja, the Portuguese ships were soon loaded, and Nueva departed, leaving his European merchandise for disposal in Cannanore under the charge of a factor and two clerks. Before sailing he received an embassy from the Zamorin, offering excuses for his previous conduct and promising to give hostages if he would proceed to Calicut and there load his vessels. To this message Nueva vouchsafed no reply.

"The King of Portugal, on learning the treatment which Cabral had received from the Zamorin, was extremely indignant and determined to exact further retribution. Vasco da Gama was therefore despatched from Lisbon on 3rd March 1502, in command of an avenging squadron of fifteen vessels, being followed a short time subsequently by his cousin Stephen da Gama with five smaller ships."

The King of Portugal originally intended that Pedro Alvarez Cabral should again command in this expedition, but Da Gama, who was engaged in superintending arrangements connected with these expeditions ashore, succeeded with difficulty in persuading the king to allow him to go on this occasion to take vengeance on the Zamorin. Among the crews went eight hundred men at arms, "honorable men and many gentlemen of birth." Da Gama's flagship was the San Jeronymo, with Vincent Sodre, "a relation of his," as captain.

The fleet sailed on 25th March 1502, made the coast of Brazil, and then crossed to and weathered the Cape of Good Hope. One ship was lost in a storm off the Sofala banks, and after touching at Melinde, which they left on the 18th of August, they made the coast of India at Dabul.

Running south along the coast, Da Gama claimed for the King of Portugal the suzerainty of the sea, and this was first formally notified to the King of Batticola, who is described as "a tenant of the King of Bisnaga" (Vijayanagar). Da Gama promulgated the conditions on which alone he would allow native trading vessels to ply, namely,

They were not to trade in popper.

Nor bring Turks.

Nor go to the port of Calicut.

The fleet proceeding southwards came to an anchor in the " Bay of Marabia " ¹ to repair a mast and while anchored there they fell in with " a large ship of Calicut " with " the chief merchant and the richest in Calicut " on board. This individual was the brother of " Coja Casem, the factor of the sea to the King of Calicut." There were besides more than seven hundred Moors on board. The Portuguese first looted the ship, and then, notwithstanding promises of the largest ransoms, Da Gama ordered the ship to be set on fire. The crew had been deprived of most of their arms, but with what remained they began a desperate fight. They succeeded in boarding a Portuguese ship which tackled them, and would have succeeded in taking it had not assistance arrived. Da Gama then gave orders to sink the ship with the falconets and swivel guns. This was done, and the crew taking to the water were killed with lances. But even then they continued to resist, and one man, while swimming, hurled a lance into one of the boats and killed a Portuguese.

Da Gama was complimented on this exploit by the Kolattiri, who had hospitably treated the Portuguese factors left at Cannanore by Cabral. Da Gama proceeding thither landed, and with his men attended mass in the church.

While at Cannanore the Kolattiri visited Da Gama attended by four thousand Nayar swordsmen. He was accompanied by his nephew, " a youth and a courtly person," who carried sword and target, " which it is their custom to carry till death."

Da Gama arranged a treaty of commerce with the Kolattiri, the goods to be supplied at fixed prices.

He next divided his fleet; one portion of it was to war on all ships except those of Cannanore, Cochin and Quilon, which were to be protected by passes obtained from the Portuguese factors at Cannanore and Cochin respectively.

The Kolattiri allotted to the Cannanore factor ten Nayars as a guard and to carry his messages.

" These Nayars are gentlemen by lineage, and by their law they are bound ² to die for whoever gives them pay, they and all their lineage." And even if they are of the same lineage and serving different masters, they are bound all the same to kill each other if need be, " and when the struggle is finished, they will speak and communicate with one another as if they had never fought."

Proceeding southwards towards Calicut, Da Gama first received a message from the Zamorin by a Brahman who came dressed in one of the murdered friar's habits. The message was to say that the Zamorin had arrested the twelve Moors who had been guilty of the outrage on the factory, and with them he would send a large sum to pay for the factory goods. Da Gama sent back word to say that he did not want money, and referred to his treatment of the rich Moor in Mount Deli bay. But he kept the Brahman.

¹ The bay lying opposite Madayi, *conf.* p. 229 and p. 69. The bay alluded to is that of Ettikkulam.

² *Conf.* p. 138.

Da Gama's next acts were those of a fiend in human form over which it is well to draw a veil. And his relative De Sodre at Cannanore was also guilty of great cruelty to a wealthy Moor (Coja Muhammad Marakkar of Cairo) who had insulted the Kolattiri. For the service rendered by De Sodre on this occasion the Kolattiri began, it is said, the custom of giving to the Portuguese commandants at Cannanore a gold *pardao* daily for their table supplies.

Da Gama went on to Cochin, which he reached on 7th November. He there keel hauled and caulked his ships and loaded them with pepper, at the same time satisfactorily settling a treaty of commerce with the King of Cochin. He also arranged a similar treaty with the Queen of Quilon.

The Zamorin and the Calicut Moors had meanwhile been making great preparations to fight the Portuguese at sea.

Da Gama left Cochin with his fleet in two divisions to load up with ginger at Cannanore. Vincent Sodre with the fighting caravels ran along close inshore while the laden ships kept further out to sea. Proceeding thus they fell in with the Calicut fleet, the "first squadron" of which consisted of about twenty large ships and about fifty other "fustas" and "sambuks." The Portuguese with their caravels got to windward of the enemy, a light land wind blowing. The Moors were much elated at seeing the smallness of the Portuguese fleet. But the Portuguese artillery was much more powerful than that of the Moors; the Moorish shot came "like bowls" (their powder was weak). The Portuguese succeeded in dismantling the Moorish flagship, the others collided, got into a tangle, and drifted helplessly out to sea.

Then the ships of burden came up and tackled the second squadron of the enemy, consisting of a hundred sail, chiefly "sambuks." Standing through among them, firing broadsides, the Portuguese ships did much damage; while in return, although the Portuguese ships were covered with arrows, no harm was done as the men lay concealed. Many of the Moorish vessels were sunk, and some of them, after being deserted by their crews, were towed up as far as Calicut, there tied together, and then set on fire and allowed to drift ashore in front of Calicut.

Da Gama buried much of his artillery at Cannanore, and obtained permission from the Kolattiri to build a wall and palisading, the key of the door of which was to remain at night in the safe keeping of the Kolattiri himself.

After regulating the Cannanore factory affairs Da Gama left two hundred men there and sailed for Europe on the 28th December 1502.

Da Gama's departure was the signal for the outbreak of hostilities between the Raja of Cochin and the Zamorin, to whom the former was tributary. The latter demanded that the Portuguese factors left at Cochin should be given up to him, and the demand was refused.

A force of fifty thousand Nayars, joined by many Cochin malcontents, marched to Repelim (Eddapalli in Cochin State) on the 31st March 1503. On the 2nd of April this army attempted to force a passage by a ford near Cranganoro, defended by Narayan, the heir apparent of the Cochin State, with five thousand five hundred Nayars. The attack was repulsed, but aided with Moorish money, the Zamorin effected by treachery what he had failed to obtain by force, and Narayan was slain with two more of the Cochin princes.

The Cochin Raja's people, on this happening, became clamorous for the lives of the foreigners whose protection had led to the calamity, but the Raja remained firmly their friend.

Two Italians however deserted, and learning from them the state of panic prevailing at Cochin, the Zamorin's forces marched thither and burnt it to the ground. The Cochin Raja thereupon retreated to the Island of Vypeen opposite Cochin, and the Portuguese with their property went with him.

As the south-west monsoon had begun, the Zamorin's force leaving a strong detachment at Cochin, retreated to Cranganoro and postponed further operations until after the Onam festival in August.

Great was their consternation and great was the joy of the beleaguered Portuguese and Raja therefore when, on Saturday, 2nd September 1503, there appeared before Cochin Don Francisco do Albuquerque with six sail. He had touched at the Cannanore factory and learning from the Kolattiri the critical position of affairs, had pushed on to Cochin just in time to relieve the small garrison.

The Zamorin's forces were disheartened and easily driven back.

And Albuquerque, taking advantage of the high favour he possessed with the Raja, sought and obtained permission to build a stockade at Cochin for the future protection of the Portuguese traders. It was accordingly commenced on 26th September 1503, and it took the shape of a square with flanking bastions at the corners mounted with ordnance. The walls were made of double rows of coconut tree stems securely fastened together and with earth rammed firmly between; it was further protected by a wet ditch. On 30th September Albuquerque's cousin Alonso arrived with three more ships, and as the crews of these vessels were also at once put on to the work it was soon finished. On the morning of 1st October the fort was with great pomp christened Emmanuel, after the reigning King of Portugal and one Gaston, a Franciscan monk, preached a sermon on the occasion, blessing the day as one on which a door for the evangelization of the Hindus had been opened, and enjoining daily prayers for the welfare of Perimpatap, the Raja of Cochin. Thus was founded the first European fort in India, for the stockade already erected at Cannanore appears to have been little more than a fence to keep out incendiaries.

The Zamorin and the Moors next resorted to other tactics. The Portuguese came for pepper and spices: if unable to obtain them they might perhaps leave the coast. The utmost exertions were therefore made to prevent their getting a lading for their ships. Albuquerque sent Pacheco into the interior to procure pepper, but what he got after great exertions and fighting sufficed to load only one ship. He therefore proceeded to Quilon, where he was amicably received, and easily procured, with the aid of the local Christian merchants, spices for his ships. Obtaining permission to open a factory, he left a small establishment there. Travancore was at this time ruled by Govardhana Martanda. His territory extended from Quilon to Cape Comorin, and embraced, besides, the southern portion of the Pandyan kingdom including the port of Kayal. The Raja exacted tribute from Ceylon, kept a corps of three hundred female archers, and it is said he had not hesitated to challenge to battle the Raja of Vijayanagar.

Albuquerque sailed from Quilon on 12th January 1504 for Cochin, whence on 31st January he finally sailed for Europe, touching at Cannanore for ginger. Before doing so, however, he concluded a short-lived treaty with the Zamorin, the conditions of which were: (1) nine hundred candies of pepper as compensation, (2) Moors to give up trade with Arabia and Egypt, (3) permanent reconciliation between the Zamorin and Cochin, and (4) the delivery up of the two Italian deserters. These terms, except the last, were agreed to by the Zamorin to the rage and indignation of the Moors, some of whom left Calicut. But the treaty was of short duration, because of the capture of a boat by the Portuguese laden with pepper intended for Cranganore. Six persons were slain and several wounded in effecting this capture.

Albuquerque, before sailing, was warned of impending dangers, and the defence of the Cochin fort was accordingly entrusted to Pacheco, a most valiant soldier. He had as garrison one hundred and fifty men including invalids, and two ships which had not been loaded with pepper were also placed at his disposal.

On 16th March 1504 the Zamorin's force, consisting of five big guns which had been constructed for him by the two Italian deserters, the Vettatta and Kottayam and Parappanad Rajas and other chiefs, with fifty-seven thousand Nayers, together with one hundred and sixty boats linked together and armed with guns cast by the Italians attacked Pacheco's small force at the Eddapalli ferry. But the Portuguese artillery again proved completely effective, and the enemy was driven back with heavy loss notwithstanding that the Cochin Nayers (five hundred men) had fled at the first alarm.

On Sunday, the 25th March, another attempt to force the passage was made, and this time again the Zamorin was defeated by Pacheco's daring little band.

On the Tuesday following a third attempt was made, but with no better success.

The Zamorin next divided his forces and sent one part of it to force another and shallower ferry called Valanjaca. Pacheco's resources were now put to the greatest test, for at ebb tide he had to proceed to Valanjaca and defend it, and when the flood tide made that passage impracticable for men without boats he returned to Edapalli. As a precautionary measure he had seized all the boats.

The rains set in, cholera broke out among the Zamorin's men, and this brought a short respite to the wearied Pacheco and his band of heroes.

The Brahmans with the Zamorin finally appointed Thursday, the 7th May, for the last attack ; and it was with the utmost difficulty repulsed, the Cochin Nayars having again proved faithless.

But a partial crossing was effected at another point, and a curious incident, possible only in Indian warfare, occurred, for a band of Cherumar, who were there busy working in the fields, plucked up courage, seized their spades and attacked the men who had crossed. These being, more afraid of being polluted by the too near approach of the low-caste men than by death at the hands of Pacheco's men, fled precipitately.

Pacheco expressed strong admiration of the Cherumars' courage and wished to have them raised to the rank of Nayars. He was much astonished when told that this could not be done.

The Zamorin at last gave up the attempt in despair, and his power and influence waned perceptibly in consequence of his ill-success, while the influence of the Cochin Raja, on the other hand, increased considerably.

On 3rd July Pacheco having brought his three and a half months toil to a happy issue, returned to Cochin in triumph, and hearing there of a partial outbreak at Quilon, he set sail, to the amazement of everybody, in the teeth of the monsoon, landed at Quilon, and speedily restored the Portuguese prestige there.

On the 1st September 1504 Suarez de Menezes arrived at Cannanore, where he was received by the Kolattiri escorted by three elephants and five thousand Nayars. After an ineffectual attempt to rescue some of the prisoners taken at Calicut in Cabral's time, he cannonaded the place and sailed on 14th September for Cochin.

After being joined there by Pacheco on his return from Quilon in October, a successful night attack was made on Cranganore, which was held by the Padinyattedam chieftain under the Zamorin. The place was captured and was nearly all burnt. The Portuguese spared the Christian houses, shops and churches, but they looted those of the Jews and Moors.

The only other notable incident connected with Suarez's stay on the coast was his destruction of a large Moorish fleet at Pantalayini Kollam. It had assembled there to take back a large number of Moors to Arabia and Egypt, who were leaving the country disheartened at the trade losses caused to them by the Portuguese. It was a crushing blow, for it is said Suarez captured seventeen vessels

and slew two thousand men ; and the Zamorin too felt the weight of it, for he had hitherto relied on the Moors for assistance, and it was by their aid chiefly that he had obtained such pre-eminence on the coast.

On the return of Suarez and Pacheco, King Emmanuel, at a Council, resolved to bring about the complete overthrow of the Moorish trade by seizing (1) Aden, (2) Hormuz, and (3) Malacca, the two first being the ports through which their eastern trade reached Europe *via* Alexandria and Beyrout, and the last being that at which they exchanged goods with China.

The year 1505 was a memorable year in the Portuguese annals, for on 31st October there arrived at Cochin eight vessels, all that remained out of a fleet of twenty-two, carrying one thousand five hundred soldiers, with which Don Francisco de Almeyda, the first Portuguese *Viceroy of all the Indies*, had sailed from Europe.

His appointment dated from the 25th March of that year, but it was made conditional on his succeeding in erecting forts at four places : (1) Anjediva Island, (2) Cannanore, (3) Cochin, and (4) Quilon.

The building of the Anjediva fort was commenced directly Almeyda touched the coast on 13th September, and it is said that in digging the foundations the Portuguese came across stones bearing a cross, showing that the place had once been the abode of Christians.¹

On his way down the coast he, on 23rd October, commenced, with the Kolattiri's permission, the Cannanore fort,² which he called St. Angelo. And he left there Lorenzo de Brito with one hundred and fifty men and two ships to defend it.

Here he was visited by the minister of Narasimha Row of Vijayanagar, who then ruled the chief portion of Southern India. South Canara had been before this time annexed in order to provide horses (Arab and Persian Gulf) for his cavalry. Almeyda was flattered at this visit, and the minister proposed an alliance of marriage between his master's daughter and the King of Portugal's son.

On reaching Cochin Almeyda learnt that the factor and others, thirteen persons in all, had been burnt to death by the mob at Quilon. Thither accordingly he despatched his son Lorenzo with six vessels, with orders to ignore the massacre if lading for his ships were provided, but if not, then to take ample vengeance for the massacre. Lorenzo, finding twenty-seven Calicut vessels there, engaged and sank them all ; and after visiting the Maldivé Islands (in search of Arab vessels) he touched at Ceylon and concluded a treaty with the King of Colombo.

Almeyda himself was meanwhile busy with political affairs at Cochin, arranging a new succession to the crown. He installed with great pomp the third Raja, and endeavoured to alter the succession

¹ It does not follow that they were Christian crosses, for the cross was originally a heathen emblem.

² It was probably built on the site of the existing fort at this place.

to the throne, making it contingent on the approval of the King of Portugal. This not being approved by the elder princes, hostilities ensued. But the Portuguese hold on Cochin was increased by the strengthening and rebuilding of the fort there, a work to which Almeyda devoted all his energies.

The Zamorin had for a long time been waiting for succour from Egypt, and had meanwhile been completing with utmost secrecy preparations for a great naval attack on the Portuguese. The secret was well kept, but a travelling European, one Ludovic of Bologna, disguised as a Moslem Fakir, visited Calicut, fell in there with the two Italian deserters in the Zamorin's employ, fraternised with them, and soon ascertained that preparations on a big scale were afoot. He succeeded in escaping to the Cannanore fort, and was thence despatched to Cochin to lay his information before Almeyda.

Lorenzo Almeyda was accordingly ordered to concentrate his ships on Cannanore, and as it happened, they rendezvoused there on the 16th March 1506, just in time to intercept an armada of Turks and Moors whom the Zamorin had launched against Cannanore. This armada consisted of two hundred and ten large vessels gathered from Ponnani, Calicut, Kappatt, Pantalayini Kollam, and Dharmapattanam. Lorenzo Almeyda steered his ship straight between two of the enemy carrying red-coated Turkish soldiers. The Portuguese gunpowder and artillery fire again easily won the day, and the armada retreated towards Dharmapattanam. The wind falling adverse, however, they were again driven north towards Cannanore. They sent a message to Lorenzo to say they had not come to fight, and wished to pass to the northward. To this, however, Lorenzo would not listen. He again closed with them and near three thousand Moslems, it is said, fell in the battle and the rest were scattered in all directions. The Portuguese loss was very trifling.

This victory completely established the naval supremacy of the Portuguese, and no further attempt was made to dispute it.

At the end of the monsoon in 1506, the Portuguese viceroy wisely determined to give up the Anjediva fort and to concentrate his forces in the Cannanore and Cochin forts, which sufficiently protected the trade.

And it was well he did so ; for, in April 1507, the Portuguese at Cannanore had to sustain the brunt of a powerful attack from the Kolattiri, assisted both by the Zamorin and the Moors. The old Kolattiri, the original friend of Vasco da Gama, had died and the succession to the raj had been disputed. The matter had been left to the arbitration of a Brahman nominated by the Zamorin, so that the new Kolattiri was attached to the Zamorin's interests and was no friend of the Portuguese.

Moreover, a barbarous incident had justly incensed the people of Kolattunad. The Portuguese permitted no native vessel to ply on the coast without their passes, signed by the commandants either of Cochin or of Cannanore. Chenacheri Kurup, the minister of the old

Kolattiri had some years previously sent a memorial to the King of Portugal praying for an order to the Portuguese captains not to molest the Kolattiri's petty islands, the Laccadive group, and to permit ten native vessels to go annually to Hormuz or Gujarat for the purchase of horses, and a favourable reply had been received. But the Portuguese captains had obstructed the carrying out of the order, and, perhaps, they had some excuse for doing so, as several Calicut Moors under cover of this permission used to carry on trade. The Portuguese captains were not therefore very particular as to what vessels they took. And it so happened about this time that one of them, Gonzalo Vaz, meeting a vessel near Cannanore, overhauled her papers, and, declaring a pass which she carried from Brito, the Cannanore commandant, to be a forgery, seized the rich prize, and, to avoid discovery, plundered and sank her after sewing the crew up in a sail and throwing them overboard. The stitching had not been firm, and the corpses of the crew were washed up on the beach. One of the bodies was identified as the son-in-law of Mammali Marakkar, and the father, a very influential merchant, came to the Cannanore fort and indignantly upbraided Brito for the breach of the faith. Brito protested his innocence, but it was not believed. And the murdered man's family, therefore, went in a body to the Valarpattanam palace of the Kolattiri and demanded vengeance. The populace was greatly incensed, and the Kolattiri reluctantly consented to hostilities.

The Portuguese, seeing the threatening attitude of the people, withdrew within their fort, and from 27th April 1507, for a period of four months, the fort was closely invested.

Before the breaking of the monsoon, Brito communicated with Almeyda at Cochin and obtained some reinforcements and supplies, and Gonzalo Vaz was dismissed from the service. But, though informed of this act of justice, the Kolattiri was not satisfied.

He obtained twenty-one pieces of cannon from the Zamorin, all communication between the town and fort was cut off by a trench, and forty thousand Nayars were entertained to besiege the place, and the Zamorin subsequently sent twenty thousand more to assist.

Brito worked hard to complete his defences. At last one morning, the besiegers advanced against the fort in twelve columns of two thousand men each, tom-toms beating, rockets and blue-lights blazing, and doughty champions dancing in front of the array, performing wonderful athletic feats.

The Portuguese poured in a destructive fire, however, and drove the invaders back before they reached the walls.

The water of the garrison came from a well situated a bowshot from the walls, and each time the Portuguese wished to draw water they had to fight for it, until Fernandez, an engineer, hit upon the expedient of mining a passage as far as the well and so drawing off

¹ It is an interesting fact that the present Cannanore fort is still dependent for its water-supply on this well.

the supply underground. The Portuguese, after this had been accomplished, made another sally and filled up the well with earth to hide the device from the enemy.

The Moors constructed ramparts of bales of cotton, and against them the ordinary cannon used had but little effect ; but the Portuguese planted a large piece of ordnance on their ramparts, and one lucky shot from it, it is said, sent the cotton bales flying and killed no less than twenty-two men.

After this, no attempt was made to take the fort, and the besiegers hoped to starve out the garrison. The latter were reduced to the greatest straits, and lived on lizards, rats, cats, and other animals. On the 15th August, however, a miraculous event occurred, seemingly in answer to the prayers of the besieged to the Queen of Heaven,¹ whose feast day it chanced to be, for the sea sent forth shoals of crabs and prawns, and the garrison again lived in plenty.

To bring the siege to a termination before the Onam festival in August, a grand final assault, both by sea and land, was planned. The boats and catamarans were easily enough driven back by the besieged garrison, but the Nayers gallantly stormed the wall and effected an entrance. So steady, however, was the Portuguese fire that they withered away before it and finally retreated.

Nearly every one of the little garrison was, however, wounded in that day's fight ; and Brito, to conceal the exhaustion of his resources, kept up a bombardment of the town after the enemy had been repulsed, and destroyed a big mosque in which the Moors had congregated for the Friday service.

But succour was at hand ; for on 27th August, a fresh fleet of eleven ships under De Cunha arrived from Europe, and their commander, with three hundred of his men, had no difficulty in driving back the besiegers and relieving the place.

The Kolattiri then sued for peace, which was granted on terms advantageous to the Portuguese.

The markets of Cannanore and Cochin were thus open, and no difficulty was experienced in freighting the ships for Europe with spices.

Prior, however, to the despatch of the fleet, Almeyda, on the 24th November, made a descent on the Zamorin's shallow harbour of Ponnani, and destroyed the town and shipping. Numbers of Moors took oath to die as *sahids* on this occasion, and the defence of the town, the Moorish headquarters on the coast, was very stubborn. Eighteen Portuguese were killed in the assault on the place.

The fleet eventually sailed for Europe on 6th December.

Meanwhile extraordinary preparations were being made in Egypt to equip a fleet to drive away the Portuguese, whose interference with the overland trade had deprived the Egyptian ruler

¹ *Conf.* pp. 34-37. The sea had probably sickened, as it does periodically, and the prawns and crabs had probably been driven on shore in consequence.

of his chief source of revenue. Cedar trees felled on Mount Lebanon were rafted to Alexandria by sea, thence floated up the Nile, and finally transported on camel back to Suez, where twelve large ships were built under the skilled superintendence of Venetian shipwrights. This fleet, under the command of Admiral Mir Hussain, then sailed for the coast of Konkan, carrying on board one thousand five hundred Mamluks and the Zamorin's ambassador, Mayimama Marakkur, who had been sent to request assistance against the Portuguese.

This ambassador was among the first slain in the fight which ensued at Chaul with Lorenzo Almeyda's ships. But Lorenzo was himself slain together with the whole of the crew of his ship, which had grounded on some fishing stakes and there remained fast. The remaining Portuguese vessels then sailed for Cochin and conveyed the news of this disaster to the viceroy.

The latter vowed vengeance; and, with a fleet carrying one thousand three hundred Europeans and four hundred selected Cochin Nayars, sailed for and reached Cannanore on 25th November 1508.

Hearing a rumour that the Egyptian fleet was approaching, Almeyda sailed up to Mount Deli, and while anchored there a large fleet hove in sight, which turned out to be that of the great Albuquerque, who had been sent out to relieve Almeyda of the viceroyalty.

The combined fleets then returned to Cannanore and quarrels immediately ensued between the two viceroys. In the end Albuquerque was sent to Cochin, and Almeyda, as viceroy in command of the combined fleets, sailed from Cannanore on 12th December in search of the enemy.

On the 3rd February 1509 the viceroys fell in with the Egyptian fleet, and the eighty war-boats despatched to its assistance by the Zamorin in a harbour in Gujarat. A complete victory was gained by the Portuguese, who also secured much plunder and took many prisoners.

Returning in triumph to Cannanore, Almeyda made a most brutal use of his victory by hanging some, and by blowing from cannon others, of the Turkish prisoners taken by him. The limbs of the victims of his revengeful fury are said to have been showered over the Moorish town of Cannanore as a warning to Moslems not to provoke the Portuguese to vengeance.

On reaching headquarters at Cochin (8th March 1509), Almeyda still delayed handing over charge of his office to Albuquerque. The disputes between them continued until Albuquerque was despatched a prisoner to Cannanore and consigned to Brito's charge.

Thus matters continued until 16th October 1509, when fresh reinforcements arrived at Cannanore from Europe under the command of Don Fernando Coutinho. Brito, the Cannanore commandant, set sail secretly the very night the fleet anchored at

Cannanore to convey the news to Almeyda, for one of the first acts of Coutinho was to release the great Albuquerque from custody, and to confer on him the insignia of his rank as viceory. On their arrival at Cochin (29th October 1509), Almeyda quietly resigned charge of his office and made preparations to return to Europe. He was, however, never destined to reach Portugal again, for in a petty quarrel with Caffres at a place to the west of the Cape of Good Hope, the first of the Portuguese viceroys of India was mortally wounded, and the same fate likewise befell Brito, the famous defender of the Cannanore fort.

Coutinho had brought out instructions from Portugal that Calicut should be destroyed. Such had been, it is said, the counsel sent to Europe by the Kolattiri and by the Cochin Raja, both of whom envied and were afraid of the Zamorin, and benefited by his misfortunes.

Accordingly Albuquerque and Coutinho set out for and reached Calicut on 4th January 1510, timing their arrival there when the Zamorin was absent from the place.

Landing in two divisions, Albuquerque on the left took the fort by escalade and carried all before him.

Not to be outdone, the aged Coutinho, with the right division, sought and obtained a guide to conduct his party of eight hundred men straight to the Zamorin's palace. The day was hot, Coutinho himself had no helmet or other head covering. The country through which his division passed was thickly covered with orchards and the gardens were divided from each other (as they are now) by massive earthen embankments.¹ Proceeding thus, it is said, for a mile and a half, the palace was at last reached, and the Chief Officer of the Palace Guard and two other chieftains defending it were slain. The palace was sacked, the treasure and royal emblems accumulated for ages were seized, the precious stones were picked out of the idols, and excesses of all kinds were committed. Overcome by fatigue Coutinho lay down to rest on a couch in one of the most spacious halls, and it is said he slept for over two hours. Suddenly he was roused by the wild shouts of the returning foe, the Nayar guards (the *agambadi*) poured in from all directions before he could rally his men; the Portuguese knew not which way to turn in their ignorance of the locality, and the Nayars overwhelmed them with showers of arrows and javelins.

Albuquerque arrived on the scene too late to save his friend; Coutinho and eighty of his men were slain, and Albuquerque himself escaped with difficulty. The palace was on fire, and two of the guns were in the hands of the enemy. He made a great but ineffectual effort to retake them, and then retreated. The earthen embankments among the orchards obstructed his men, and at such places

¹ The palace alluded to is still pointed out as that of which the mounds forming the foundations now alone exist on both sides of the main road from the Mananchira Tank towards Beypore. It is there that the Zamorins are still crowned.

the Nayers pressed them hard and wounded many of the Portuguese. Albuquerque himself was first wounded by a bullet in his foot, and then by a stone which knocked him down insensible. Laying him on shields, he was carried without further mishap to the shore, and on reaching this the Portuguese made good their retreat to the ships under cover of the guns of the fleet commanded by Captain Rebello. They left, however, one hundred of their number behind.

After returning to Cochin and giving the wounded some time to recover, Albuquerque next set out on an expedition against Hormuz, the headquarters of the Moslem trade in the Persian Gulf. Proceeding up the coast he touched at Honore, and was there prevailed on by the chieftain Timmaya to attack Goa before proceeding to Hormuz.

The chieftain of Goa, Subbayi, had lately died. He had succeeded in collecting around him a large following of divers nations, and piracy on a large scale was there carried on.

Adil Khan, his successor, was absent at the time, and Goa fell an easy prey to Albuquerque aided by the Honore chief. On 25th February 1510 Albuquerque entered the place in triumph, and found great booty, including a large number of horses intended for sale to the Vijayanagar Raja.

The advantage of having a deep harbour like Goa available for shelter for even his largest ships in the south-west monsoon season struck Albuquerque very forcibly, and he determined at once to make it the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India. And to this end he set about strengthening its defences.

He accordingly stayed there till the monsoon set in, and meanwhile despatched an embassy to Vijayanagar, proposing an offensive and defensive alliance against the Moslems. But Adil Khan then returning, laid siege to the place, and so effectually intercepted supplies that Albuquerque was compelled at last to evacuate the place and to retreat to Ra-bunder, where he remained in great stress for provisions all through the monsoon. Many desertions from the Portuguese ranks took place at this time. At last, taking advantage of a break in the weather, he made good his retreat to Anjediva (August 1510), and on 15th September arrived at Cannanore

There in a large tent erected in front of the fort a grand durbar was held, attended by the Kolattiri, his minister Chenacheri Kurup, and Mammali Marakkar, the chief Moor of Cannanore.

At this council an urgent message was received from Nuno, left in command at Cochin, that the viceroy would at once return thither, because the reigning Raja had, under Brahman advice, decided to relinquish the throne according to custom on the death of the senior Raja, which had just taken place. The ruling Cochin Rajah had been previously in the habit of retiring to a pagoda to lead the lives of hermits directly their seniors in the family died. This custom was now to be broken through in deference to the wishes of the

Portuguese, to whose interest it was that the next senior in the family, an ally of the Zamorin's, should not succeed to the raj. It was, however, with much reluctance and with a heavy heart that the reigning Raja was prevailed upon to do so, and it was only when a number of his chieftains presented themselves, tendered fealty, and advised that the Brahmans should not be listened to in this matter, that he consented to break through the customs of his ancestors. Albuquerque tried to reassure him and said, "Brahmans' have ceased to rule this kingdom. The mighty arm of the foreigner must be respected in future. Seek asylum therefore in the royal favor of the King of Portugal, and you will never be forsaken."

In the end of September Albuquerque decided on a second expedition against Goa, and a fresh fleet from Europe arrived just as he was organizing the expedition and enabled him to make up his force to the necessary strength.

On arrival at Cannanore, however, the men broke into mutiny on hearing that a force of nine thousand Turks had been prepared to meet them. The Zamorin too sent a force under the rival Cochin claimant to draw off the Kolattiri from the Portuguese alliance. Albuquerque was, however, equal to the occasion; he eventually persuaded the Kolattiris minister, Chenacheri Kurup, to join his expedition at the head of three hundred picked Nayars, and this shamed his own men into facing the dangers in front of them.

Proceeding up the coast, the expedition touched at Honore, and after engaging the chief of that place, Timmayya, to assist him against Goa, and on learning that Adil Khan was again absent from the place, Albuquerque determined on immediate attack. He reached Goa on St. Catherine's day, 6th November 1510, and after a contest lasting only for six hours the place fell into his hands.

Albuquerque took a statesmen-like view of his position, and it was under his orders that the foundations of Portuguese power in India were laid. Besides building forts and churches and carrying out various public works with Moorish spoils, he encouraged his men to marry the native women, and on them he bestowed the lands taken from the Moors. To the mixed race thus produced he looked for the formation of a native army which should be as powerful by land as his fleet was by sea. Adhering to these views with firmness, he ably carried them out. But the people under him thirsted to be rich; the means they adopted to this end were very frequently most unscrupulous, and all such irregularities Albuquerque repressed with a heavy hand. He thus made numerous enemies among his own people.

From November 1510 Goa finally supplanted Cochin as the chief Portuguese settlement, and the effect of the capture was so great that the different Rajas of Southern India voluntarily sent embassies to Albuquerque acknowledging the Portuguese supremacy.

To ruin the Moslem trade in India and the East had been the aim of all the Portuguese commanders from Da Gama's time downwards.

And Albuquerque's next blow was aimed at their China trade, the emporium of which was at Malacca. This city he took in July 1511.

Narrowly escaping being drowned in shipwreck on his way back, he landed at Cochin in February 1512 among great demonstrations of joy as the Moors had been industriously circulating rumours of his death.

To his sorrow, however, he found that his countrymen had in the interval been associating indiscriminately with the natives, and had abandoned themselves to vice and crime. To stop this he constructed a barrier to separate the fort from the town, and made a rule that any one other than a Christian entering the fort should forfeit his life. In consequence of this rule over four hundred Cochinites, including some Nayars voluntarily embraced Christianity. For their benefit the viceroy established schools.

Leaving Malabar in September 1512, Albuquerque next proceeded to Goa and thence he set out on another distant expedition against Aden, after putting in train a scheme for building a fort at Calicut and for entering on a treaty of peace with the Zamorin,

It was in spite of the expressed dissatisfaction of the Kolattiri and of the Cochin Raja that he endeavoured to come to terms with the Zamorin, and as all their influence was exerted to thwart the plan, the negotiations did not make much progress, and they came to a standstill altogether directly Albuquerque sailed for Aden and the Red Sea.

Returning with a heavy heart from his unsuccessful expedition against Aden in August 1513, an opening was presented to Albuquerque for a good understanding with Calicut in consequence of the succession to the raj of the member of the family who had hitherto encouraged the idea of an alliance with Portugal.

By a treaty with the Zamorin the Portuguese would be enabled to curtail their expenditure at Cochin, for their establishment to protect Cochin from invasion, especially at the Eddapulli ferry, had always to be maintained on a war footing whilst the Zamorin was their foe.

Albuquerque landed at Calicut, had an interview with the Zamorin, and arranged the following terms of peace with him:—

The Portuguese were to erect a fort at Calicut in a locality of their own selection.

They were to be permitted to trade as they pleased.

They were to be permitted to barter European goods for pepper whilst all other traders¹ were to pay for it in cash.

¹ The Moors alleged that one of the conditions was that they should be permitted to load four vessels annually for the Red Sea, but as soon as the Calicut fort was finished the Portuguese broke faith with them and forbade any further trade with Arabia, and any trade whatever in pepper or ginger (Rowlandson's *Tahafut-ul Mujahidin*, p. 112). It is doubtful however if this was so, and reference is probably made to the proposed terms embracing a condition to the said effect offered by Albuquerque prior to his Aden expedition, which terms were not accepted at the time.

The annual quantity of pepper to be supplied to them was fixed as fifteen thousand candies, and the price to be governed by that prevailing at Cochin.

A moiety of the customs revenue was to be paid as tribute to the King of Portugal.

The loss incurred by the destruction of the factory planted by Cabral was to be made good from the Zamorin's treasury.

In accordance with this agreement, the Portuguese set to work to erect a fort at Calicut. The site selected appears to have been on the northern bank of the Kallayi river at the southern extremity of Calicut. The position chosen had the advantage of being flanked on two sides by water. The fort was square in form with flanking bastions at the corners facing the sea. The Zamorin personally exerted himself to help the engineer, Thomas Fernandez, who built it.

This arrangement with the Zamorin increased Albuquerque's fame in Europe. He sent tigers and elephants to Portugal; some of them were passed on to Rome. His zeal was, however, disparaged by slanderers among his own officers, and the King of Portugal began to take alarm at his increasing renown.

In February 1515, Albuquerque set out on his last expedition for ruining the Moslem trade, and this was directed against Hormuz, the emporium of the Persian Gulf. This place fell an easy conquest.

But meanwhile the slanderers' tales had been listened to and Albuquerque's supersession had been decreed. His successor, Suarez, sailed in April and reached Goa on 2nd September 1515. Albuquerque was still absent on the Hormuz expedition, and a ship was despatched to convey to him the news. His anguish was great when he came to know that men whom he had sent in disgrace to Europe had returned in high offices of State. "Oh holy Jesus, deliver me from this dilemma. When I serve my king loyally, the people hate me! When I serve the people the king hates me! I have had enough of this; it is time for me to bid farewell to the world. Ah! do not forsake an aged man."

Falling ill of dysentery, he saw his end approaching, and placidly acquiesced therein. His ship arrived at Goa on 16th December; a boat was despatched to shore to fetch a priest; he received the last offices of the Church, and on the 17th he died, aged 63 years.

Albuquerque was greatly beloved by the natives for his justice and honesty. These good qualities lived long in their memories, and offerings and vows were made at his tomb by all classes and creeds among the natives.

The events of the next few years do not present many features of interest. But an important change came over the Portuguese administration. In 1517 a Finance Minister was sent out from Europe to control expenditure, and as a check on the hitherto unlimited powers of the Viceroy. Dissensions of course arose directly he tried to exercise his authority, and in the end he had to

go home. From this time forward the Home Government displayed great jealousy and suspicion in regard to the acts of its Indian administrators, and frequently cancelled their orders. This treatment naturally produced indifference in public affairs, and resulted in every one connected with the administration striving to amass wealth without caring much how it was obtained.

In 1517 Suarez arranged a treaty with the Queen of Quilon. Compensation was given for the loss of the former factory, control of the pepper trade was obtained, and a fresh factory was erected, probably on the site of the existing fort at Tangasseri. An unsuccessful expedition against Jeddah, and the subjugation of Egypt by the Turks, also marked this year. The impending trouble from a fresh Egyptian expedition consequently passed over.

In 1518 expeditions were sent to the Maldives and to Ceylon, and in the end of the year a change of viceroys took place, Sequeira succeeding Suarez.

In 1519 some trading Moslems, taking advantage of the weakness of the Portuguese factory at the Maldives, massacred the garrison, and from this time forward the islanders, including probably those of Minicoy, were not interfered with by the Portuguese, and in course of time became Muhammadans. In this same year in September, the Quilon, or rather Tangasseri, fort (Fort Thomas) was begun secretly by the Commandant Rodrigues under pretence of repairing the factory, and was completed and armed; and, under the conditions of the agreement giving the Portuguese the control of the pepper trade, Rodrigues seized five thousand bullock-loads of that article which certain traders from the East Coast had collected in barter for five thousand bullock-loads of rice, and which they were on the point of taking across the ghauts *via* the Ariankavu Pass. From that time forward, East Coast merchants were afraid to cross by that pass for trade at Quilon and it gradually fell into disuse. It was in this year also that Sequeira, the Viceroy, with a band of men witnessed near Cochin a duel¹ on a very big scale between a chieftain of the Zamorin and a chieftain of Cochin. Four thousand men were engaged on each side, and while the fighting was in progress one of the Portuguese struck in with the Zamorin's men, whereupon the Cochin men sent a flight of arrows into the Portuguese spectators and killed five of them, putting the rest to flight.

In January 1520, another expedition against Jeddah was despatched, but it seems to have accomplished little or nothing, and in the monsoon of that year, Fort Thomas at Tangasseri was besieged. The garrison, numbering only thirty Europeans, had rice to eat, but little else, and were driven to making curry of rats to give their rice a flavour. In August, however, provisions and reinforcements arrived from Cochin, and the two Queens of Quilon sued for and obtained peace.

¹ *Conf.* p. 169.

In 1521 the Cochin Raja, smarting under the recollection of the former defeats sustained at the Zamorin's hands, thought he saw a favourable opportunity for attacking the latter, which he did with a force of fifty thousand Nayars, and the Portuguese, disregarding treaty obligations sent some gunners to assist him. But the Brahmans came to the Zamorin's assistance, and by cursing the land which gave protection to the Parangis (Portuguese), succeeded in making many of the Cochin Raja's followers desist from the enterprise, and the rest were easily driven back into their own limits.

The Portuguese too, under Sequeira, made themselves very much disliked by the natives by refusing to recognise their own passes to native ships engaged in trade; in fact, the Portuguese ship captains became little better than organised pirates. Petitions went home, particularly from Cannanore, and in consequence of these Sequeira was recalled and Don Duarte de Menezes came out as Viceroy with orders to maintain peace and to propagate Christianity.

In January 1523, Menezes came to Calicut, and there found to his astonishment that things were rapidly assuming a warlike aspect. The Zamorin was dead and his successor did not favour the Portuguese alliance. Moreover, the piratical acts of the Portuguese had made the Moorish merchants desperate. The Viceroy, to avoid war, adopted the readiest means for bringing it on by overlooking insults to his people. His own Secretary (Castro) was grossly insulted in Calicut bazaar and driven back with his retinue into the fort by the rabble with stones, several of the retinue being wounded, and no notice was taken of the affront. When therefore Menezes sailed with all the available ships to Hormuz, a Moorish merchant, one Kuti Ali of Tanur had the effrontery to bring a fleet of two hundred vessels to Calicut, to load eight ships with pepper, and to despatch them with a convoy of forty vessels to the Red Sea before the very eyes of the Portuguese.

On the 11th or (perhaps) 21st of September 1524, "there arrived at the bar of Goa D. Vasco da Gama, who discovered India, as Viceroy of India." He came in great state as befitting his position, with a fleet of fourteen ships carrying three thousand men, and his mission was to reform the abuses which had crept into the administration.

On reaching the land at Dabul "and with the wind becalmed, during the watch of daybreak, the sea trembled in such a manner, giving such great buffets to the ships, that all thought they were on shoals, and struck the sails, and lowered the boats into the sea with great shouts and cries and discharge of cannon." On sounding, they found no bottom, "and they cried to God for mercy, because the ships pitched so violently that the men could not stand upright and the chests were sent from one end of the ship to the other." The trembling came, died away, and was renewed "each time during the space of a Credo." The subterranean disturbance lasted about an hour, "in which the water made a great boiling up, one sea struggling with another." When daylight was fully come, they saw

the land. Da Gama maintained his presence of mind during this trying scene, and reassured his men by telling them that even the sea trembled at the presence of the Portuguese.

Da Gama went to Cannanore and stayed there for three days, during which time he insisted on the Kolattiri surrendering a notorious pirate chief called Bala Hassan, who was thereupon thrown into a dungeon in Cannanore fort.

Passing Calicut, where there were commotions but no fighting, Da Gama proceeded to Cochin and took measures to bring Menezes, the Viceroy, to account for his actions by arresting both him and his brother D. Luiz, the good Governor of Cochin.

But Da Gama had fallen sick and Menezes hoped to continue in his post if his illness proved fatal. In this, however, Da Gama forestalled him by orders issued from his sick bed, and he sailed for Europe before the illness took a fatal turn.

Da Gama died "at 3 o'clock after midnight on the 24th day of December of this present year of 1524." "Feeling his death approaching (he) passed from the fortress to the houses of Deogo Pereira which were close by in the court of the church." After death, his body "was carried to the monastery of St. Anthony and buried in the principal chapel." On this tomb, there was "a square grating surrounding the grave, of the height of a span, lined with a black velvet, and a black and white fringe placed upon a velvet cloth which covered all the grave."²

Short as was the time during which Da Gama held office, he did much to rehabilitate the reputation of the Portuguese. He purged the settlements visited by him, and selected the ablest officers to conduct affairs. De Souza under his orders relieved Calicut, engaged the famous Kutti Ali's fleet at Kappatt and drove it to Pantalayani Kollam. Taking up the chase next day, De Souza drove the fleet before him as far as Cannanore, where the sailors having abandoned

¹ The quotation in the text is from Correa's "*Leendas da India*" (Stanley's translation). There has been much conjecture as to the exact place of the great Da Gama's burial at Cochin. The monastery belonged to the Franciscans, and the principal chapel thereof was probably dedicated, as Correa and P. Barreto de Resonde state, to St. Anthony. Custanheda, on the other hand, says the burial took place in the Cochin cathedral. Barros and San Roman say it was the monastery of St. Francis. Correa's account written so near the time is entitled to the fullest credit, and there can be little doubt that it was in the Franciscan chapel of St. Anthony that Da Gama's body was first laid to rest. Much has been written about the vandalism of the British Government in having blown up the church where Da Gama's remains rested, but the charges are without foundation, for the chapel, rebuilt by the Dutch, still exists as the European Protestant place of worship down to the present day. Da Gama's body was removed to Portugal in 1538 and deposited first at Vidigueira. His remains now rest in a chapel at Belem, the port whence he set out on his adventurous voyage. They were transferred to this last resting-place with much ceremony so lately as June 1880.

² There is pointed out in the Protestant Church at Cochin a tomb-stone in the pavement of the church bearing the name "Vasco" in legible characters thereon, the remainder of the name has become obliterated. The top of the stone bearing a coat of arms is broken, but if the top there now is the real top of the stone on which the name "Vasco" is engraved, then it is almost certainly not Da Gama's tomb-stone, as the coat of arms is different from that of Da Gama.

it, it fell a prey to the Portuguese. Meantime the young George Tellia had encountered the younger Kutti Ali near Goa and had defeated him too.

When the royal despatch was opened after Da Gama's death, it was found that Henry Menezes had been appointed to succeed him in the event of his death.

About the time of Da Gama's death, the Moors, with the Zamorin's approval, made an onslaught on the Cranganore Jews and Christians, the reason alleged being that the Moors had resorted to various tricks for adulterating the pepper, etc., brought to market, and some Jews and Christians had been specially selected to discover such tricks and mete out justice to the offenders. Assembling from Calicut, Pantalayini Kollam, Kappatt "Turkoz" (? Trikkodi), Chaliyam, Parappanangadi, "Travancore" (?) Tanur, Paroni, Ponnani, and "Baleenghat," the Moors mustered a fleet of one hundred grabs and attacked Cranganore. They slew many Jews and drove out the rest to a village to the east, but when they attacked the Christians, the Nayers of the place retaliated, and, in turn drove all the Moors out of Cranganore.

One of the first acts of Henry Menezes' rule, when he arrived at Cannanore on his way to the south from Goa, was to order the execution of the pirate Bala Hassan, who had been delivered up by the Kolattiri on a demand from Da Gama. This man was related to the family of the Arakal Raja of Cannanore (Mappilla), and bribes to a large amount were offered for his release, but in vain. The Kolattiri also offered a visit to the Viceroy to intercede for him, but the execution was not stayed. The Moors were greatly disgusted at this and decided that in the future they should act independently of the Kolattiri altogether. And the Kolattiri on his part asked the Viceroy to punish those Moors who had taken refuge at Darmapattanam Island. An expedition was accordingly organised, and the towns, bazaars and shipping at Darmapattanam and at Maho were destroyed (January 1525).

On reaching Calicut, Menezes found that the place had been attacked by the Zamorin's troops; but notwithstanding this, the Zamorin pretended he was now inclined to sue for peace. Pushing on to Cochin, Menezes there received another message from the Zamorin asking for peace, but in reality it was only a pretence to gain time till the setting in of the monsoon. Hurrying his preparation, therefore, Menezes determined to strike the first blow, so he sailed for Ponnani and there burnt the town and seized or burnt the shipping (26th February 1525).

Pantalayini Kollam, the emporium of the trade with Mecca, next occupied his attention. It was defended by three bastions on a hill¹ with many guns. A canal had been dug communicating with the sea and the ships and mercantileware houses lay along

¹ The present graveyard hill apparently.

this canal. The town was defended by twenty thousand Nayars and Moors.

Menezes arrived before it one evening, and both parties made great preparations for the fight on the morrow. The Portuguese next day landed in three divisions and were completely victorious, taking, it is said, two hundred and fifty cannon and quantities of ammunition. The town and bazaar and shipping were all burnt, and the Portuguese carried off with them forty vessels to Cannanore, where they arrived on 11th March 1525.

The effect of this victory was great, and the reputation of the Portuguese for valour was revived.

The Viceroy next dealt with the Laccadive Islands, which are eighteen in number. Orders had come from Portugal that if the Kolattiri would supply all the coir (for which the islands are famous) required by the Portuguese at a cheap rate, he might keep the islands. Menezes, at an interview with the Kolattiri, then demanded a thousand candies per annum of coir. The Kolattiri replied he could not undertake to supply this quantity and said he preferred giving up the islands. This was accordingly done, and Menezes stationed there forty soldiers and imposed an import duty on all rice taken to the islands. With the sum thus collected, he was able to buy the coir required and to pay for the establishment.

He next blockaded the coast to intercept the supplies of rice required at Calicut, and two naval actions, both in favour of the Portuguese, were fought near Mount Deli.

War with the Zamorin was clearly impending, although he still pretended to want peace with a view to throw the Portuguese off their guard; so the Calicut fort was first provisioned and strengthened for the monsoon season, and Captain Lima, with three hundred men, undertook its defence.

The Kurumbranad Raja and Tinayancheri Elayad invested the place with their Nayars directly the monsoon set in, and they were helped by a band of Moors under the command of a skilled European engineer who had three years before been made a captain at the siege in Rhode Island by the Turks (1522), and who, having been taken prisoner, renounced Christianity and became a Muhammadan. He threw up trenches and placed guns in Vannattan paramba, south of the fort, and in the street of Chinakkotta (Chinese fort). The Portuguese retired within their fort after destroying all outlying warehouses and buildings. They had water and rice sufficient for one year, and curry stuff and oil for one month.

On the 13th June 1525, the Zamorin himself came with an additional force, and Lima, although the monsoon was then blowing, despatched a boat to Cochin for assistance. The boat reached there after much buffeting on 10th July, and one hundred and forty men were despatched to succour Calicut. Only thirty-five of them landed with great difficulty, owing to the roughness of the sea, about the beginning of August, under protection of the fort guns. The rest,

without leaving their boats, went back to Cochin after receiving a message, shot out to them tied to an arrow, that four men were killed, that many were wounded, that five hundred men at least were required, and that provisions and ammunition were wanted most particularly.

The Zamorin spared no efforts to take the place before reinforcements could reach it. The powder magazine walls cracked, and the ammunition had to be stored elsewhere. The Sicilian engineer tried to mine under the wall, but a Portuguese renegade conveyed the news to his besieged countrymen in a song. A countermine was sunk and the miners were caught.

On a stormy night in the end of August, boats arrived and landed ammunition, bread, salted meat, and other provisions, and in the morning Lima, the Commandant, out of bravado, scaled the rampart, chucked some bundles of fresh betel leaf to the besiegers, and then proceeded to show them he had both bread and meat to eat by eating it in full view of the besiegers.

On 15th October, the Viceroy arrived with twenty ships and relieved the garrison; and on the 31st of that month an attack was made on the besiegers and they were driven back, leaving the renegade Sicilian and two thousand men dead in the trenches.

Meanwhile, the Viceroy had determined to abandon the fort altogether, because he had news from Europe that the Turks, now rulers of Egypt, were organizing an expedition to the East, and it was manifest the Portuguese could only hope to resist them by concentrating their strength. The fort was accordingly abandoned,¹ and it is said that the last man to leave it set fire to a train of gunpowder which killed many of the Nayars and Moors, who in hopes of plunder flocked into the fort directly it was abandoned.

During the rest of the year, the Viceroy was busy hunting up pirates along the coast, for no open opposition was now ever offered to the Portuguese at sea. The people, however, organized a system of fire signals, and the movements of the Portuguese ships were vigilantly watched and made known. While taking some boats near Beypore, the Viceroy received a wound in the leg, and the inflammation was increased by unnecessary exertions of a similar kind off Mahe. He then retired to Cannanore and landed there in January 1526. But his wound grew worse and he died there on the 2nd February. His body was buried in the Church at Cannanore. It was remarked of him with wonder that he had saved no money during his tenure of office.

On opening next day the royal despatches, it was found that Mascarenhas, then absent on an expedition to Malacca, was nominated as Viceroy next after Henry Menezes. Owing to his absence, and as

¹ *Zein-ud-din* in the *Tahafat-ul Mujahidin* gives a similar account. "To facilitate their doing this" (abandoning the fort), "they made an opening in the wall from within the fort, and in a part which was not visible to those who were without, and abandoning the fort they set sail in the ships and went away." Ferishta's story about the taking of the fort was probably founded on the inflated account which the Zamorin sent abroad concerning the siege.

it was necessary to have some one at hand to organize the defence against the Turks, the next despatch was opened and Sampayo, at Cochin, was found to be the next nominee. He was informed of this, and accordingly assumed the reins of government, and at once set to work to put Goa, Cannanore and Cochin in a posture of defence to resist the expected Turkish expedition. Fort St. Angelo at Cannanore was extended up to the well on which the garrison depended for drinking water, and Fort Emmanuel at Cochin had bastions erected on the sea side of the work.

Dissensions at Mascarenhas' supersession, however, arose, and the Portuguese were divided into two parties, and party spirit ran high.

Fortunately for them, similar dissensions had arisen in the Turkish fleet despatched to India, and anxiety on that account was allayed by the news that the Turks had failed to take Aden.

This news was conveyed to Portugal by the overland route *via* Hormuz through the Turkish dominions, in the wonderfully short space of three months, the first occasion on which the overland route was ever used for the purpose. When Mascarenhas arrived from Malacca, he was favourably received at Quilon, but at Cochin he was driven again on board his ship. Sailing to Goa, Sampayo there seized him, put him in chains, and sent him to Cannanore, where, in turn, the garrison honourably received him. In July, arbitration as to the rival claims was resorted to, and the result being in favour of Sampayo, Mascarenhas sailed for Europe (21st December 1527).

Various combinations of pirate boats under the Kutti Alis were dispersed during the early part of 1528, and in September of that year there occurred a violent storm while some Portuguese ships were lying off the mouth of the Chetwai River. The wind came, it is said, from the east, but, if that was so, it is difficult to understand how several ships were driven on shore and wrecked and the crews massacred, for an east wind ought to have blown them out to sea.

In the following month, the Viceroy made a descent on Purakkat, the Nayar chieftain of which had, up to the time of the attack on Pantalayini Kollam, been a firm ally of the Portuguese and had joined them on several expeditions with his men. On that, and probably on previous occasions also, the Purakkat people, however, had been on the watch for the plundering rather than for the fighting, and while Purakkat was lazily looking on at the fight at Pantalayini Kollam and watching his chance for plunder, Henry Menezes, the Viceroy, in a rage directed one of his men to aim "at that idle fellow." Purakkat was wounded in the leg and fell, but concealed his feelings of indignation at the time. Afterwards, however, he joined the Zamorin against the Portuguese and was in particular present at the siege of Calicut fort. It was to take vengeance for his desertion that the Viceroy attacked his territory, and he further timed his attack so as to arrive there when the chief was absent. On the 15th October 1528 the Portuguese took the place and obtained a very rich booty. Each of the thousand men engaged obtained as

his share, it is said, no less than eight hundred gold *pattaks* (ducats), and Sampayo himself got a lakh of them. Purakkat after this sharp lesson returned to his allegiance and continued steadfast in it up to the very last.

In October 1529, Sampayo's successor (Nunho D'Acunha) arrived with orders to send Sampayo in custody to Europe, and this was at once done when Sampayo boarded the Viceroy's ship at Cannanore on the 18th November.

The new Viceroy governed with justice and impartiality, and the Portuguese under his rule again became all-powerful, so that in 1531 the Zamorin again began to think of a Portuguese alliance.

Terms of peace were arranged, and the Portuguese selected a site for a new fort in the Zamorin's territory. The place selected was the Island of Chaliyam.¹ The position was well chosen for the object which the Portuguese from Cabral's time had kept steadily in view, namely, "to ruin the trade of the Moors." "*Is locus ultra Calicutum duas leucas apprimè navigabili aestuario impositus, mire factus erat ad Arabum infestanda commercia et Zamorini consilia exploranda, conatusque opprimendos.*" And its advantages are further set out in Zein-ud-din's work. From their fort there the Portuguese were able as Maffei says, to watch the Zamorin's movements, because "the Zamorin, his troops, and, indeed, all travellers of whatever description were obliged to pass" that way along the coast, and the fort "thus commanded the trade between Arabia and Calicut." Securely posted at Chaliyam, the Portuguese, with the aid of their armed boats, which could ply at all seasons of the year as far up the Beypore river as Arikkod, and even farther into the very heart of the ghaut forests, were in an unequalled position to harass the Zamorin by overhauling all traffic between the portions of his dominions lying to the north and to the south of that river. This armed patrol service in fact cut his dominions in half, and all merchandise passing to Calicut from the southern territory could be overhauled as it passed. Even his troops, unless they swam the river whilst the Portuguese patrol boats were absent, could not cross the stream without seeking Portuguese permission. No wonder, then, that Zein-ud-din described the Portuguese official who negotiated the peace as a "master of the greatest subtlety and cunning and capable of employing the deepest stratagems."

There accordingly a fort "of great solidity and strength" was built, and in making it the Portuguese were not particular as to the materials employed. They threw down the ancient Jamat mosque² and even "demolished the tombs of the Moslems, and carried off the stones of which they had been built to complete their fortress." On being remonstrated with for this, the Viceroy himself came to the place and ordered that the materials belonging to the Portuguese only should be employed. The work of destruction went on however

¹ The site of the present terminus of the Madras Railway south-west line.

² *Maffei*, lib. ix. p. 208. ³ *Conf.* pp. 194-95.

and it then transpired that the local chief had sold the mosque and tombs to the Portuguese. For this he was afterwards summarily dealt with by the Zamorin.

The building of this fort exercised a most important influence on the events that followed, for the Portuguese hold of the Moslem trade grew stronger than ever in consequence. And the events of the next few years might be summed up in a few words as fruitless attempts on the part of the Moors to break the chains that bound them in this respect.

In 1537 the Portuguese made a descent on Peroncy and killed Kutti Ibrahim Marakkar and others because a vessel had sailed to Jeddah with pepper and ginger without obtaining a Portuguese pass, and punishment was necessary to prevent a repetition of the act, which would have caused the Portuguese great loss.

In consequence of this the Zamorin started for Cranganore to attack the Portuguese and the Cochin Raja, but his courage failed him, and to protect the place for the future the Portuguese erected a fort at Cranganore, "by which and other acts of theirs" Zein-ud-din says, "the Zamorin was reduced to the last extremity."

In the same year (1537) the Portuguese followed up their opponents to Kayil, to the east of Cape Comorin, and destroyed a Moorish fleet which had rendezvoused there. And a somewhat similar event occurred in the year following.

In 1539 peace followed, and the Zamorin's subjects again agreed to accept the Portuguese passes.

In 1550 war again broke out in consequence of the Zamorin interfering in the succession to the chiefship of some territory near Cochin famous for its pepper. Its chief was called by the Portuguese "the great pepper-owner." The chief was slain and the Zamorin came south to avenge his death. The hostilities which ensued caused him to expend "much good substance, which never returned either to himself or to his posterity." The Portuguese retaliated by making descents on the coast towns, particularly on Pantalayini Kollam, destroying mosques and houses, and giving one-third of the inhabitants "martyrdom."

In 1552 the Zamorin received assistance in heavy guns landed at Ponnani, brought thither by Yoosuf, a Turk, who had sailed against the monsoon.

But by 1555 the desultory war had exhausted the resources both of the Zamorin and of his Moorish subjects, and the inevitable had to be submitted to once more.

Peace was restored on condition that the Portuguese ship passes should be taken out by traders.

Again, in 1557, the Moors in North Malabar began hostilities, and these continued till, in 1559, they made the usual submission and agreed to take out the hateful passes.

It was at this time (about 1559) that the Portuguese began to be most stringent in enforcing their pass rules. They confiscated all vessels not carrying their passes, even in cases in which passes had been duly taken out and had been accidentally lost, and it is alleged they were utterly unscrupulous as to what became of the crews. Zein-ud-din, who is, however, a not altogether disinterested witness, says that they massacred the crews by cutting their throats, or tying them up with ropes or in nets and throwing them overboard.

However divergent might be the views of Portuguese viceroys and commandants on other points, they appear to have been at one on this question of the advisability of destroying the Moorish trade. Their policy was, therefore, consistent and directed to one end. They began by making contraband any traffic in the articles of *pepper* and *ginger*. They next excluded Muhammadans from the trade "in the bark of spice trees, and in the clove jilli-flower, and the herb fennel, and in produce of this kind." Lastly, they closed to Muhammadan merchants "the Arabian ports, and Malacca, and Resha, and Thinasuree, and other places," so that there remained to the Muhammadans of Malabar "of their coast trade, nothing but the petty traffic in Indian nut, coconut, and cloth, whilst their foreign voyages of travel were confined to the ports of Gujarat, the Concan, Solmundel, and the countries about Kaeel."

Moreover, the Portuguese also obtained the control of the rice trade from Honore, Barcelore, and Mangalore by building forts designed to prevent Malabar merchants from collecting rice in granaries and exporting it, as was their custom from these places, "to Malabar generally, to Goa, and even to the Arabian ports." Down to the present day an artificial famine can always be produced in Malabar by stopping its imports of grain, and it appears to have been the same in the sixteenth century.

These stringent measures led to the Moors fitting out piratical fleets of small boats—chiefly at Valarpattanam, "Turkoz"¹

¹ Famous among the pirate chiefs who commanded these fleets stands out the name of the Kottakkal Kunhali Marakkars. The family originally hailed from Pantalayini Kollam. Probably at the time when Henry Menezes destroyed that Moorish settlement the family moved to Trikkodj, and thence again to Kottakkal at the mouth of the Kota river. They obtained the title of Kunhali Marakkur from the Zamorin. *Kunhi* means a youth, a title of distinction; *Ali* is the name of the Prophet's son-in-law, and *Marakkar* means the door or follower of the law—*marggam*—and is applied, as a title, to persons of a foreign religion like the Christians and Muhammadans. Some of the remains of their fort at Kottakkal are still to be seen. It was situated at the northern extremity of a spit of sand extending from the south across the Kota river mouth, and it completely commanded the bar of the river and the shipping which lay inside it. The position was one of great strength against ancient artillery as it was protected on two sides (north and east) by water, on a third side (the west) by a swampy salt marsh, through which the river, encumbered by another sand-spit stretching from the north across its mouth, has now (1885) forced its way. On the south the narrow neck of land was easily protected by a rampart. This fort lay just opposite to Putupattanam, the ancient seat of the Tekkalankur (Southern Regent) of Kollattunad. It would occupy too much space to relate the history of this family, whose descendants still live in Kottakkal in comparative poverty. The tombs of the first of the Kunhali Marakkars and of the mother of the founder of the family (who had no title), are still pointed out in a building attached to the chief mosque of the place. A memorial tomb to the founder of the family, who was captured by the Portuguese and "received martyrdom," at Goa, is also to be seen in the same building.

(?Trikkodi) and Pantalayini Kollam to prey on the commerce of the Portuguese and their allies. In this they were at first very successful, and the Portuguese thereupon began "an indiscriminate plunder of the property of Muhammadans, and were guilty of great oppression, for which there was none among them (Muhammadans) able or willing to grant redress."

Nor did the Portuguese content themselves with suppressing the Muhammadan trade; they tried to convert the Moslems to Christianity and it is related that, in 1562, they seized a large number of Moorish merchants at Goa and forcibly converted them. Of course these converts reverted to their own religion at the first convenient opportunity.

Zein-ud-din's indictment of the Portuguese for these and similar oppressions is very forcible. They were "guilty of actions the most diabolical and infamous, such indeed as are beyond the power of description; they having made the Muhammadans to be a just and a laughing stock, displaying towards them the greatest contempt; employing them to draw water from the wells and in other menial employments; spitting in their faces and upon their persons; hindering them on their journeys, particularly when proceeding on voyages to Mecca; destroying their property; burning their dwellings and mosques; seizing their ships; defacing and treading under foot their archives and writings; burning their records; profaning the sanctuaries of their mosques; even striving to make the professors of Islamism apostates from their creed and worshippers of their crucifixes, and seeking, by bribes of money, to induce to their apostacy. Moreover, decking out their women with jewels and fine clothing in order to lead away and entice after them the women of the Muhammadans; slaying also the pilgrims to Mecca and all who embraced Islamism, and practising upon them all kinds of cruelties; openly uttering execrations upon the Prophet of God (upon whom may the divine favor and grace for ever rest); confining his followers and incarcerating them. Further binding them with ponderous shackles and exposing them in the markets for sale, after the manner that slaves are sold; and when so exposed, torturing them with all sorts of painful inflictions, in order to exact more from them for their freedom. Huddling them together into a dark noisome and horrible building;¹ and when performing the ablutions directed by their law, beating them with slippers; torturing them with fire; selling and making slaves of some, and harassing others with disgusting employments; in short, in their treatment of the Muhammadans they proved themselves devoid of all compassion." "For how many women of noble birth, thus made captive (at sea) did they not incarcerate, afterwards violating their persons for the

¹ This refers to the prison of the Inquisition at Goa, called by the Portuguese "Algowar." It was thus described by M. Dellon, who was confined in it: "This prison was more foul, dark, and horrible than any one I had seen, and I doubt whether there can be one so nauseous and appalling." He was told that forty out of fifty Malabar pirates confined in it some years before his time hanged themselves with their turbans owing to the horrible famine they suffered.

production of Christian children, who were brought up enemies to the religion of God and taught to oppress its professors? How many noble Saids, too, and learned and worthy men did they not imprison and persecute even unto death! How many Moslems, both men and women, did they not compel to embrace Christianity! And how many acts of this kind, atrocious and wicked, the enumeration of which would require volumes, did they not commit! May the All Gracious and Merciful God consign them to eternal destruction!"

"Notwithstanding all this, however, they preserved an outward show of peace towards the Muhammadans in consequence of their being compelled to dwell amongst them, since the chief part of the population of the sea-ports consisted of Muhammadans."

The year 1564 was an eventful year for Southern India, since it was in that year that the bulwark which the Hindu dynasty of Vijayanagar had presented against the flood of Muhammadan invasion from the north, was overthrown at the battle of Talikota. So far as Malabar itself was concerned this event, however, did not bear fruit for two centuries more.

In that same year the Portuguese were again besieged in their fort at Cannanore. The attack was however repulsed, and in retaliation the Portuguese, it is said, cut down forty thousand coconut trees to punish the inhabitants.

In 1565 the Zamorin and his Moorish allies again attacked the Cochin Raja at or near Cranganore, and in the course of a fortnight it is said that two of the Cochin Rajas fell at the head of their troops in this war. The result was that the Portuguese enlarged and strengthened their Cranganore fort. And the Jews in this same year finally deserted their ancient settlement of Anjuvannam at Cranganore and came to Cochin, where they resided within the fort limits until Jew's Town was built. It was completed in 1567, and the Jews in a body moved into it.

Meanwhile the coast pirates were busy, and in 1566 and again in 1568 those of Ponnani under Kutti Poker made prize of two large Portuguese vessels. In one of these ships it is said no less than a thousand Portuguese soldiers, "many of them approved veterans," perished either by the sword or by drowning. Kutti Poker's adventurous career was however cut short in 1569, for after having made a successful raid on the Portuguese fort at Mangalore, he fell in with a Portuguese fleet as he was returning south off Cannanore, and he and all his company "received martyrdom."

The Zamorin about this time tried to arrange a combined attack on the Portuguese in all parts of the country simultaneously, and two of the confederate Muhammadan kings of the Dekhan (Ahmadnagar and Bijapur) besieged the Portuguese settlements of the north. Mutual jealousies fomented by the Portuguese, however, brought these expeditions to naught.

In 1571 an important advantage was obtained, for in that year "on the 14th or 15th of the month Sufur" the Zamorin's troops laid siege to the fort at Chaliyam, which had been such a thorn in the Zamorin's side ever since it was built in 1351. The Ponnani, "Punnoor," Tanur, and Parappanangadi Moors joined in, and the combined forces drove the Portuguese under Attaide, with considerable slaughter, inside their fortifications. The besiegers throw up trenches. The Zamorin expended "a vast sum of money," and after two months came in person from Ponnani to conduct the operations. The besieged garrison's provisions ran short and they were driven to feed on dogs and "animals of a similar vile impure nature." Supplies sent from Cochin and Cannanore were intercepted. The Portuguese tried to arrange terms, and eventually, on the "10th of the month Jumadee Alakhur", at midnight, the garrison marched out, "safe egress being afforded them," and they were shortly afterwards sent away under the escort of the Raja of Tanur (? Vottatta Raja), who had leagued with and abetted them. From Tanur they were shipped to Cochin. A relieving expedition from Goa arrived just too late to be of any assistance.

The Chaliyam fort had been such a source of trouble and annoyance to him, as already explained, that the Zamorin "demolished the fort entirely, leaving not one stone upon another." He made the site "a barren waste, transporting to Calicut the greater part of the stones and masonry," whilst he gave the remainder to be appropriated for rebuilding the Jamat mosque, which the Portuguese had destroyed in building their fort. The ground and that lying round it were given, as previously arranged, to the Raja of Chaliyam (Parappanad Raja) for the assistance rendered by him on the occasion.

An event even still more important to Portuguese interests occurred in this same year (1571), for orders came out from Portugal to divide their possessions into three portions, designated India, Monomotapa, and Malacca. The decline of the Portuguese power seems to have dated from the time of this arrangement, for the consequence was a train of perplexities that distracted the Portuguese more than all the previous attacks of their enemies in India.

The war, however, still went on. In 1572 the Portuguese made a descent on Chaliyam and burnt it. In the following year Parappanangadi was attacked and four Muhammadans "suffered martyrdom." In 1577 a fleet of fifty "grabs" returning from South Canara with rice was seized by the Portuguese and three thousand Muhammadans and sailors, it is said, were slain, and "the trade of the Muhammadans by this blow became almost annihilated." In the following year negotiations were opened for peace; the Zamorin offered to allow them to build a fort at Calicut, but they wished to have one at Ponnani, to which the Zamorin would not agree. In 1579 the Zamorin was at the sacred temple of Kodungnallur (Cranganore), and the Cochin Raja, even with Portuguese assistance, failed to dislodge him from it. Nettled at this failure,

the Portuguese carried on hostilities with great rancour against the Zamorin and his subjects—at Calicut, “the new harbour” (? Putiyangadi), Kappatt, Pantalayini Kollam, “Turkoy” (? Trikkodi) and Ponnani—attacking them at all times and seasons, cutting off intercourse between neighbouring ports, and “greatly hindering” the importation of rice from South Canara. So that a great famine, such as had never before occurred, was the consequence, “the common people of the ports above named being deprived of all means of subsistence.”

About this time a merchant of Venice, Cæsar Frederick, paid a visit to the coast, and among other interesting bits of information he gives the following: “And from thence (Barcelore) you shall go to a city called Cannanore, which is a harquebush shot distant from the chiefest city that the king of Cannanore hath in his kingdom, being a king of the Gentiles.” “And he (the Zamorin) and his country are the nest and resting place for stranger thieves, and those be called ‘Moors of Carposa,’ because they wear on their heads long red hats; and thieves part the spoils that they take on the sea with the King of Calicut, for he giveth leave unto all that will go a roving liberally to go; in such wise that all along that coast there is such a number of thieves, that there is no sailing in those seas, but with great ships, and very well armed; or else they must go in company with the army of the Portugals.”—(*Eng. Translation.*)

Just then (1580) another blow was impending still further to destroy Portuguese prestige, for on the death of Henry I. Spain subdued Portugal, and the control of their possessions in the East passed into Spanish hands.

This event was almost contemporaneous with another which influenced the fate of India in general and of Malabar in particular, for in 1580–81 Holland, one of the seven “Northern United Provinces,” declared its independence of Spain. And shortly after this other European nationalities began to trade directly with the East.

About 1581–84 the Zamorin had had enough of fighting, and he arranged a treaty of peace with the new Viceroy Mascarenhas (the first appointed by Philip of Spain), whereby the Zamorin’s subjects were permitted to trade as far as Gujarat, and to other parts as formerly, and to open trade with Arabia at the end of each season.

With the conclusion of this treaty of peace the interest in the narrative changes from Malabar to Europe, because it was only for a year or two more that the Portuguese enjoyed that monopoly of the Indian trade, particularly in Malabar pepper and spices, to which their efforts had hitherto been very consistently directed. With the appearance on the scene of the Dutch, and afterwards of the English and of the French, this monopoly died a natural death. Moreover the Muhammadans, whose trade it was the policy of the Portuguese to ruin, again began after a while to exercise their former privileges under the favouring shelter of the European jealousies imported into the East.

It would be out of place here to trace out the influences which eventually resulted in the conquest of all the Portuguese possessions in India outside Goa. A few words will suffice to carry the history of the Malabar coast up to the next stage in its course, the conquest by the Dutch of the Portuguese settlements, culminating in that of Cochin.

In 1591 Captain Raymonds made an unsuccessful attempt to reach the East in three English ships. In 1594-95 Houtman organized the Dutch East India Company. In 1596 another English expedition to the East under Captain Wood was also unsuccessful. In 1597 two Dutch ships succeeded in reaching India, but the one was destroyed off Malacca by a fleet of six Portuguese ships, and the other was wrecked on the coast of Pegu. In 1598 the Dutch under VanNec reached Amboyna, established trade, and also settled at Baroda. On 31st December 1600 the English East India Company of London was formed. Henry IV of France issued letters patent for the formation of a French East India Company on 1st June 1604, but it came to naught. In August 1607 or 1608 the first English ship reached Surat under Captain Hawkins. In 1609 the right of Holland to trade with India was formally recognized by treaty with Spain, and in 1610 the Dutch settled at Pulicat. In 1612 the English factory at Surat was established, and in 1615 Captain Keeling with three English ships, the same which had brought Sir Thomas Roe on his embassy to the Great Mogul, arrived off Calicut, and concluded a treaty with the Zamorin. But it very soon transpired that all that the Zamorin wanted was to get assistance against the Portuguese for the conquest of Cranganore and Cochin, and when the English ships left without assisting him, very scant courtesy was shown to the ten persons left behind, who were to have founded a factory at Calicut. In 1611-15 the United French East India Company was formed. In 1616 this United Company sent two ships to Java, and the result is described negatively as "not a failure" financially. In 1617 the Dutch settled at Ahmedabad. In 1619-20 the French Company sent an expedition to Acheen and Java, and it was fairly successful. In 1620-22 the Dutch settled in Persia and in other places tentatively. In 1624 the English East India Company was invested with powers of Government. In 1634-35 the English East India Company entered into a treaty with the Portuguese by which the English gained free access to Portuguese ports. In consequence of this some Englishmen appear to have settled at Cochin, and in 1635 pepper was for the first time exported to England direct from Malabar. In 1636 other bodies than the English East India Company were empowered to trade with India, and the same was renewed in 1655. In 1639 the English settled at Madras and the Dutch made their first attack on Goa. In 1640 Portugal recovered its independence from Spain. In 1642 Richelieu founded "La Compagnie des Indes" with exclusive privileges for twenty years, but the energies of the company were wasted in an ineffectual attempt to conquer Madagascar. In 1647 the English East India Company

began to enlist Members of Parliament among the subscribers to their stock ; hitherto they had been shy of enlisting " gentlemen " among their servants. In 1652-53 ensued the naval war between England and Holland in Europe, and the English factories in India suffered in consequence. In 1655 the Dutch settled at Vingorla. In 1657 the English East India Company obtained a new charter. In 1660 the Dutch made a second attack on Goa and failed. In 1661 the English East India Company was re-incorporated by Charles II, and by the charter granted in this year the East India Company's servants were authorized to make peace or war with any prince or people not being Christians, and to administer justice for themselves and their dependents. This provision materially improved the status of the chartered Company's servants—who had up to this time been buccaneering adventurers rather than steady traders and one company had been seeking to discredit another. Moreover in this same year Bombay was transferred to the English Crown as part of the Infanta Catherina's dowry on her marriage with Charles II.

The following account of the capture of Cochin, and of the other Portuguese settlements in Malabar, is taken from Dr. Day's " Land of the Permauls ; or Cochin, its Past and its Present," p. 115. Dr. Day's account was compiled from official records now in the Collector's office at Calicut.

" Another power was now to become predominant in the East, another race was to try their hand at supremacy, and another religion to be introduced. The Portuguese had become objects of aversion to their old allies, the princes of Cochin, as they had deposed the Raja and created his aunt the Rani.

" The Dutch beginning to dislike the interference of the Mogul and others at Surat, wished to establish a settlement on the coast of Malabar, where they might be territorial sovereigns, as well as traders without being subject to the rapacious exactions of the Muhammadan Government, or the neighbourhood of their successful rivals, the English. Cochin appeared a suitable spot, so they determined to try and dispossess the Portuguese and occupy it themselves.

" In 1661 the Dutch entered into an agreement with the Paliat Achan, hereditary chief minister to the Cochin Raja, to assist them in their schemes. ' When the Dutch planned the conquest of the coast, he (the Paliat Achan) materially assisted and met VanGoens, 12th March 1661, in a friendly manner and entered into an agreement the purport of which was that, as the Portuguese and other enemies had deprived him of his lands, he would place himself entirely under the protection of the Dutch, who were to restore him by force to his territories, whilst he was to obey them in all things. ' This agreement was dated the same day on board the ship *De Muscaatboom*. The Dutch troops appeared on the northern side of Cochin at Vypeen, where VanGoens fixed his head-quarters at the Bishop's house, and strongly fortified the Roman Catholic Church. Leaving eight hundred men to garrison it, VanGoens re-embarked the

remainder of his force, and landed on the southern side of the town. The Raja of Cochin now openly asserted that he and the Dutch had entered into an alliance.

"VanGoens seized a church to the south, and made it his headquarters. He then attacked the Rani's palace at Muttancherry, and after a struggle succeeded in taking it and making the Rani a prisoner. On the following day the Dutch attacked the fort of Cochin, but the officer commanding the storming party was killed, and they retreated in confusion. Regular approaches were now opened, but the old Portuguese spirit showed itself, and the garrison bravely defended themselves for several weeks, when the Raja of Porca¹ came to their assistance with six thousand natives, and the Dutch determined to retreat.

"In the dead of the night they accordingly embarked in silence. When the morning broke, the Portuguese were amazed at finding their enemy's camp abandoned. A Jew had sounded the hours as usual, thereby effectually deceiving them and preventing any sally on their part. Seven hundred men were left in the entrenchment at Vypeen. This year Tangacherry fell to the Dutch.

"As the Jews had favored their enemies the Dutch, the Portuguese considered it necessary to punish them to prevent the recurrence of such conduct, and therefore immediately on the siege being raised, they plundered Jews' Town of almost all it contained, attempted to destroy the synagogue, and carried off the Pentateuch, which was subsequently, in 1668, recovered uninjured.

"The absence of the Dutch was but temporary. In 1662 Cranganore fell to them; in October of that year they returned to Cochin under Hustart, but were vigorously met by the Portuguese, who in vain attempted to prevent their landing. The head-quarters of the Dutch were fixed at the convent of St. John the destruction of which had been unsuccessfully attempted by the garrison. In November VanGoens with a large number of troops joined the besiegers, but the garrison bravely determined to stand a siege.

"In December the Raja of Porca¹ arrived with a large native force at Ernakulam, and threw supplies into the fort. It was therefore determined to attack him. The natives under Portuguese officers met their foes most gallantly and drove them back with great loss, and the Dutch were compelled to bring up fresh troops before the Porca contingent could be routed.

"But the Portuguese still held out, so the Dutch with the assistance of the troops of their ally the Raja of Cochin and the Paliat Achan, determined on storming the fort, and for eight days and nights were enabled to keep up a succession of assailants, the troops being relieved every three hours. A remnant of the glorious valour of the early Portuguese appears to have animated this little band of their descendants in so long maintaining such an obstinate defence. At length, when the Portuguese commandant Pierre de Pon found that no assistance could reach him, that his native allies had forsaken him and had joined the new European power, that

¹ Purakkat.

provisions were becoming very scarce, and all were worn out with fatigue and anxiety, he capitulated, and the Dutch became masters of Cochin on the 8th January 1663.

"Four hundred topasses who were not included in the terms of the capitulation 'on discovering the omission, and knowing the cruel and licentious character of the Dutch soldiery in India, drew up close to the gate at which the Portuguese were to march out and the Dutch to enter, declaring that if equally favorable terms were not granted to them as to the Portuguese, they would massacre them all and set fire to the town.' It was deemed advisable to accede to their demands, and subsequently some of them even enlisted in the Dutch service."

Section (E).

THE DUTCH, ENGLISH AND FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PEPPER AND PIECE GOODS TRADE.

A.D. 1663-1766.

When the Dutch acquired in the manner described in the preceding section all the Portuguese possessions in Malabar they found, among the settlers at Cochin, a small factory of the English East India Company established there, as already described, so early as 1634-35, and these factors receiving immediate notice to quit, took the earliest opportunity to leave the place after it fell into Dutch hands.

From a very early period in its history the English Company had set its face against martial enterprises. And Sir Thomas Roe, the Ambassador to the Great Mogul, had given the Company some invaluable advice which they took well to heart. "The Portuguese", he wrote, "notwithstanding their many rich residences are beggared by keeping of soldiers, and yet their garrisons are but mean. They never made advantage of the Indies since they defended them. Observe this well. It has also been the error of the Dutch who seek plantations here by the sword. They turn a wonderful stock; they prole in all places; they possess some of the best, yet their dead pays consume all the gain."

So far indeed did the English Company carry this policy that they even forbade at times an appeal to arms by the factors for their own defence; and the annoyances experienced in consequence of this were occasionally almost intolerable.

But the strength of the Company lay in the admirable arrangements whereby they encouraged trade at their fortified settlements. They established manufactures; they attracted spinners and weavers and wealthy men to settle in their limits; the settlers were liberally treated and their religious prejudices were tolerated; the privacy of houses were respected by all classes and creeds;

settlers were allowed to burn their dead and to observe their peculiar wedding ceremonies ; no compulsory efforts were made to spread Christianity, nor were the settlers set to uncongenial tasks ; shipping facilities were afforded ; armed vessels protected the shipping ; all manufactured goods were at first exempted from payment of duty ; the Company coined their own money ; and courts of justice were established ; security for life and property in short reigned within their limits.

In 1685-90 a martial policy was tried at Bombay and Surat, but the Company found to their heavy cost that it did not pay, and so it was once more abandoned. And the settled policy of the Company seems to have been from this time forward to avoid war, either defensive or offensive, unless a substantial return could be obtained for the outlay in money and men.

The English Company's servants were graded in their order of seniority as apprentices for five years, as writers for five years, as factors for three years, as senior factors for three years, and as merchants. Some changes subsequently took place in these grades, for senior factors were latterly styled merchants, and the merchant grade became senior merchants. The pay of the several grades was very small. In 1739 the Chief of the Tellicherry factory received only £70 a year, the two senior merchants £40 a year each, one junior merchant £30 a year, and one writer £5 a year with an additional Rs. 144 (equivalent at that time to £18 a year) for reading divine service.

One or more of these servants seem to have been despatched from time to time to look after the Company's investments at the different ports on the coast. They lived under the protection of the native rulers of the places where they settled, and were in no way different from ordinary private merchants. In time, as the Company's investments became larger and more important, the necessity for fortified posts to protect the Company's warehouses made itself felt ; but for many years after the Company's factors were unceremoniously turned out of Cochin by the Dutch in 1663, the English Company's servants in Malabar had to rely alone for protection on the native chieftains in whose territories they were settled. It would be difficult to over-estimate the benefits of the experience thus obtained in the Company's dealings with the natives, for the factors had perforce to study native character and to adapt themselves to it ; and in doing this they were unconsciously fitting themselves to become the future rulers of the empire.

Such settlements seem to have been formed at Rattera and Brinjan in Travancore territory and at Ponnani and Calicut in the Zamorin's country.

It was with the latter chief that the English Company's earliest extant¹ agreement was concluded in September 1664 shortly after the taking of Cochin by the Dutch. Two of the Company's servants

¹ *Collection of Treaties, etc., i. I.*—Calicut, 1879.

by name Riveri (? Rivers) and Vetti (?) appear to have proceeded to Calicut in June preceding the above date, and to have been permitted to settle there on agreeing to pay duty to the Zamorin on the trade carried on.

The Zamorin is described shortly after this time as ruling the country "from Ticori (Trikkodi¹) to Chitwa,"² a distance of about 22 leagues. His palace at Calicut was built of stone, and he kept up "some faint resemblance of grandeur" about it. He was still "reckoned the powerfulest king" on the coast, and he had the best trade in his country. The products of his country were pepper, betel-nut, coconut, jaggery, copra, sandalwood, iron, cassia-lignum and timber. His supremacy appears to have been acknowledged by all the Malayali chiefs, except, perhaps, the Cochin Raja, from the northernmost part of Malabar to the southernmost extremity of Travancore by the offering of a flag or other token of submission, and by attending him once in twelve years at the Tirunavayi ceremony already fully described.³ This supremacy was however little more than nominal, and his position among the country powers appears to have deteriorated greatly from what it was in 1498 when the Portuguese appeared upon the scene.

In August 1664 the French "Compagnie des Indes" was formed by Colbert. It started with a capital of 15,000,000 "livres tournois" (£600,000), and Louis XIV had to publish an edict telling his courtiers it was not derogatory for a man of noble birth to trade to India. Men who had thus to be reminded of what was or was not fitting to their position were not the men to push French interests successfully, and the English Company's servants soon saw that the French men were poor men of business and not likely to prove successful rivals in trade. Fryer described their Surat factory about this time as "better stored with monsieurs than with cash; they live well, borrow money, and make a show". Their first venture was a fresh attempt on Madagascar, and most of their funds were spent in combating with a bad climate, a poor soil, and the hostility of the Malagasis. In 1672 they relinquished their attempts on the island and their colonists were scattered abroad, some to India and some to Mauritius and Reunion.

Meanwhile in 1665 war had broken out in Europe between the English and the Dutch; and the Dutch⁴ in 1673 with a fleet carrying 6,000 men under VanGoens threatened the English settlement at Bombay, where in September 23, 1668, the English Company had finally settled down and secured for themselves from the Crown

¹ Page 72.

² Chavakkad, *see* p. 77.

³ Pages 163-8.

⁴ The Dutch settlements on the coast at this time were—

(1) Quilon.

(2) Calli-Quilon.

(3) Cranganore.

(4) Cannanore, which were all placed under the command of the Governor at

(5) Cochin.

authorities an unequalled position for trade. The Dutch, on finding they were likely to receive a warmer reception than they had bargained for, wisely determined not to land.

In 1674 the French, who had been driven out of St. Thome by the Dutch, settled under Francois Martin at Pondicherry.

About 1680 the Dutch began to experience the results of their error in seeking trade at the point of the sword. The expenses of the garrisons maintained at their various settlements were so large that their trade yielded no profits, and they began gravely to consider the advisability of destroying the forts of Cannanore, Cranganore and Quilon, or of re-selling them to the Portuguese. For various reasons, however, the resolution was not carried out.

The Dutch were also very intolerant of persons professing the Roman Catholic faith, and in their overtures to Portugal about this time they proposed to hand back the places (except Cochin) where that faith had obtained a firm hold of the people. The negotiations fell through, and in 1684 the Roman Catholic priests were at last allowed to return to the charge of their flocks.

In this same year (1684) the English Company obtained from the Attingal Rani (of the Travancore family) a sandy spit of land at Anjengo. The site was badly selected in some respects, for there was no good water within three miles or so and the open roadstead and surf rendered shipping operations precarious. The place, however, had other advantages. Pepper was abundant, also calicoes of excellent quality. And when the place was fortified some years later, the cannon of the fort commanded the river, the main artery of traffic, as well as the shipping in the roadstead.

It was in 1690 that the Rani of Attingal gave permission to the English Company to erect the Anjengo fort, but no written treaty remains as a record of the fact.

The English system of sending factors to various points on the coast to test the value of the trade at those places seems to have enabled the Company to decide where it would be best for their interests to plant factories for the defence of the trade thus ascertained to exist; and, in this way, towards the close of the seventeenth century they settled on two points on the Malabar coast, one at Anjengo, as already described, and the other at Tellicherry. Calicut would probably have been selected as a more favorable spot for trade than Tellicherry, but the Zamorins seem, not unnaturally after their experience of what had befallen them in the Portuguese period, to have looked with jealousy on all foreign fortified settlements; and so strong seems to have been the feeling on this point that it was not, until after the English Company had been settled for nearly a whole century at Calicut, that they were permitted in 1759 even to tile their factory there so as to secure it against fire.

As the English Company's operations expanded in this way so did the Dutch Company's business fall off, notwithstanding the number and strength of their fortified posts. On September 10,

1691, the Dutch gave up Chetwai to the Zamorin. In 1697 the walls of the Dutch fort at Cochin had become so ruinous, owing to the parsimonious policy pursued, that it was manifest something must be done. In pursuance therefore of the policy inaugurated in 1680, steps were taken to reduce their military expenditure. The Cochin fort was reduced to half its size, at Cannanore and Quilon only one tower was to be left standing, and at Cranganore the exterior works only were to remain. Moreover the military at all the outposts—Paponetty, Purakkat, and Calli-Quilon—were to be withdrawn, and the marine establishment was reduced to the most attenuated proportions—one small yacht, two sloops, and three row boats.

These reductions had their natural effect on the country powers, and the Dutch Company was no longer feared.

It was in 1695 that the notorious Captain Kydd's expedition was fitted out in England to put down¹ European piracy in the Indian seas. The Mogul held the factors at Surat responsible for the piratical acts of Kydd, the Dutchman Chivers, and others. And the other country powers seem to have reasoned in like fashion, for about November 1697 the Anjengo settlement was violently but unsuccessfully attacked by the Travancoreans on the plea that the factors were pirates. It may, however, be doubted whether this, their ostensible reason, was the true one, for, as will presently appear, the presence of the English in Travancore was gradually leading to a revolution in that State.

It was not the country powers alone who charged the old English Company with fomenting piracy, for their rivals (the new company) also brought this charge against them; and indeed from the extent to which European piracy had prevailed, the alternative lay between the suppression either of it or of honest trade.

It would be out of place here to set forth the grounds of quarrel between the rival East India Companies, but in passing it requires to be noted that English interests suffered severely in consequence of the disputes, whereby piracy was encouraged. The Mogul made the Surat factors pay heavy damages, and even went the length of ordering the factories to be destroyed. The differences were at last, however, arranged; on April 27, 1702, the rival Companies approved an instrument of union, and on and after July 22 of that same year all opposition between the rival Companies' officers in India was to cease. It took a year or two more, however, to adjust all their differences; and it was not till September 29, 1708, that the Earl of Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer of England, who had been appointed arbiter in the disputes, made his famous award, and from that date the style of the association was altered to that of "*The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.*"

¹ Pages 73-4.

Notwithstanding these troubles the English settlements on the coast were making progress.

About 1680 there had occurred a disruption in the Northern Kolattiri family. Hamilton, who visited the reigning Kolattiri in 1702, but who had been on the coast some years previously, thus describes the event :—" There were three princes of the blood royal who conspired to cut him " (the reigning Prince Unnitiri) " and his family off, to possess themselves of the government of Callistree " (Kolattiri) : " but being detected they were beheaded on altars built of stone. About two miles from Cannanore the altars were standing when I saw there. They were only square piles of hewn stone, about three yards high and four yards each side."

Such family quarrels were not infrequent in the Kolattiri Chief's house, and the reasons therefor are in operation in all Malayali families down to the present day, and more especially in North Malabar. The head of a Malayali house has two conflicting sets of interests to deal with—first, those of his legal heirs, the children of his female relatives of various degrees ; and secondly, those of his natural heirs, his own wife and children. The latter have no *legal* claim on him, but natural affection comes into play, and to provide suitably for his own children and their mother a man not infrequently trenches upon the right of his *legal* heir. Hence arise bitter quarrels and jealousies.

There can be no doubt that the Kolattiri family's dominions had become greatly curtailed by such provisions having been made for the natural heirs of the chiefs out of the territories belonging of right to the legal heirs. And at the period when the Tellicherry factory was established, somewhere about 1694-95, one of the natural offshoots of the family, the Kadattunad Raja, known to the early English as the Boyanore or Baonor ¹ of Badagara ² was in semi-independent possession of Kadattunad ³ that is, of the territory lying between the Mahe and Kotta rivers. And another such offshoot was in similar semi-independent possession of the Malayalam territory lying to the north of the Kavayi river. And of the territory lying between the Kavayi and Mahe rivers various portions had come, whether by family alliances of the kind described or by grants, it is difficult to say, into the possession of various chieftains who were all more or less dependent on the Kolattiris. Randattara, otherwise called Poyanad, ⁴ was under the *Achamar* (fathers) four houses of the *Nambiar* caste ; Kottayam was under the Puranat (foreign) Rajas, and Iruvalinad (including Kurangoth) was ruled by six houses of the *Nambiar* caste and by one house of the *Nayar* caste. Besides the above the two houses of *Nambiar*s still

¹ *Valunnamar* = Ruler.

² *Vadakura* (p. 72).

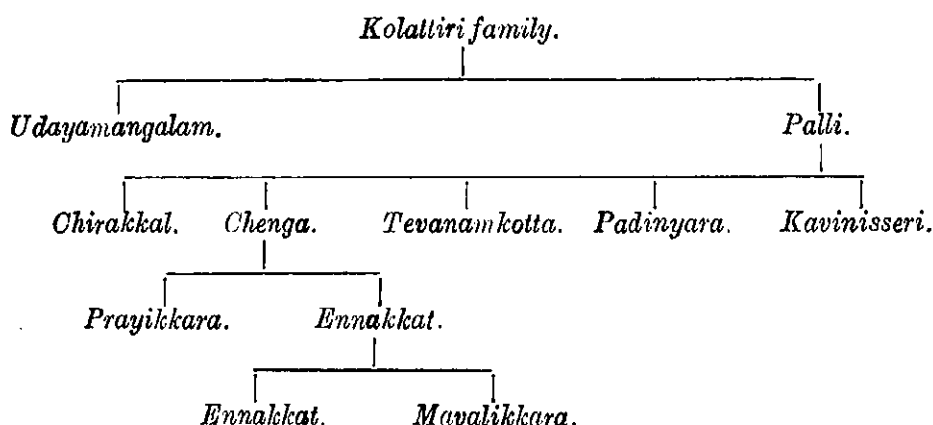
³ See map at paragraph 11 of Section (b), Chapter IV.

⁴ Tradition says that this was the county (*nad*) from which Cheraman Porumal went (*poyi*) to Arabia.

continued to rule, in some subjection to the Kolattiris, the territories,¹ assigned (it is said) to them by Cheraman Perumal himself along the foot of the Western Ghats in the present Chirakkal taluk, and there were other houses of *Nambiars* (though of lower rank) located in different places in what is now the Chirakkal taluk. Lastly the Mappilla Chief of Cannanore (the Ali Raja) or Raja of the Sea had secured to himself a small slice of territory at and about Cannanore. The original Kolattiri dominions were therefore broken up into a large number of petty principalities at the time of the founding of the Tellicherry factory, and the territory which remained under the direct rule of the Kolattiris was of comparatively small extent.

To understand thoroughly the position of affairs at this time, it is further necessary to explain that the Kolattiri house itself had become largely disintegrated.

The following table shows its present (1886) constitution :—



Several other sub-branches had broken off from the parent stem, but these have all since become extinct.

The *eldest* female of all the branches was accustomed to some distinction, and was entitled to the *sthanam* (dignity) annexed to the Achanma Mupasthanam. She was nominally the head of the whole family just as the Ambadi Kovilagam Rani was the nominal head of the Zamorin's house.

But the executive power was in theory at least sub-divided among the five *eldest* male members, who were styled, respectively, in their order of seniority.

1. The *Kolattiri*,
2. The *Tekkalankur*,
3. The *Vadakkalankur*,
4. The *Nalamkur*, and
5. The *Anjamkur*.

¹(Chulali and Noriyot)—*Conf.* p. 234.

When this arrangement was first made, the *Kolattiri* himself probably retained originally the immediate executive charge of only the middle portion of his dominions. The *Tekkalankur* (the Southern Regent) used to have separate charge of the southern portion of the territories of the house with his headquarters at Putupattanam on the Kotta river, and tradition says that it was by marriage with one of the southern regents that one of the Kadattanad Raja's female ancestors acquired the territory of that family. The *Vadakkalankur* (the Northern Regent) had separate charge of the northern territories, and from a marriage with one of them, the Nilesvaram Rajas acquired their territory forming at present the southern portion of the Kasargode taluk in South Canara. The other *Kurnalchas* (rulers of portions), namely, the fourth (*Nalamkur*) and fifth (*Anjamkur*), probably remained in more or less immediate attendance on the *Kolattiri* himself and rendered him any assistance he required.

The dissensions which broke out from time to time in the family, and of which that noticed by Hamilton is the first on record, were caused no doubt by the extensive surrenders of territory to the consorts of the ruling members. The *Tekkalankur*, when he succeeded to that dignity in order of seniority, would find himself, if he accepted the situation, a ruling chief without any territory to rule, and he would not willingly part with what remained of the territory attached to the dignity (the *Vadakkalankur's*) he was about to vacate.

On examining the records it is found that, as a rule, the ablest member of the family, sometimes peaceably with the consent of all the members, sometimes by force, seized the reins of power at the earliest possible opportunity, and the rest of the family, although perhaps senior to himself, were mere puppets in his hands.

This explains how it came about that the grant of the Tellicherry factory site was obtained, not from the *Kolattiri* himself but from the Northern Regent (the *Vadakkalankur*), who happened at the time to be the *de facto* ruler of Kolattunad.

It is not easy to explain why the Company eventually decided to settle at Tellicherry, for it was a place of no importance up to that time. Hamilton, who however bore the factors no good-will, was not able to find a satisfactory reason for it at the time. His narrative runs thus :—"The place where the Factory now stands belonged to the French, who left the mud walls of a Fort built by them to serve the English when they first settled there, and for many years they continued so, but of late¹ no small pains and charge have been bestowed on its buildings; but for what reason I know not for it has no River near it that can want its protection, nor can it defend the Road from the insults of Enemies, unless it be for small vessels that can come within some rocks that lay half a mile off or to protect the Company's Warehouse, and a Punch-House that stands on the Sea-Shore a short Pistol Shot from the garrison."

¹ Published in Edinburgh in 1727.

The factory site was probably chosen more for purposes of trade than with a view to securing that trade once it was developed. Tellicherry lies close to the fine pepper-producing countries of Kottayam and Randattara, and the finest cardamoms in the world are produced in the country lying at the head of the Periah pass into Wynad, to which Tellicherry is the nearest point on the coast. These were advantages which the Company would certainly appreciate. By selecting Darmapattanam Island, however, the same advantages could have been secured along with capabilities of defence such as Tellicherry could not boast. But the island was at this time in dispute among the country powers, and when the chance did occur of acquiring it the expense of moving the garrison and warehouses to the island was so heavy that, although the removal was sanctioned, it was never actually carried out.

As to when the factory was established it is certain that this event happened some time before the 24th October 1699, the first date in the "General Letter Book" of the factory extant on 6th May 1728 as mentioned in the factory diary of this latter date. The Company had probably had a trading post at Tellicherry for some years previously, and it is certain that at the union between the Companies in 1702 Tellicherry is mentioned along with Karwar, Calicut and Anjengo as among the affiliated factories of Bombay.

It was the *Vadakkalankur* (Northern Regent) of Kolattiri who permitted the English Company to settle at Tellicherry. Their settlement was as usual unprotected. And, it is said, that one of the rival Kolattiri princes of the Udayamangalam branch, in combination with the neighbouring *Nayar* chieftain of Iruvalinad, the Kurangoth Nayar, entered the Company's warehouse one day about 1704-05 and committed certain irregularities, which were duly reported to the Northern Regent, and it was at the same time pointed out to him that such events would recur unless the place were fortified. The Regent thereupon gave his consent to the building of a fort, and it is said that he himself laid the foundation-stone thereof. With the consent, it is said, of the Ponattil Poduval and of the Vallura Tangal, a house site belonging to the former and a hill (Tiruvallapan Kunnu) belonging to the latter were taken up, and on these sites the fort and fort-house were built. The Company also bought up, for the same purpose, a street of weavers which existed at the place.

The town, Hamilton says, lay at the back of the fort with a stone wall round it "to keep out Enemies of the Chief's making, for in 1703 he began a war that still continues, at least there were Folks killed in 1723 when I was there". The buildings and the war together, he said, had taken "double the Money to maintain them that the Company's investments came to," and he thus relates the origin of the disturbance. "The occasion of the War, as I was informed, began about a trifle. The Nayar, that was Lord of the Mannor, had a Royalty, for every Vessel that unladed at Tellicherry paid two Bales of Rice duty to him. There was another

Royalty of every tenth fish that came to the Market there, and both together did not amount to £20 Sterling per annum. The Chief either appropriated these Royalties to his own, or the Company's use, and the Nayar complained of the Injustice but had no Redress. These little duties were the best part of the poor Nayar's subsistence which made it the harder to bear, so his friends advised him to rebel force by force, and disturb the Factory what he could, which he accordingly did (by the secret assistance of his Friends) for above twenty years. The Company are the best Judges whether the War is likely to bring any profit to their affairs there or no."

It is extremely improbable, it may be remarked, that the Company's officers, who had been careful to buy up the weavers' and others' houses and lands before beginning to erect their fort, would have refused to pay the petty dues Hamilton writes about, had they been justly payable, and he omits all mention of the irregular entry into the Company's warehouse before the fort was built, so he is not an impartial witness in the matter. Jealousies between the Kolattiri chiefs had probably more to do with it than the reasons assigned by Hamilton.

A paper in the records states that every endeavour was made to arrange matters amicably with the Kurangoth Nayar, and it was only when these proved abortive that the English Company resorted to force. They stormed the Mailan hill on the outskirts of Tellicherry and took it, although it had, with a view to giving trouble to the factory, been fortified by the Nayar with the secret assistance of his friends,¹ no doubt, as Hamilton says.

On August 20th, 1708, the Northern Regent formally gave² and made over the Tellicherry fort, which had been "built at the request and entreaties made by me as a friend" to the Honourable Company, and he added that within its limits "no person shall demand, collect or plant," and "our custom-house will be obliged to give us what has been settled."

The Nayar appears to have maintained a desultory warfare with the factory until, on 29th September 1719, he submitted proposals of peace, which were accorded to him and ratified on that date. Among other terms³ he gave the Company "two great guns and a slave in lieu of one you have lost," and he agreed to give the Company a monopoly of his pepper produce without any duty and to surrender "the Ramem hill," which is probably identical with that of Mailan already referred to.

The Zamorin in 1699 had probably received an advance of money from the Company, as in that year he came to an understanding⁴

¹ Hamilton himself, who was an Interloper, was probably to be reckoned of this number as he paid a visit to Mahe, the southern limit of the Nayar's territory in 1707.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. III. This treaty was subsequently confirmed by the Kolattiri himself and other members of the family. *Ibid.*, i. VIII, IX and X.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, i. VI and VII.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, i. II.

with a Mr. Peni (Penny?) authorising him to deduct 25 per cent. of the duty on pepper exported. And again in 1710 he had authorised them to employ the oil ordeal for settling their disputes with native traders. It appears they also had the privilege of protecting debtors who took refuge in their Calicut factory, to the disadvantage occasionally of interlopers like Hamilton.

Meanwhile affairs in other parts of the Zamorin's territory had not proceeded so satisfactorily for the English Company's interests. It has already been said that the Dutch in pursuance of their policy to curtail their military expenditure had in 1691 placed the Island of Chetwai in the Zamorin's hands. The Zamorin was not slow to follow up the advantage this gave him of being placed on the flank, as it were, of his hereditary foe, the Cochin Raja's territory. War broke out shortly afterwards, and from 1701 till 1710 the Dutch were drawn into it in a desultory manner in protection of the Cochin Raja's interests. It was this protection of the Cochin Raja against the Zamorin which involved the Dutch in so much profitless expenditure in Malabar. So long as the Chetwai Island remained in the Zamorin's hands, he could at any moment turn, as it were, the flank of the Cochin Raja's defence, and it, therefore, became an object of importance to the Dutch Company to protect the northernmost point of the island. In 1714 they accordingly set about the erection of a fort at this point.

The English Company, on the other hand, and, if Hamilton's account is correct, the Chief of the English factory, Mr. Robert Adams, had, in particular, interests of their own to protect. Ever since the place had been in the Zamorin's hands, the English chiefs had made, as Hamilton expresses it, "a good Milch Cow" of it, by vending presumably on their own private account, "between 500 and 1,000 Chests of Bengal Ophium yearly up in the inland Countries where it is very much used." The Water Carriage of the River being cheap and secure, the Price of Ophium high, and the Price of Pepper low, so that their profits were great both ways.

The Raja of Cochin made over his claims to the island to the Dutch, "who," as Hamilton records, "made small account who had the best Title, but carried on their Work with Diligence."

Acting on the advice of Mr. Adams on the other hand, the Zamorin determined to resort to stratagem to recover possession of it. He accordingly sent some soldiers disguised as coolies who entered the Dutch service to help in the building of the fort. These men were instructed to watch their opportunity, and for this purpose they lay in ambuscade "in a Morass overgrown with weeds near the Fort." The two Dutch lieutenants in charge of the works began one evening to play dominoes in a temporary guard-room about half a mile from the fort, while the garrison strolled about off their guard in the cool of the evening. Taking advantage of this favourable opportunity the men in ambush easily overpowered

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. IV.

² The consumption in these same parts is still large.

the sentinels and took the half-built fort. Collecting a few men the officers rushed to the spot, but one of them was killed in the advance, and the other losing heart drew off his men and sailed for Cochin. Before sailing he had the mortification to see the English flag flying over the fort. On reaching Cochin he was tried by court-martial and shot, Hamilton being present at the execution. The Zamorin's people set to work at once to demolish the fort and carried off some great guns belonging to the Dutch. "And this was the Prelude of the War."

The reason for the hoisting of the English flag over the unfinished work appears to have been that in February 1715, Mr. Adams had obtained permission ' from the Zamorin to build a warehouse at Chetwai, and keep a person there for trade purposes.

The Dutch could not stand this affront, so Councillor Willem Bakker Jacobtz took the field at the head of 4,000 European and native troops. Chetwai was recovered; Paponetty previously mortgaged to the Zamorin was also taken; and notwithstanding some unacceptable advice tendered to Mr. Adams by Hamilton "not to embark his Masters in that Affair because war was a different Province from his," the war ended in "a dishonourable and disadvantageous Peace" in 1717. The Zamorin by the conditions of peace "was obliged to build up the Fort he had demolished, to pay the Dutch Company 7 per cent. on all the pepper exported out of his Dominions for ever, and to pay a large Sum towards the Charges of the War. Some Part of the Money, I believe, he borrowed."

The Dutch formally resumed possession of the Chetwai fort on April 10th, 1717. It was named Fort William and Heer Wilhem Blasser, Captain-Lieutenant, and first commandant thereof, died there on the 2nd of February 1729, as his tombstone lying at the Chetwai public bungalow still attests.

After the conclusion of this disadvantageous peace, Mr. Adams continued to be the Chief of the Tellicherry factory for many years, and he was not relieved of that charge till the 10th of March 1728. Hamilton's belief that part of the money spent by the Zamorin in this war was borrowed was fully justified, for the early Tellicherry records show that the Company took great exception to the loans which Mr. Adams had made out of their money to the Zamorin, the Punnattur Raja, the Prince Regent of the Kolattiri dominions and others. Notwithstanding the most persistent dunning, the Zamorin's debt amounted to the large sum of fanams 6,68,122.04 when Mr. John Braddyl eventually took charge of the factory. Mr. Adams did not regularly deliver over charge of it. He proceeded with Mr. Braddyl to Tanur to recover some of the money lent. Mrs. Adams, after some restraint (subsequently withdrawn) had been

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. V.

used to prevent her leaving Tellicherry, came down the coast "on board the Decker for Fort St. George," picked up her husband at Calicut, and the records do not say what further became of them.

In consequence of these expensive wars the Dutch settlement at Cochin was not paying its way, so in 1721 the Supreme Council in Batavia came to the very important resolution that the Raja of Cochin was no longer to be supported in his interminable fights with the Zamorin, and the Cochin council was solemnly cautioned to live peaceably with all men : advice more easily given than capable of being carried out.

This resolution of the Dutch Company, coupled with the results of certain memorable events at Anjengo, speedily led to great changes among the country powers.

The Honourable Company settled at Anjengo mainly for two reasons—"Pepper" and "*piece-goods*." Travancore was at the time of the settlement and for many years subsequently in a state which did not favour trade. The Rajas were as a rule mere puppets in the hands of certain Brahmans of the Trivandrum temple and of certain petty chieftains of the Nayar caste, who were styled the *Ettuvittil Pillamar*, or the Pillays of the eight houses. These latter appear to have been the local heads of the Nayar *tara* organization---of the organization, that is, which, as already fully explained, was charged with the maintenance of the rights of all classes, and with preventing any such from falling into disuse. The country was therefore broken up, as was also the case with Kolattunad, into an immense number of petty chieftainships, over which the Rajas had very limited and precarious authority. Such a country was not favourable for trade. What the English Company would have liked would have been a despotic monarch who could assign to them monopolies of the produce they came seeking and could enforce the same with a strong arm.

A weaker prince than usual appears to have succeeded to the Travancore Raj in 1718, and another prince, then quite a boy, but afterwards famous as the great Martanda Varma, appears to have set himself in opposition to the Brahmans and feudal chiefs, and in consequence the country was in a disturbed state.

In April 1721 the Anjengo factors were applied to for their usual annual present due to the Rani of Attingal, of the Travancore family. "Those¹ who demanded it assured him (the Chief of the Factory) that they came to demand it by the Queen's order, and offered their Receipt of it in her Name." The chief appears to have had reason to expect that if the present were sent it would never reach Her Highness as the *Ettuvittil Pillamar* were just then in the ascendant, so he refused to pay it into any hands but those of the Rani. On this the Rani invited him to bring it to Attingal himself. "And he, to appear great there, carried two of his Council, and some others of the Factory with most Part of the Military belonging

¹Hamilton's *New Account*, etc., I. 332-3.

to the Garrison, and by Stratagem they were all cut off, except a few black Servants whose heels and language saved them from the Massacre, and they brought the sad news of the tragedy." This happened on the 15th April 1721.

Two years later the Chief of the Anjengo factory was Dr. Alexander¹ Orme, the father of the Historian² Robert Orme. He had come as an adventurer to India about 1706, and proving serviceable as a surgeon to the factors at Anjengo he had been taken into the Company's service, being described by the Anjengo factors, who recommended his being entertained, as "a very capable and ingenious person that would be extraordinarily serviceable to our masters and us in sickness." He appears to have been appointed as the chief of the factory directly after the massacre.

The resolution taken by the Honourable Company on learning of this massacre is thus expressed in an *olu*³ (cadian letter), written by the Travancore Raja to Dr. Orme on the 15th August 1723:— "Owing to the loss sustained by the Honorable Company in the capture of Atinga (Attingal) and the money and artillery, which the enemies robbed in our country, the Honorable Company have resolved, in spite of money expenses, to put down the enemies and subject the country to the king, we are ready to do anything, which the Honorable Company may require, and shall personally come there and punish the enemies there in the best manner you may desire, regarding which we affirm to do without fail, and wish to know when must we come there with our army."

The Raja appears to have died shortly after this letter was written, and it was not till 1726 that the first important step was taken by his successor, advised to it also by the Prince Martanda Varma, now twenty years of age, to break the power of the *Ettuvittil Pillamar* and other chieftains whose interference was as unwelcome to the Raja as it was to the trading English Company. This step consisted in obtaining a body of troops—1,000 cavalry and 2,000 sepoys from the Nayak of Madura—in consideration of Travancore undertaking to become tributary to him.

With the aid of this force the refractory feudal chiefs were kept under some restraint, but it was not until after 1729, when the famous Raja Martanda Varma at last succeeded to the Raj, that effectual steps were taken "to put down the enemies, and subject the country to the king." And the extirpation of the *Ettuvittil Pillamar* was the first effectual step taken in this direction by that energetic chief.

The advantage of having a standing army of trained troops had however meanwhile become so apparent that the next step adopted by this capable Martanda Varma was to employ the famous Fleming Eustachius D'Lanoy to organise his forces. D'Lanoy had been taken prisoner at the Travancorean attack on the Dutch fort of

¹ He was brother-in-law of the Tellichery Factory Chief, Mr. Adams.

² Born at Anjengo in 1728.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XII.

Colachel in August 1741; he had attracted the notice of the Raja who had treated him with much kindness and consideration, and in return he and several of his companions had entered the Raja's military service.

Things had in this way become ripe for great changes in the south, and in consequence

First, of the Dutch Company's resolution in 1721 not to back up their native allies, or to do it in an irresolute fashion, which appears to have been what actually happened;

Secondly, of the English Company's resolution in 1723 to "subject the country to the king" and so facilitate their trade; and

Thirdly, of the formation about 1741 of a standing army in Travancore,

the next few years saw the Travancoreans masters of the whole of the country as far north as Cranganore, leaving to the luckless ally of the Dutch Company, the Cochin Raja, only a few square miles lying round his palaces at Ernakulam and Cochin.

Meanwhile the French had secured a stable footing on the coast as competitors for the Malayali produce of pepper, piece-goods, ginger and cardamoms, and the way of it was as follows:—

Hamilton, as already set forth, mentions incidentally that the French had formed a temporary settlement in a small mud fort at Tellicherry prior to the occupation of that place by the English. And he further notices the fact that in 1698 they had a factory at Calicut. They were, however, evidently not doing much there, as he says they had neither money nor credit and were "not in a condition to carry on a trade."

Hamilton chanced once to visit the place which he called "Mealie,"¹ and which the French subsequently seized in the manner to be presently described, and his account furnishes much interesting information regarding the chief of that district of Kolattunad, whom the French afterwards dispossessed of a small portion of his territory.

"And 8 or 10 miles further to the Southward" (of Mahe) "is Burgara,² a seaport in the dominions of Ballanore." Burgario³ a formidable Prince. His country produces Pepper and the best Cardamoms in the World." In January 1703 Hamilton appears to have visited the place and bought cardamoms, and received a visit from the prince on board his ship, which he minutely inspected and then signified his intention of building a similar one "but there wanted water enough in his Rivers to flote her." "This Prince and his predecessors have been Lords of the Sea, Time out of Mind, and all trading vessels between Cape Comorin and Damaan were obliged to carry his Passes. Those of one Mast paid for their Passes about 8 shillings yearly, and those with three paid about

¹ *Mayyali* = Mahe.

² *Vadakara*.

³ *Corrupt form of Valunnavar* = Ruler.

sixteen; but when the Portuguese settled in India, then they pretended to the Sovereignty of the Seas which occasioned a War between him and them that has lasted ever since. He keeps some light Gallies that row and sail very well, which cruize along the Coast from October to May to make Prize of all who have not his Pass. In our discourse I asked him if he was not afraid to venture his person on board of a Merchant Ship since he himself was an Enemy to all Merchants that traded on these Coasts. He answered that he had heard of my Character, and that made him fearless and that he was no Enemy to trade, but only vindicated the Sovereignty of those Seas before mentioned, and that our own King was invested with the like Sovereignty not only on his own Coasts, but on those of France, Holland and Denmark and could have no greater right than he had, only he was in a better Position to oblige the transgressors of his Laws to obedience than he was. However, he would maintain his claim and right the best way he could, and whoever lost their Ships or Vessels for contempt of his authority might blame their own obstinacy or folly and not him." On parting with Hamilton he gave him a bracelet and made him "a free Denizen in all his Territories."

Hamilton paid him a return visit on shore at "his palace which was very meanly built of Reeds and covered with Coconut Leaves, but very neat and clean." He expressed wonder why the English did not settle in his dominions because he had pepper and cardamoms which were carried both to Calicut and Tellicherry and paid customs *en route* to other chiefs while he only charged 5 per cent as duty. Hamilton replied "that sending his Vessels to cruize on Merchant Ships had blasted the reputation of his country." He proposed to Hamilton to settle there, but Hamilton told him in reply that he could not accept of his favours without the approbation of the Company.

In 1707 Hamilton again came from Cochin to buy a new ship which the Raja (Kadattunad) had built. He called at a place belonging to him "called Mealie."¹ He was received with great favour, but the Raja would not sell the ship until he had first employed her in one voyage himself. "When I went to his palace the first time I was innocently guilty of ill-manners, for walking with him near his lodgings, I chanced to touch the Thatch with my Hat which polluted it so much that as soon as I went away he stripped it of its Covering because Religion forbade him to sleep under it when it was thus polluted, but it was soon re-sanctified by a new Thatching." If this had been done by one of his own subjects he might have been in danger of his life for it.

The Raja insisted on all things being supplied to Hamilton without payment, and he had in consequence to pay fishermen on the sly for the fish he got from them.

"I do not certainly know how far Southerly this Prince's Dominions reach along the Sea Coast, but I believe to Tecorie,"²

¹ *Mayyali* = Mahe.

² Trikkodi, p. 72.

about 12 miles from Mealie,¹ and in the half way is Cottica,² which was famous formerly for privateering on all Ships and Vessels that traded without their Lord's Pass."

Hamilton further notices the "sacrifice Rock" lying off Cottica, about 8 miles in the sea—so called, tradition says, because "when the Portuguese first settled at Calicut, the Cottica² cruizers surprised a Portuguese vessel and sacrificed all their Prisoners on that Rock."

In 1719 the "*Perpetual Company of the Indies*" was formed in France by Law, and a few years after this event a French squadron made, in 1725, a descent on Mahe³ "in pursuance⁴ of orders from the Directors, with the view to secure on the Malabar Coast a post that would indemnify the French for the loss of Surat."

"In the year 1725, a small French squadron under the command of M. dePardailan, acting under the orders of the Government of Pondicherry, came to opposite the little town of Maihi, just below Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast, and summoned the place to surrender. The governor refused. The situation of Maihi indeed seemed to place it out of all danger.

"On high ground rising up from the sea, and washed on its north side by a little river, the entrance into which, as it ran into the sea, was closed by rocks for even the smallest boats, Maihi seemed to be able to bid defiance to any enemy who should attack it on the side of the sea. So at least thought the governor, and so, apparently, seemed to think the French commodore. He, at all events, was, hesitating as to the course he should adopt under the circumstances, when the captain of one of his ships submitted to him a plan which he begged he might be permitted to carry himself into execution. The name of this captain was Bertrand Francois Mahe deLabourdonnais.

"On arriving at Pondicherry, he was attached to the squadron of M. dePardailan, just starting for the conquest of Maihi. It is under the orders of this commodore, hesitating regarding the attack of the place, that we now find him.

"The plan which Labourdonnais submitted to the commodore was to land the troops on a raft of his own designing, in order of battle, under cover of the fire of the squadron. He pressed also that he might be permitted to lead them himself. M. dePardailan, struck with the ingenuity of the plan, and with the energy and quickness of decision evinced by the young officer, gave his consent to the scheme. It was carried out almost instantly. The raft was made, the troops were placed upon it, and, piloted by Labourdonnais,

¹ Mahe (*Mayyali*).

² *Kottakkal*, p. 72, and foot-note, p. 330.

³ It appears from the Tellicherry factory diary of 28th November 1726 that the French had previously in 1722 occupied Mahe, and this is probably the occupation to which Hamilton alludes in his "*New Account, etc.*" I. 298, in the following terms:—"About 4 miles to the south ward of Tellicherry is a small French factory lately settled at the mouth of a small river, but for what end I know not: but I believe more to employ a little stock for the gentlemen of Calicut factory's account than for the French Company."

⁴ Malleson's "*History of the French in India*," p. 62, foot-note.

were landed, with dry feet and almost in order of battle, at the foot of the high ground. This difficulty being surmounted, the place was stormed. As an acknowledgment of the skill and enterprise of his young captain, the commodore by a slight alteration of the letters which went to form the name of the captured town, transformed it from the Indian Maihi or Mahi¹ into the French Mahe—the first name of Labourdonnais. This new name not only took root, but it gradually effaced the recollection that the town had ever borne another.

"We are indebted to the *Carnatic Chronology* of Mr. C. P. Brown, late Madras Civil Service, for the information regarding the origin of the name 'Mahe.' It was evidently unknown to Mr. Mill, and equally so to the authors of the *Indian Gazetteers*."²

The Tellicherry factors naturally enough regarded this intrusion of the French at a place so close to their limits—only two miles from their outposts—in no friendly light, and the first paper on the record of the extant Tellicherry factory diary beginning with Monday, 1st August 1726, is a letter from the President and Council at Madras expressing concern at the success of the French in seizing Mahe.

From an entry a week later it would appear that the Kadattunad Raja had been at war at this time with the Kottayam Raja as well as with the French. Mr. Adams succeeded however in reconciling them with a view no doubt to turn all the Kadattunad Raja's efforts towards embarrassing the French, and the terms of peace demanded by Kottayam and accepted by Kadattunad were—(1) The districts of "Belleta" with absolute command thereof to be delivered to the former; (2) an elephant to be given to Tellicherry pagoda by the latter with an offering of butter tied round its neck; (3) a piece of ground and a house for Brahmans to be given up by latter; and (4) a house in the latter's country to be burnt.

This however did not much affect the result. On the 14th August the French seized a small hill lying between them and Kadattunad's force, and notwithstanding smart firing the latter failed to dislodge them. On the 15th, 100 Tellicherry Nayers were sent to assist³ Kadattunad; but he wanted money and being already indebted to the Company, he was told first of all to settle his accounts. Rather than do this he preferred to come to terms with the French, and notwithstanding the chief's efforts to "embarrass the affair," he sent on the 8th September to say that he thought himself obliged by force to hearken to the French, and was told in reply that he was unreasonable.

On the 10th of September there was a cessation of hostilities, and Kadattunad began to try to obtain the best terms he could by playing off the one factory against the other.

¹ The Malayalam name is written thus: മയിലി = *Mayyali*.

² Pages 62-64, Malleon's History of the French in India.

³ He had, on February 17th, 1725, agreed with the English factors not to permit any other Europeans to settle in this country and to give the English a monopoly of the produce of pepper and cardamoms. *Treaties, etc.*, i. XIII.

No sooner had the hostilities with Kadattunad ceased than the French under M. Fremisot began to be active in other directions. Between the two factories lay the territory of the Kurangoth Nayar with whom the English factors had previously been at war as already described. The Nayar welcomed the French as allies and with their aid began to try to recover the territory he had lost.

The great annual hunting festival of the Nayars, *Tulappattu*,¹ was at hand; between Tellicherry and Mahe lay some hills covered with brushwood which harboured wild pigs, and Mr. Adams obtained information that on the 12th of October the Nayar and the French intended to hunt on two hills, called Punnella and Putinha, which had been taken from the Nayar by the English factors. It was accordingly resolved to get up an opposition hunt and to guard the hills in order to prevent the French from seizing them.

On 12th October accordingly the Nayar and French combined and suddenly attacked the people stationed on the disputed hills. In the fight which ensued one Nayar was killed on the side of the English, and one Frenchman was slain and several wounded on the other side. On the following day there was another fight in which one Nayar boy was killed on the English side and three Nayars and a fisherman were wounded. The affair ended in mutual protests between the two factories, both urging that their nations were at peace in Europe, and finally a conference was arranged in December to settle matters. The English factory limits at this time are thus described: "From Upalla Canadi to Ponella Malla, north and south, and what may be to the westward of said places or with them, and Tellicherry fort to Moohara and Coddalla." The firm attitude assumed by the English factors had, they were assured, greatly advanced their credit in the country.

To protect their trade the English factors resolved to assist Kadattunad with money, etc., *as being cheaper than war*; and they made use of the friendship of the Prince Regent in the Kolattiri dominions to bring over to their² side the four Kulatta Nambiars of Iruvalinad, who were in a position to stop country supplies from reaching Tellicherry.

This fighting at Tellicherry was not approved either at the Presidency (Bombay) or by the Court of Directors. Orders were sent to live amicably with the French, to reduce expenses,³ and to recover

¹ Conf. p. 172.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i.e. XV and XVI.

³ The following establishment, it was calculated, would suffice as soon as all the buildings were finished:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| (1) Tellicherry fort— | 126 men. |
| (2) Mailan do. | 44 do. |
| (3) Coddallee do. | { 40 Nayars.
16 Moors. |
| (4) Moohara do. | garrisoned by Narangapuratta Nayar's men at 500 fanams monthly. |
| (5) Putniha fort | Garrisoned by Narangapuratta Nayar's men at 50 fanams monthly. |
| (6) Tirimalla fort | " costumed at 500 fanams—(Diary, 14th February 1727). |

debts. The Secretary of State was also moved to send a remonstrance to the French Ministry against the French insults at Tellicherry, and the Royal Company of France was ordered to be in amity with the English settlements in India.

The result was that the two settlements began to interchange friendly visits, and much gunpowder was spent in salutes, much to the chagrin of the Kurangoth Nayar, who tried various plans to prevent the respective factors from coming to an amicable understanding. His people came vapouring up before the English posts, which however were ordered "to bear everything till attackt." They next pulled down one dark night a fence round a French post in their own lines with a view to make the French believe the English had done it and set the French firing in all directions; but Mr. Adams had no difficulty in exposing the Nayar's "villainous artifices."

The respective factors finally arranged terms mutually satisfactory and advantageous, and these were embodied in two agreements¹ and duly executed on 9th March and 17th—28th April 1728. This agreement secured both factories against the intrigues of the Kurangoth Nayar and other petty chieftains in Iruvalinad; it provided for the surrender of deserters, and for fixing a fair price for pepper; *and even if war prevailed between the two countries in Europe* the conditions of the agreement were to be observed until notice to the contrary was given by either side.

Thus peace and security reigned to the south and east of the Tellicherry factory. To the north disturbances occurred in another quarter.

The Tellicherry factory diary records, on the 6th June 1727, that Ally Raja "did last night Treacherously seize the said Hill and Fort" (namely, Codalla) which the Prince Regent in Kolattunad had erected "purely as a barrier to a Large Country which produced a great quantity of Pepper."

The Dutch were still at this time settled in Cannanore in Fort Angelo taken from the Portuguese, and Ally Raja, or more correctly Ali Raja (the sea king), lived under the guns of their fort at a house called the Arakkal in Cannanore town.

Reference² has already been made to the origin of this Mappilla chieftain. The Keralolpatti would trace the family history back to the time of Cheraman Perumal, but tradition is tolerably unanimous that the first chieftain of the family was a Nayar, by name Arayan Kulangara Nayar, one of the ministers of the Kolattiri, who is said to have lived about the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century A.D., and who embraced Islam and adopted the name of Muhammad or Mammad Ali. Owing to his skill and ability, it is said, the Kolattiri retained him as his minister after his conversion, and his successors were known as the Mammali Kitavus, who were

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XVII, afterwards in 1736. Extended in regard to the surrender of deserters who had committed crimes in the respective settlements. See i. XXXII.

² *Conf.* p. 235.

hereditary ministers of the Kolattiris. Tradition says that Mammad Ali and his successors¹ were admitted to all the important counsels of the Kolattiri and that they used to stand on such occasions with sword point resting on a box, implying that, whatever was determined on, they would find the money to do it. Hamilton gives an interesting account of these chieftains after they had become independent of the *Kolattiris*. He describes Cannanore as "a pretty large town built in the bottom of the bay" and as independent of the Dutch stationed Fort Angelo. It was under "Adda Raja, a Mahometan Malabar prince, who upon occasion can bring near 20,000 men into the field." "His government is not absolute, nor is it hereditary; and instead of giving him the trust of the Treasury which comes by Taxes and Merchandise, they have chests made on purpose with holes made in their lids, and their coin being all gold, whatever is received from the treasurer is put into these chests by these holes and each chest has four locks, and their keys are put in the hands of the Raja, the Commissioner of Trade, the Chief Judge, and the Treasurer, and when there is occasion for money none can be taken out without all these four be present or their deputies." The practice alluded to doubtless had its origin

¹ The following is the traditionary list of these chieftains:—1. Mammad Ali. 2. Usan Ali. 3. Ali Mussa. 4. Kunhi Mussa. 5. Ali Mussa is said to have conquered some of the Maldivo Islands in 1183-84. The Laccadive Islands had probably before this time been colonized from Kolattunad. The Kolattiri is said to have arranged with him for an annual payment of 18,000 fanams for the islands besides any further required sum of money in times of need. And as a reward for his services the port of Cannanore and the desams of Kanattur and Kanottameluhula were assigned to him. The long subsisting connection between the Maldivo Islands and the Cannanore family probably also began at so early a date as that here assigned by tradition. It is certain that in the beginning of the 16th century the Maldivo king was a tributary of Cannanore. 6. Alivappan Mappilla, A.D. 1204-5. 7. Issa Pokra, A.D. 1283-84. 8. Valiya Mammali, A.D. 1364-65. The title of this chieftain, viz., the Great (*Valiya*) Mammali (*Muhammad Ali*), is suggestive of an extension of the family influence about his time. The family title of Mammali was well known to the Portuguese and other Europeans, and from the family connection with the Maldives and Laccadives the 9th channel separating Minicoy from the Laccadive group was usually referred to, down to nearly the end of the 18th century, as "Mammala's channel." 9. Pokrali Koya, said to have been killed by the Portuguese in 1544-45. This appears to have been a brother of the chieftain (Mammali), and the Portuguese appear to have first offered to him the position of "Lord of the Maldives." Shortly after this the Maldivo king in 1552 became a convert to Christianity. The Portuguese reduced the Islands in 1553, but ten years afterwards two Kutibs, assisted by four vessels from the coast ("Corsaires Malabares") took the Portuguese fort, killed 300 of the garrison, and established themselves as joint kings. 10. Kuttiali, A.D. 1544-45. 11. Kunhi Pokko, A.D. 1590-91. 12. Cheriya Kunhi Pokkar, A.D. 1606-7. In the time of this chieftain, the family connection with the Maldives appears to have been resumed, and he, after defeating the claimants to the Maldivo throne, appointed one of them as his "Vico-Rogent." Very little is known of the Maldives after his time until the beginning of the 18th century, but from about the middle of the 17th century the Maldivo kings have placed themselves under the protection of the dominant European power in Ceylon, first the Dutch and afterwards the British. 13. Mammali, A.D. 1609-10. 14. Mammali Koya, A.D. 1646-47. 15. Kamali Karnavar, A.D. 1654-55. 16. Mammali, A.D. 1655-56. 17. Kuttiali, A.D. 1699-91. 18. Kunhi Avusi, A.D. 1703-4. 19. Kunhi Mammali, A.D. 1719-20. 20. Kunhi Bi, alias Aravichehikiravn, A.D. 1727-28. 21. Junumma Bi, A.D. 1731-32. 22. Kunhi Amsi, A.D. 1744-45. 23. Junumma Bi, Valiya Tangal, A.D. 1776-77. 24. Abdul Kadar, A.D. 1815-16. 25. Bi Valiya Tangal, A.D. 26. Maria Amma Bi, A.D. . 27. Ayissa Bibi Valiya Tangal, died, A.D. 1861-62. 28. Sultan Ali Raja, died A.D. 15th November 1870. 29. Sultan Ali Raja, the present chieftain.

in the time when the *Mammali Kitavus* were the Kolattiri's Chief Sea Customs Agents and Admirals.

After the Portuguese reprisals on the Moorish commerce, the relations between the Ali Rajas and the Kolattiris had become strained, and at the period now reached the Dutch had evidently set up the Ali Raja to seize Codally, with a view to gain for themselves the pepper of the country (Randattara) commanded from that place. The Dutch making use also of the manifold dissensions always existing in the Kolattiri family had also made it impracticable for the Prince Regent to act vigorously.

A detachment sent to Agarr,¹ in June 1727, to protect the English warehouse there, was stopped at Darmapattanam Island by Ali Raja's people and turned back with insults. The Chief appealed to the Prince Regent to "unite with those of the Royal line" and maintain peace. But the prince quaintly replied that "as there are so many of the Royall Line 'tis extream difficult to effect the necessary Union." The Kottayam Raja however came to his assistance and between them they, in February 1728, took one of Ali Raja's forts on Darmapattanam Island. On the 26th of the same month the Prince Regent took and destroyed the Mappilla settlement at Valarpattanam, killing 600 men, women and children. On the 29th the united forces took Darmapattanam Island, another great Mappilla settlement, and Ali Raja's people had to take refuge in the little² island lying about a gunshot off the point of Darmapattanam, whence they exchanged shots with the Prince Regent's people on the main island; and there they maintained themselves for some time. In their letter of 14th March 1728 to Bombay the factors reported that "Ally Rajah . . . is sailed for Juddah, and all his country save Cannanore intirely destroyed by the Prince." The next news of him received in October, through Bombay, was that he had been poisoned at Jeddah by his minister, and that all his effects had been seized on account of presents promised to the prophet's tomb. But the factors informed Bombay, that the Moors had not been discouraged thereby, and they were 14,000 to 15,000 strong in Cannanore. So the war went on; the Prince Regent, in great need of money and supplies, and being refused the same by the English factors, opened negotiations with the Dutch of Cannanore to hand over to them Darmapattanam Island, the possession of which was essential to the trade of Telli-cherry. The factors thereupon (September 1730) determined to open their purse strings and store-rooms, and, as the best means of preventing a large expenditure of money, they further resolved to bring about peace between the Prince Regent and the Mappillas. On the 1st of November the Chief (Mr. Braddy1) had a satisfactory interview with the Prince Regent, and on the 2nd at another interview the Chief obtained from him a grant³ of a monopoly of trade in

¹ *Conf.* p. 70.

² Called in Hamilton's time "*Cacca Diva*, i.e., Crow (Kakka) Island, but usually called at this time "Grove Island" by the factors.

³ *Treatise, etc.*, i. XIX.

Iruvalinad, Darmapattanam Island and Randattara, with permission to hoist their flag if the Dutch or French threatened to take possession of these places. In return the Chief promised him 20,000 fanams worth of military stores to enable him to carry on his war against the Mappillas. On 13th January and 10th May following further loans were given him, and on the 9th June 1731, peace was at last arranged through the mediation of the Kalliad Nambiar, the Mappillas agreeing to pay an indemnity of 1,00,000 fanams at once, and a similar sum in four month's time. Hearing of this, Mr. Braddyl promptly applied for repayment of the loans, but the prince answered: "The present Treaty is only to give me a Breathing for four months."

Before, however, the four months had elapsed, a greater danger to the Prince's authority began to make itself felt. It seems to have had its origin in the same family dissensions which had probably precipitated the Mappilla outbreak. The prince had stated, when applying for the loan given to him on the 10th of May, that the money was wanted to enable him to fight the Canarese as well as the Moors, and on 23rd October following he applied for Tellicherry manchuas (small coasting craft), etc., to "cruise against the Canarys," and a fortnight later news came from the factors at Honore regarding "the Extraordinary Insolency of the Canarees" in having taken the guns out of several Bombay boats because the English at Tellicherry had assisted the Prince Regent against them.

The Ikkeri, or Keladi, or Bednur Rajas were chiefs who had obtained independence on the breaking up of the Vijayanagar dynasty after the battle of Talikota in 1564. Prior to that event, Wilks says: The founder of the dynasty had been raised from the situation of an opulent farmer to the rank of Governor of Bednur, and the ninth in descent from him (Sivappa Nayak) who reigned from 1649 to 1671, but who had really been *de facto* king for a much longer period during the reigns of three of his cousins (1604-49), had defeated the Jain Rajas of Tuluva, and had acquired Canara from Honore to Cassargode. At Cassargode the Canarese necessarily came into contact with Malayalis and with the dominions of that offshoot of the Kolattiri family which had been founded by inter-marriage with the Zamorin's family. The Prince Regent, as already described, had found it "extream difficult to effect the necessary union" among the various branches of the family, and it seems to have been on the invitation of one or more of his discontented relatives that Somasekhara Nayakha, the thirteenth of this line of Bednur Rajas, pushed his forces across the Malayali frontier.

On the 16th January 1732 the factors reported to the President and Council at Bombay that the Prince Regent's army had been routed by the Canarese, who had, they said, "gott as farr as Mounty¹ Dilly," and the factors expressed anxiety as to their grain supplies usually obtained through the Canarese port of Mangalore. On the

¹ Conf. p. 6.

28th January news came that the parts of the country about Valarpattanam were "altogether unsettled" and "in utmost confusion by reason of the great progress made by the Carnatick army against this kingdom." Adherence to the Prince Regent's cause meant starvation to the Tellicherry settlement, and great anxiety prevailed as to the provision of grain for consumption in the ensuing monsoon season. Moreover to add to the anxieties of the factors at this time the native pirates became unusually active; but they despatched two successful expeditions against them, in one of which a pirate vessel, mounting 15 small guns, was taken, and in another, Ensign Lewis Mendonza, after first taking off the Valarpattanam river mouth a small Canarese vessel which attacked his party, was in turn attacked by a pirate vessel belonging to "Cutty Coileen" and carrying 200 men. A skilfully planted shell, however, appears to have reached the pirates' magazine and she blew up, not one of her crew escaping. The factors were nearly in despair as to the provision of grain, and were planning secret expeditions to seize the Canarese boats carrying it to the army, when a welcome supply of 2,000 bales came in from Bombay. Almost simultaneously, however, came the unwelcome news that the Canarese had taken by assault on the 10th of May the fortified peninsula of "Matame" held by the Mappillas to the north of the Valarpattanam river. The Prince Regent had apparently made some sort of terms with the Canarese on condition that they should help him in his feud with the rebellious Mappillas of Cannanore.

There was nothing now to prevent the Canarese from making themselves masters of the whole of the country down to the very gates of Tellicherry, and from overrunning the whole of the country from which the settlement obtained its chief supplies of pepper. The situation became consequently very embarrassing. On 22nd October 1732 news came that the Canarese had passed to the south of the Valarpattanam river, and were about to besiege Cannanore in aid of the Prince Regent and in pursuance of a treaty with him. The factors learnt by letter next day from the prince himself what terms he had accepted from the Canarese general "Ragonatt," These were:—The prince to hold the country north of Valarpattanam river as far as Nilesvaram as a tributary of Bednur. Bednur to have three forts in the said territory—one at "Madacarro"¹ another at "Cavi,"² and the third at Nilesvaram in South Canara. The country south of the river to be under the Prince Regent, who was to receive assistance against his rebellious subjects, first of whom were the Mappillas of Cannanore. In January, and again in February 1733, Cannanore was accordingly attacked, but on both occasions the Prince Regent's troops and the Canarese were repulsed with loss.

The possession of the Darmapattanam Island now became a matter of supreme importance to the factory. The main portion

¹ Near the Valarpattanam river mouth—*conf.* p. 11.

² Kuvvayi—*conf.* p. 69.

of it was still held, it is true, by the Prince Regent's people, but it was quite possible that they might transfer it to the Canarese, and on the other hand it was quite possible the Kottayam Raja might hand it over to the French. With the possession of it either in Canarese or in French hands, the Tellicherry trade would certainly have either disappeared altogether, or been fatally hampered, as the country from which their chief pepper supplies were drawn were commanded by this island.

Strenuous efforts were accordingly made to obtain exclusive possession of it, and the conduct of the negotiations lay in competent hands—those of Mr. Stephen Law¹—who had succeeded Mr. Braddyl as Chief on 17th December 1732. The first step taken was to secure a firm hold of "Grove Island" lying off the Point of Darmapattanam, and this was done with the Bibi of Cannanore's consent, on 5th October 1734, on which date Sergeant John Christian, 2 corporals, 7 soldiers and 15 sepoys were admitted to garrison the small island in company with the Bibi's men. The Chief having gained this first step, took care to let the French factors know his determination to keep out everybody else. He accordingly next introduced men in English pay, but nominally in the prince's service, into all the forts on the island under a secret engagement already obtained from the prince, for at this time (October-November 1734) the Chief was under an apprehension that the French would take it by a *coup de main* assisted by the crew of a French ship then at Mahe. And it was known that the Kottayam Raja, who had helped the prince to take it from the Mappillas, had agreed to give up the positions held by him on it to the French whenever they should choose to take them.

The Bibi of Cannanore was next² prevailed on in November-December 1734 to surrender her claims to the island out of fear that the Canarese or French would take it, and owing to her inability to retake it herself and keep it securely. If it was to be in any other hands than her own, she preferred that it should be taken possession of by the English.

There remained then only the Kottayam Raja to be dealt with, and his consent was at last obtained after an army of between 4,000 and 5,000 Canarese had, on 3rd February 1735, crossed the Anjarakandi (called at that time the "Trentapatam") river and had encamped on the sandy flats at the east end of the island with a view to the further³ invasion of the Kottayam Raja's territory. The preliminaries were arranged with him on the 6th February; the *cadjan*⁴ deed containing his consent to the English occupation was received at Tellicherry at 2 A.M. on the 7th. A hasty council was summoned, and it was resolved to act on it at 8 A.M. by formally

¹ Afterwards President and Governor of Bombay.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. XXIV, XXV and XXVI.

³ The French afterwards gave out that this advance had been planned by the English to compel Kottayam to come to terms with them. There was probably some good ground for this assertion.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XXVII.

taking possession of the largest fortress and any others the engineers might think necessary. These being secured, a peremptory demand was to be sent to the Canarese to evacuate the island forthwith.

Captains Slaughter and Mendonza and Ensign Adams with 120 soldiers, 140 Nayars and 60 Tiyars, and others, mustering altogether 400 men, accordingly took possession of the fortress that same forenoon, and the Canarese general received notice to quit, with which he feigned compliance; but he did not actually go.

The Kottayam Raja's alarm of invasion had meanwhile not abated, and on the 19th of February he sent to the Chief an unconditional agreement¹ to plant the English flag and post garrisons on the island.

It was then only that the prior secret arrangement² with the Prince Regent of Kolattunad was made public, making the grant of the island to the English absolute.

As soon as the business of gaining a solid footing on Darmapattanam Island had been thus satisfactorily arranged, the Chief set himself to the still more difficult task of trying to form a combination of the petty country chieftains against the Canarese. The Prince Regent had proposed this to the Chief in the preceding December (1734), and had proposed to raise the necessary funds by "tribute, and taking from such Pagodas as are supplied therewith." On 8th February 1735 the Chief advised the prince to help the Canarese until the Kadattunad and Kottayam Rajas and the Nambiaris of Iruvalinad were forced to combine against the invaders. The Kottayam Raja shortly after this gave in his adhesion to the Chief's project. But jealousies were rife and the others all held aloof. The French too had professed their willingness to strike in, but when the Chief visited Maho on 31st March to arrange the matter, the French, much to the disgust of the country powers, backed out of it. The negotiations for a combination did not make much progress under such circumstances.

In fact it was not till 29th January 1736 that any substantial progress was made, and then the combination included only the Prince Regent, the Kottayam Raja and the English. On that day, however, the resolution was taken to begin the necessary preparations at once by enlisting Mappillas at 23 fanams per month. News had come from Bombay two days previously that Madras and Anjengo had been asked to help, and that men and a sloop-of-war were on their way from Bombay. On the 17th February the Prince Regent deposited Rs. 20,000 as his share of expenses. On the 24th February the Canarese were peremptorily ordered to move back to the north of the Valarpattanam river, and their general seeing that mischief was brewing, took the hint and at noon on the 25th retreated across the Anjarakandi river towards Agarr and a strongly fortified post built at a place called "Cadalay". On the 27th the

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XXVIII, followed by another a few days later—i. XXX.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. XXI, XXII.

native levies from Tellicherry—all Narangapuratta Nayar's men, the corps of Tiyar, and 231 Mappillas, 450 men in all—proceeded to join the Prince's and Kottayam Raja's forces at Edakad.

On the 29th the first hostilities ensued. The allies were attacked by the Canarese at Edakad, but the assailants were repulsed with loss, and a Canarese redoubt ("*Trankier*") at the Edakad point was taken. On the 3rd March the Chief himself (Mr. Stephen Law) took the field and planned a fort to annoy the "Cadalay" fort held by the Canarese. He next devoted his attention to the Canarese outlying works and to intercepting their supplies of food. On the 7th their Madakara fort was surrendered to the English war "gallivats". On the 8th the Chief proceeded thither and found the fort to be 500 yards in circumference with eight-half-moon bastions. He wished to dismantle it and abandon the place, but the Prince Regent fearing it would fall into the hands of the Mappillas persuaded him to keep it, and an engagement¹ was accordingly afterwards² drawn up in ratification of the arrangement. The news reached him on the same day that the Canarese were beginning to desert other fortified posts to the north.

The incursion of the Canarese had been disastrous to the Dutch trade at Cannanore as well as to the English, and on the 15th March the Dutch Chief at Cannanore, under orders from Cochin, took steps to stop the supply of food to the Canarese.

That same day the Chief (Mr. Stephen Law) began to draw in his detachments and to concentrate on the isolated position of the Canarese at Cadalay. The preparations for attacking it were complete on the 17th, and on the morning of the 18th the first attack was delivered. The English force secured an eminence with the Nayers on their right, but the latter fled when attacked by the Canarese. The English position was next attacked and was successfully defended with the loss of 3 men killed and 20 wounded. At 4 P.M. a retreat was made to a better position.

The Dutch factors at Cannanore were meanwhile holding aloof from active operations against the common enemy. They were afraid lest the post of Cadalay, if it were taken, would be retained by the English and used to intercept the Dutch trade with the pepper country lying up the Valarpattanam river. To remove their jealousy the Chief agreed on the 19th to give them a certificate renouncing all claim to Cadalay if it should be taken. It is like enough that if the attack of the 18th had succeeded Cadalay would have been retained by the English and used to cut out the Dutch. On the 20th a reinforcement (an ensign and 30 men) arrived from Anjengo. On the 21st the Dutch agreed to join on the understanding that Cadalay should be razed to the ground. On the 26th Dutch reinforcements, in five ships and other small vessels, arrived at Cannanore, and on the 29th Mr. Law visited Cannanore and after

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XXXI.

² On 5th July 1737.

some more fencing about the future occupation of Cadalay the Dutch at last agreed to land 300 men (of whom 180 were Europeans) to assist the English, and this was accordingly done on March 30th.

On the 31st a council of war was held, and it was agreed to seize a hill near the Canarese camp, to erect a breastwork there, and then to bring up cannon and mortars to reduce the Cadalay fort.

On the morning of 1st April this plan was put into operation. An advanced guard, half English and half Dutch, seized the hill. A general advance of the whole force was then made. The Canarese horse made a stand, but the Dutch, assisted by the English, routed them in great disorder, some taking towards the fort and some to the ground below it. The combined force then made a rush for the fort; the Canarese hung out a flag of truce, but continued firing. This enraged the assailants, and a great slaughter took place at the gate, which was stubbornly defended by the Canarese, and which became blocked up by the dead bodies of assailants and defenders. At this crisis an English topass, one Joam Pichota, brought up a ladder, scaled the fort wall, and discharged his own piece as well as those of 18 others handed up to him in quick succession. This cleared the wall, and the English colours were soon flying on the ramparts. Meanwhile the defence of the gate slackened, the assailants poured in, and many of the Canarese defenders sought safety by lowering themselves over the walls by ropes. At about 7 A.M. the fort was completely taken amid great slaughter, women and children and the Canarese general, Gopalji, being among the slain. A large body (300) of the enemy, after giving up their arms and while proceeding to Cannanore, were barbarously massacred by the Nayers. By the Chief's exertions 600 or 700 more were saved and taken to Tellicherry. A third body of 200 horse and foot, while trying to escape inland, was cut off by the Nayers. The loss of the allies was not very great, the English lost 5 natives killed and 8 wounded. The Dutch had 1 ensign killed (died from over-exertion on the march), another European killed, and 2 others burnt by an explosion of gunpowder. The Nayers and other Malayalis suffered in their eagerness for plunder, for a magazine blew up and killed 100 of them. Eight cannon and 1 mortar were among the spoils, and it was found that the Canarese would have been very soon starved into surrender, even if their fort had not been taken.

The other Canarese forts surrendered one by one after this event to small detachments sent under Ensign Fisher and Captain Lane. These forts were located at Madayi, Taliparamba, Matalay and Ayconny. This last fort, described as 500 yards in circumference with ten half-moon bastions, situated at the mouth of the Kavayi river "in a pleasant plain country," gave some trouble. Captain Lane bombarded it at pistol-shot distance from 6 A.M. to 3 A.M. After its surrender, the whole of the garrison, men, women and children, were, Captain Lane reported, "cruelly—shamefully—and in violation of all laws divine and humane, most barbarously

butcher'd" by the Nayars, notwithstanding the exertions of the English officers to save them.

The 700 Canarese saved by the Chief at Cadalay were sent back (all but three officers) under safe escort as a sort of peace-offering to Bednur, and on 11th May the Chief wrote to the Bednur Raja detailing the causes of his breaking with him. These were (1) the factory at Honore had to be abandoned in consequence of the oppressions of his people; (2) the Company's broker at Mangalore had been fined and imprisoned on a false pretext; (3) the promise to respect the English trading privileges in the Kolattiri country had been broken; (4) and two English vessels driven ashore in Canara had been seized and plundered and no redress had been given; (5) finally the Canarese general, Gopalayya, had created dissensions in the Kolattiri family and tried to alienate the Company's privileges. And he followed this up with an offer to negotiate terms of peace between Bednur and the Prince Regent.

On the 12th August 1736 a somewhat questionable transaction took place. The Bibi of Cannanore had begun to show some hankering after Darmapattanam Island acquired by the Company in the way above described, and as Grove Island, to which the military had, with her consent, been admitted in October 1734, commanded the entrance to one of its rivers, it was resolved to "send away the Moors now on it." There is no doubt this was regarded as a breach of faith by the Mappillas, and was resented as such; but it was submitted to quietly enough. The fact was that the Bibi of Cannanore could not afford to act independently of the English, and on the 8th October 1736, when she showed some signs of trying to intrigue against the Company, the Chief warned her to desist in very plain terms:—"If in future you continue in same evil practices, I shall no longer make those favourable allowances, but proceed for compelling you to desist." The Bibi was so placed that if the English had shut up her communications by sea, as they could very easily have done, and if the Prince Regent had co-operated with them by land, as he would have been only too delighted to do, the Bibi's stronghold at Cannanore could not have resisted the joint attack for any length of time. On 30th April 1737 the Bibi's husband agreed to take an oath in the chief mosque at Cannanore that she had never attempted anything against the English Company. The country people all knew this to be false, so the Chief and factors accepted the offer, judging it would make the family contemptible in the eyes of the natives. After this, amicable relations were resumed and a vessel seized at Anjengo was restored.

On 10th September 1736 the factors received news that the Dutch had come to a disagreement with the Prince Regent, and had threatened to refuse further aid against the Canarese.

The facts forcibly illustrate the different methods of dealing with the country powers adopted by the Dutch and by the English Companies. The Dutch wished the Prince Regent to undertake

to sell them 100 candies of pepper at 13½ Venetians, to be laid on any district of his country. To this the prince replied that he did not concern himself with merchandize, that he had already assigned to the English Company privileges of trade, and that the English only bought pepper *with the free consent of the owners thereof*. This did not content the Dutch; the negotiations went on; and eventually about January 1737 an agreement was arranged that the Dutch should assist the prince to expel the Canarese beyond the Cassargode river, should aid him to reduce the Mappillas of Cannanore and the Raja of Kottayam on condition that the prince should deliver to them annually 1,000 candies of pepper at Rs. 56 per candy, *about half its market rate*. This arrangement did not much disconcert the Tellicherry factors, who shrewdly recorded in their diary that even if the Dutch did their part, the prince would not do his because of his avarice, which prevented him from paying even for the few Nayers the Company had entertained at Ayconny fort (Alikkunnupposite Kavayi), and which would certainly, they concluded, prevent him from paying the market price for pepper and selling it at a loss to the Dutch. The English Company were well advised in paying market prices for the produce they required, for North Malabar was so broken up into petty principalities that the Prince Regent could not have, without war, secured the produce of any district in his dominions at less than the market rates.

The state of disunion among the petty chieftains, and, more especially between the different members of the Kolattiri family, and their mutual jealousies were more strongly than ever forced on the attention of the factors in endeavouring to arrange a peace with Bednur; and after an unsuccessful effort made in October 1736 by Captain Gibbs and Mendonza with 200 soldiers and 180 sepoy to take the Nilavaram fort, the last remaining stronghold held by the Canarese, the factors decided to send one of their number, Mr. Lynch, to Mangalore to arrange a general peace, if possible, and if that, as seemed probable, were unattainable, then a separate peace on behalf of the English Company.

Mr. Lynch went properly equipped for the undertaking, and in his bill of expenses subsequently submitted there occurred the item of "Rs. 200 defraying the equipping himself with apparel suitable to the gay temper of the Canarese," which item the factors passed with the remark that what he alleged had weight, the more so that his ordinary style of dress was very indifferent.

The result of Mr. Lynch's embassy was a treaty,¹ dated 9th,—20th February 1737, in which the Canarese Governor of Mangalore Surapaya, ratified all former grants to the Company, empowered them to re-open the factory at Honore, secured all English wrecks from seizure, assigned to the English a monopoly of pepper and cardamoms in all the Kolattiri territory that might thereafter be conquered, secured recognition of all their grants theretofore obtained

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XXXIII.

from the Kolattiri, empowered the Company and their officers to export rice from Mangalore without payment of a heavy duty called *Adlamy*, barred the Canarese from coming to the south¹ of the Valarpattanam river, or erecting strongholds near the Company's fort at Madalkara and left the rest of the Kolattiri dominions to be overrun by the Canarese as they might think fit; and besides these terms the diary shows that damages to the extent of 5,910 pagodas were obtained for wrongs suffered.

On the 16th February 1737 a counterpart agreement² was executed by the Chief, Mr. Stephen Law, on behalf of the Company.

Directly Mr. Lynch left Mangalore, the Canarese re-crossed the Nilesvaram river. The Prince Regent applied as usual for money to aid him to oppose them, but he was reminded that at the first settlement being formed at Tellicherry, the Company was to keep up no force, and that the Prince Regent was to protect the settlement in return for the customs duties which the Company had agreed to pay. He was accordingly informed that money would be advanced only if due security for re-payment were given. And the factors noted in their diary that even if the worst came to the worst, "the fortresses we have erected in this country may be esteemed a tolerable security for the trade, even should the prince or whomsoever be disposed to attempt any violations therein."

On the 14th January news arrived of a grave disaster suffered at the Ayconny fort (Alikkunn) protecting the mouth of the Nilesvaram river. Bombardier John Hull, it seems, was engaged in fixing some fuzes. Instead of using a wooden mallet he attempted to do it with an iron hammer; the magazine door was carelessly left open, an explosion took place, and in a second the magazine exploded, the fort gate was knocked down, also part of the wall; 6 soldiers and 1 sepoy were killed, 13 soldiers and 12 sepoys were wounded; the house, provisions, arms and most of the stores were destroyed.

But under the treaty it became no longer necessary to hold this fort, and so, on 16th February (the date on which the Chief ratified the terms), orders were sent to vacate it, which was immediately done. The Nayers on this deserted it, and it was immediately occupied by the Canarese. It gave them the command of the Nilesvaram river and of the Nilesvaram portion of the Kolattiri dominions.

The peace enabled the factors to reduce their military establishment. They sent back the Anjongo and part of the Madras detachment, and a return shows that, on 7th March 1737, they had 2 captains, 4 ensigns, 19 sergeants, 16 corporals, 13 rounders, 14

¹ In the diary of January 6th, 1737, it is stated that this is the country where *all* the pepper is grown.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. XXXIV.

drummers, 91 Europeans, 42 mustees, 221 topasses, total 422, less 30 sick, leaving 392 effective men for duty. These men were thus distributed :—

	NO.
(a) Tellicherry	
(1) Limit gate	8
(2) Banksaul (warehouse)	13
(3) Great bastion	9
(4) Hospital	5
(5) Fort	90
	— 125
(b) Mailan fort	48
(c) Putinha	25
(d) Grove Island	14
(e) Atarra ¹	22
(f) Darmapattanam (Great)	35
(g) Tachara	10
(h) Codotu	15
(i) River's mouth	8
(j) Eddakat	12
(k) Madakkara	30
	—
Total ..	344

For the necessary reliefs a "free guard" of 140 men was wanted, making a total of 484; so the factors wanted 92 sepoys to make up their force to its proper strength.

On 8th April 1737 news arrived from Bombay that Salsette Island had been taken by the Mahrattas. The Presidency asked for succour, and the factors at once despatched 170 sepoys (already under orders to go back) and 3 gallivats and 100 stand-of-arms.

The Canarese were busy meanwhile within the limits allotted to them in the treaty with the English Company. In April 1737 they had again come south as far as Madakkara, and supplies and men had to be sent thither as a precautionary measure. In July the Prince Regent was promised Rs. 5,000 if he would decline to deal with any other European nation than the English and if he would consent to give an authentic deed ratifying the English Company's hold on Eddakat and Madakkara. Rs. 1,000 were sent to him and he² did as he was required.

The Dutch functionaries too retired in disgust to Cochin, not being able to arrange terms with the Canarese or with the Prince Regent, uttering vague threats of vengeance against the Canarese as they retired. Their trade at Cannanore must now have dwindled away to very small proportions, as the English Company from their

¹ Elara, or Agarr.

² *Conf. Treaties, etc.*, i. XXXI, XXXV.

Madakkara fort were now able to keep them out of the Valarpattanam river. In fact, on 18th March 1737, as some of their boats entered they were brought to by the fort and obliged to retire across the bar.

By August 1737 the Canarese had again overrun the whole of the country as far south as the Taliparambariver, but Madayi fort still held out against them.

The factors now interposed and arranged articles of peace between the Kolattiri and the Canarese. The Chief and Mr. Lynch and the Prince Regent, on 30th August 1737, met Surapaya, the Canarese general, near Madakkara. Both parties went strongly armed and escorted fearing treachery, and the Canarese escort was described as "very ungovernable" in their demeanour. The terms arranged were as follows:—

"That from the fort of Madday (Madayi), westward, to Urbolly, southward, and as the river winds to the foot of the hills, eastward, with all the country, northward of the said river, shall hereafter appertain to the King of Bednur, and from the parts aforesaid, southward, the King of Colastri (Kolattiri) shall enjoy what appertains to him, etc."

These terms were not, however, acceptable to the King of Bednur, who had more ambitious schemes of conquest in view, and simultaneously (20th, 21st October 1737) with his refusal to ratify the terms came the news that the Company's vessels at Mangalore had been refused a supply of rice. The Bednur Raja by turning off the rice tap, so to speak, had it always in his power to inconvenience seriously the Company's settlements and to cause an artificial famine. And rice was urgently needed just then in the Presidency for the Mahrattas were threatening an invasion.

Surapaya was superseded by Ragonatt as Governor of Mangalore and Commander of the Army, and the selection was not agreeable to the factors. On 29th December 1737 he reached the camp at Madayi, and, on 1st January 1738 the Chief received a peremptory order from him to proceed forthwith to the camp to talk of important matters, whereupon the diary records the following remarks: "The Board naturally remark the haughtiness of the precited Ragonatt and how base is his disposition. The Chief never thought proper to visit him even in times of the Canarese elated state, well knowing that Chicane and Treachery are what Ragonatt is extremely addicted to." They however agreed to disguise their real feelings and to send a deputation to ascertain his intentions, and on the 4th January the deputation returned and reported that the Canarese wished the Company to remain neutral in the war about to be commenced against "the Mallabars."

The factors' reply to this was the putting of the Madakkara fort in a thorough posture of defence and the securing the mouth of the Valarpattanam river so as to prevent the Canarese from crossing it

¹ *Conf. Treaties, etc.*, i. XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII.

into the pepper districts. This being accomplished, the factors awaited the current of events, but beyond seizing (April 1738) the guns of some English vessels detained at Mangalore the Canarese did nothing towards pursuing their conquests up to August 1738.

There is a gap in the diary at this period, and the events of the next twelve months cannot be fully ascertained from the other records. In October 1738 the Prince Regent appears to have been so far pressed that he actually delivered Rs. 30,000 to the factors to prosecute the war, and the agreement came to with the factors at this juncture "to make war against the insolence of Canara" and "to drive out Canara" is still on record.¹ About the end of the year hostilities were in progress. On January 2nd, 1739, Mr. Law reported from Madakkara a skirmish with the Canarese in which, on the English side, the Malabars displayed great apathy. On January 7th an attack by bombardment was delivered on the Canarese position near the same place; the Canarese made a counter attack on the English flank, but were repulsed by the "remarkable fire" of the English troops. On January 10th prospects of peace began to dawn, the Canarese being dejected at the obstinate defence of the line of the Valarpattanam river, but the actual terms² were not definitely settled for another thirteen months. The chief points were the permission to export a definite quantity of rice without duty from Mangalore, and the omission of the clause stopping the Canarese from making conquests to the south of the Valarpattanam river. In other respects the treaty followed pretty closely that of February 1737, which was likewise at the same time ratified.

After the conclusion of peace in the manner above indicated, the Bednur forces gave little further trouble to the Tellicherry factory, and they do not appear ever to have subsequently attempted to force their way to the south of the Valarpattanam river, which was securely guarded by the Company's fort at Madakkara. The fact seems to have been that besides the opposition which the factors would have made had they attempted to pass to the south of the river, the invaders had pretty well exhausted the resources of the country to the north of it, and found a difficulty in supporting the large force they had there, and which it is said was costing them in January 1749 as much as 12,000 pagodas per month.

On February 27th, 1739, there arrived the ship "*Harrington*" from England with despatches from the Court of Directors appointing the Chief, Mr. Stephen Law, to be President and Governor of Bombay, and appointing Mr. William Wake from Anjengo to the chiefship of Tellicherry. By the same ship the Directors wrote pointing out that "Rs. 1,36,000, the charge (of the Tellicherry factory) last year is a sum which runs away with all our profit."

The dissensions in the Kolattiri family still continued, and the party of disorder appears to have been headed by a prince called "Ockoo," who, in consequence of the peace with the Canarese,

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XXXIX.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. XLII, XLIII.

seemed to have turned his attention next to creating trouble in the south. In an attempt to reach Kadattunad by sea in November 1739 he was taken prisoner by the factors and sent in custody to Madakkara fort. But this does not seem to have disheartened his followers, and the record of the next few years is full of references to various petty risings by this gang in different parts of the country. Moreover, two of his immediate followers escaped from custody in Darmapattanam Island through the carelessness of a "Centinel" on 12th December 1739, and the factors were so annoyed at this that they dealt summarily with those responsible. "The commanding officer is relieved and severely reprimanded. The corporall is broke, and the centry Henry Goodgame ordered to run the gauntlet and confined to duty in the fort for two months." The escape of these men appears to have encouraged the rest of their party.

Meanwhile the French at Mahe had been at war with the Nambiaris of Iruvalinad. The original cause of dispute was whether a certain Nayar called "Polatche" should pay *pattam* to the Nambiaris, who claimed him as a vassal. The French, on the other hand, laid similar claims to him. The Nambiaris imposed an interdict by tying a bough to a tree after the country fashion. The French pulled the bough down, and "Polatche" took their side. The French obtained assistance from the Kadattunad Raja, who was at this time a minor and under their influence, but the Nambiaris repulsed their enemies on 4th September 1739 after killing the French commanding officer and many of his men. The English factors finding the Nambiaris hard pressed shortly after this, assisted them indirectly through the Prince Regent, and on 20th November the French were repulsed. The respective factories then protested formally against each other and peace¹ was restored in December 1739.

But the peace was of short duration, for on the 22nd of that same month the French seized a hill near Mahe under the pretext that they had bought it from the minor Kadattunad Raja, whose mother, on the other hand, refused to acquiesce in the arrangement, and amicable relations were accordingly broken off in that direction.

The French were very busy about this time and pushing in all directions. In December 1739 they hoisted their colours at Tanur. In January 1740 they attempted to settle at Chetwai, but the Zamorin would not consent, and the Dutch also marched down on them and forced them to leave. Then on 6th March 1740 and again in the end of the year came news from Europe of a probable impending war between England and Spain assisted by France. In April the French, who were blockading the Kadattunad country, seized an English boat, but released it. In June the English factors obtained information that the French had designs on Andolla Mala, an outlying bit of territory attached to Tellicherry. The English factors were on the alert and hoisted their colours on the hill, sending at the same time a party of military to protect them. The French

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XLI.

began making entrenchments under the English guns on the hill, whereupon they were promptly attacked on 17th June 1740 by Ensign Bilderbeck and turned out of the place. The English loss was one man mortally, and another slightly, wounded. The usual protest followed, the French sending a sergeant and drummer to notify the same. And the English factors in their diary of 23rd July 1740 recorded that the English Company had a grant from the Kolattiri, empowering them to hoist their colours at any time and anywhere in the kingdom consisting of seven provinces, viz :—

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Pallartuta Naddu. | 5. Edevadu Naddu. |
| 2. Choulsaroum. | 6. Cartua Naddu. |
| 3. Neliotusaroum. | 7. Porovenaddu." |
| 4. Alerta Naddu. | |

And they observed that the Canarese had conquered Alerta Naddu, and that "long since one of his (Kolattiri) ancestors being embarrassed in war, granted to one who was of the race of kings (which is a particular caste) the province of Porovenaddu (now called Cotiote), which he was to govern according to the dictates of an idol of a pagoda who is called Peremal a Podce." And they continued : "The kings heretofore appointed a governor in Cartua Naddu, but some few years before the French settled at Mihie the Governor (called Boyanore) paid little regard to the present king, who was then also embarrassed with war. Upon the French settling, they countenanced him, and since the governor's death his sister who presides pays no allegiance at all." It also appears that the French had lately set up "one of the caste of kings" in opposition to the Regent (Boyanore's sister), but this proceeding of theirs had not been approved by their superiors.

On 5th September 1740 the French were repulsed in attacking a hill in Kadattunad on the road to Peringatur, where they had an outpost. On the 18th they suffered another disaster at the same place. They had taken forty men out of one of their Europe ships to assist them, and in the attack which followed, thirty of these were killed besides twenty others of the garrison, making in all fifty killed. Besides these, twenty men were wounded, exclusive of Nayers and sepoys. Of course the French protested against the English factors, and in proof sent the latter an English cannon ball which had been fired into their fort. The following day a reply was sent from Tellicherry to say that English cannon balls could be found in every country where the English had settled, and they recommended the French factors to return it "whence it came." This war continued in a desultory manner till the beginning of May 1741, when both parties agreed to a cessation of arms for a time.

The diary of 13th November 1741 contains the following :— "Arrived M. de Labourdonnais with two large ships at Mihie." And on the 15th the factors received notice of his intention of making war on the Kadattunad Raja, and of overhauling boats and vessels approaching that part of the coast. The tone of the letter was somewhat overbearing, as if written with the full knowledge that if

his requests were not acceded to, he had ample force at his back to compel compliance. And so it turned out, for next day news came that three other French ships of Labourdonnais' squadron had reached Mahe, and another had arrived at Calicut. Thus reinforced the French speedily took the field, and on the 22nd their forces captured the Kadattunad entrenchments after a warm fight in which many were killed on both sides. Labourdonnais had despatched one of his ships to Goa for provisions, etc., and on 10th December news arrived that the Malratta pirate, Angria of Gheria, with seven grabs and thirteen gallivats, had surrounded and after a long day's fighting, from 7 a.m. till 6 p.m., had taken her, although she had 200 European soldiers and mariners on board. She was deeply laden with rice, wheat flour, and arrack, and she had besides between 300 and 400 slaves on board intended for the French Islands.

Having defeated Kadattunad, Labourdonnais next turned his attention towards bringing about a more satisfactory state of the relations between the French and English factories. The agreement¹ of 17th—28th April 1728 had adjusted the differences between the factories in regard to the Kurangoth Nayar's domains. Both factories had since then, and particularly just before Labourdonnais' arrival, been competing for the command of the Iruvalinad Nambiar's domains which adjoined those of Kurangoth inland. Each had seized and fortified several places in that part of the country. At Labourdonnais' suggestion they now wisely decided to relinquish these advanced posts, which only served "to bring an expense on both, give disgust to the Malabars, and afford them an occasion of sowing divisions between the settlements of Tellicherry and Mahe." It was accordingly agreed² to raze the following posts and to withdraw from them the guns and garrisons :—

By the French.

- 1 Peringatour.
- 2 Cannamalla.
- 3 Chimbora.
- 4 Poitera.
- 5 Bilay.
- 6 Maylat.

By the English.

- 1 Andolla Malla.
- 2 Putinha.
- 3 Tere Malla.
- 4 Ponella Malla.
- 5 Muicarra Cunnu.
- 6 Muicarra Cundy.

Neither factory was in future to erect warehouses or forts in Iruvalinad, but only to hold such places as might be within gunshot of the respective settlements. Commissaries were to supervise the carrying out of the above ; and the produce of the Nad was to be bought only at the respective factories.

On Christmas day 1741 the above articles were supplemented by others.³ Joint action by both factories was to be taken against the Nambiar of Iruvalinad and against the Kottayam Raja if they

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XVII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. CVII. This agreement and that which follows it (CVIII) were signed by M. de Labourdonnais as Mahe de La B. The French settlement is usually alluded to in the diary as "*Mihie*," which represents pretty accurately the native spelling "*Mayyali*."

³ *Treaties, etc.*, i. CVIII.

attempted to disturb peace. If attempts were made to sow dissensions by showing forged letters, etc. (as had already happened), inter-communication between the factories was to be free in order to get rid of the distrust thereby caused. The Nayers¹ in the pay of the respective companies were to be kept quiet, and the factories were to take joint action in case of dissensions among them and also in protecting them against other people. To keep down the price of pepper, "which rises daily," the merchants of the respective factories were not to be permitted to monopolise the product and the factors were to consult how to keep it down. In January and February consultations and assemblies of the respective merchants, with a view to fixing fair rates for pepper, were to be held. If after a rate was fixed the price should rise, the factors were to consult before making any advance on the rate already fixed. And if the merchants raised the price inland suitable remedies were to be applied. Further it was provisionally² agreed that in disputes arising between the French and the Kadattunad Raja the English factors were to arbitrate, and the French factors were to act similarly in disputes between the English and the Prince Regent of Kolattiri, and as regards disputes with other Malabar powers the factors were to afford mutual succour to each other by arbitration, if asked, and failing that by arms if necessary. If arbitration were not asked, then the respective factories were to remain neuter and under no pretext whatever was succour to be given to the native powers. The succour to be respectively given was to consist of ammunition and provisions, and to evince the friendly understanding between the factories, soldiers and officers were likewise to be lent.

Finally the agreements³ of 1728 and 1736 were to remain in full force.

On the following day, 26th December 1741, orders were given for withdrawing the guns and garrisons. On the 11th January following peace was declared between the French and Kadattunad. The latter gave up the two hills about which they had been fighting, besides some adjoining land from the river to the sea. The hill recently stormed and taken by the French, called Porto Peak, was not to be occupied by either party. The French paid Kadattunad 2,000 pagodas presumably for the land taken by them.

The French also concluded peace with the Nambiar of Truvalinad who relinquished 14 coconut gardens to the French and received back their bonds⁴ for 1,80,000 fanams for war expenses, but the bonds were to revive if they misbehaved themselves.

Having thus, in a very short time and in a very satisfactory manner, adjusted the affairs of the Mahe factory with its neighbours,

¹ *English*.—(1) Naranport Nayar, (2) Muicara Cunoti Nayar, (3) Muicara Candil Nayar. *French*.—(1) Kurangoth Nayar, (2) Unichatoo Nayar.

² It does not appear that what follows was ratified by the President and Council at Bombay.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XVII—XXII.

⁴ *Conf. Treaties, etc.*, i. XLI.

M. deLabourdonnais sailed on 13th January 1742 for the Island of Mauritius with one ship only.

It will be necessary now to revert to the 29th December 1740, on which day the *Achanmar* (fathers, chieftains) of a district, called Randattara, repaired to the Tellicherry fort, bringing with them fanams 1,029 in part-payment of the Prince Regent's debt to the Company and proposing to the factors to hand over the revenues of that district "for the remaining part of their proportion of said debt, and such a further sum as will make the whole 60,000 fanams which they will repay at the end of five years, and pay the interest thereon annually at the rate of 10 per cent." The factors' resolution thereupon was that "this being a matter that requires some time to enquire into, we defer giving them an answer for some few days."

On the 3rd January 1741, the matter was fully explained. The Prince Regent had assessed the district of Randattara with 1,00,000 fanams as its share of the Canarese war expenses in 1737. Of that sum, 70,130 fanams 4 vis had been paid, and there remained a balance of 29,869 fanams 12 vis of the principal and 11,388 fanams 9 vis as interest, making in all 41,258 fanams 5 vis. "They now request that we lend them 18,741 fanams 11 vis, which will make their balance to be 60,000 fanams, for payment of which in five years and interest arising thereon they propose to make over the rents and revenues of their country to the Honourable Company, which now by moderate computation do not amount to less than 2,20,000 fanams per annum. Out of which they constantly maintain about 1,000 Nayars, which with other officers and servants, amounts to upwards of 1,80,000 fanams, and pay annually towards defraying Government charges in time of peace about 8,000 fanams and more in war or on emergent occasions. The abovementioned 1,00,000 fanams was their proportion of expense incurred by Government in the late wars with the Canarese. Whence there will remain in time of peace about 30,000 fanams and is what their families—in number now 13—subsist upon.

"Their occasion for about 20,000 fanams is for repairing a place of worship, which sum the country people cannot now pay without overburthening them at a time when the country requires cultivating to restore it to its former productive state destroyed by the Canarese war, and which occasioned Chattoo Chitty to be in arrears with the Company, the country at present not producing half the quantity of pepper. We could formerly depend on it for a yield of 800 to 1,000 candies annually.

"It is observed that they will not go for a loan to shroffs and merchants who cannot protect them; but if we do not comply they will have to mortgage their country to the prince, who probably could not supply them, and if he could it would subject them to him more than is consistent with their privileges. The only other people they can apply to are the Honourable Company or the French, or the Cotiote. It would damage the Company's interest if the French or Cotiote were to supply them, as the pepper would be lost.

"The security offered is undeniable, and if the President and Council should disapprove, then the money could be raised from others at Tellicherry living under the Company's protection.

"Resolved, therefore, to accept their proposals by lending fanams 60,000 (inclusive of 41,258 fanams 5 vis now due by them) for five years, and to obtain their mortgage *ola* making over to the Honorable Company the rents and revenues of their country."

This entry in the diary throws a good deal of light on the former relations between the ruling chiefs and the petty chieftains, who, under them, directly governed the country. The petty chieftains had to defray out of the *puttam* (or authority's share of the produce) the charges connected with maintaining the body of militia of the district. The *puttam* was still in fact the public land revenue of the country, and was not rent as understood in Europe. This coincides with the views on the subject adopted in Chapter IV.

The relations between the Honorable Company and the Randattara Achanmar thus inaugurated were afterwards more closely cemented, and the bonds of union were of so much advantage to the respective parties that no serious attempt seems ever to have been made by the Achanmar to pay off the debt and to recover their former independence. On 12th June 1741, in consequence of a son of the Achanmar having sided with some members of Ockoo's gang of rebels, the necessity of having more control over them was felt, and the Achanmar agreed² to keep all intruders out of their district who were inimical to the Prince Regent or to the Honorable Company and to chastise any of their own number who might molest the prince or Company. The factors recorded in regard to this deed:—"The intent of the above *ola* is to give the Honorable Company authority over the Achanmars as also, to interpose with the prince if he should oppress them by extravagant taxes which has heretofore happened." But the temples had not been taken into account in the bond, and it became necessary to include them formally.³ This did not, however, work well, and the Brahmans appear to have been jealous of English interference in their affairs. The principal of the bond was accordingly in 1749 reduced by 15,000 fanams by enfranchising,⁴ for payments to that amount, the lands in Randattara held by the temples. The Achanmar at the same time (7th September 1749) renewed⁵ their bond and gave additional security. On 16th October the principal of the debt had increased⁶ to 65,000 fanams. On March 23rd, 1765, after a period of disturbance during which the management of the district was conducted by the Kolattiri, the Prince Regent finally ceded⁷ the protection of

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XLIV.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. XLV.—The house of the rebellious youth was pulled down by an elephant in the presence of one of the Kolattiri princes "as the utmost mark of disgrace to his family."

³ *Treaties, etc.*, i. CIX.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LVII, LVIII, LIX, LX, LXI, and foot-note to LXI.

⁵ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LXII.

⁶ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LXIV.

⁷ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LXXXI, LXXXII.

Randattara to the Honorable Company, and from that year the Honorable Company became the virtual¹ sovereigns of that district and began to levy a regular land revenue from it. Hyder's impending invasion of Malabar at this latter time also weighed with the factors in accepting this charge. Hyder at first respected the Honorable Company's rights in the district.

It has already been stated that a large French ship belonging to Labourdonnais' squadron was captured in December 1741 by a fleet of country vessels belonging to the pirate chief Angria of Gheria. This important capture seems to have inflamed the imaginations of the coast pirates generally and to have incited them to renewed activity, for the records during the next two years are full of notices of them and of their exploits. On 30th January 1742, the gallivats of a Mahratta pirate known as "*Kempsant*" made a descent during the night on the coast near Cannanore and looted and burnt some houses. On 15th March, one Kunhi Ahamad, a nephew of the pirate chief of Kottakal, who was generally known as "*Cota*² *Marcar*," was captured with a boat's crew of his men by the English boats employed in stopping the exportation of pepper from Cannanore to Calicut. It did not appear that he was piratically engaged at the time, so he resented the treatment and taking opium, ran amuck. He killed a sergeant with a knife and was then shot by the guard. Of his companions several escaped, of whom two were retaken, one of them being killed. The general opinion was that the pirates had been badly treated, and this treatment seems to have led to an outburst of fanaticism both at Tellicherry and Calicut, in which several lives, including that of a Portuguese Padre, were lost and other persons were wounded. Great honors were, it seems paid to the tomb of Kunhi Ahamad, and to that of the man who killed the Padre at Calicut. After the monsoon of 1742 the pirates were again busy. Coompta was looted by *Kempsant*. In January 1743 Angria with 7 grabs and 11 gallivats appeared at Calicut and fired about 100 rounds at the shipping, driving some of them ashore. On the 13th this piratical fleet was off Mahe. In February the Company's armed gallivat "*Tiger*," under Richard Richards, succeeded in capturing one of *Kempsant's* gallivats and three small vessels. Angria's fleet was meanwhile lying off Mount Deli, and *Kempsant's* off Mangalore, intercepting the rice vessels. In March the latter took a French ship, which was however again taken from them by a Portuguese fleet off Mangalore. Angria also took another French ship, and appeared off Calicut in March, causing a great panic there and causing people to desert the place with their families and valuables. In April several encounters occurred between the pirates and various English ships and the "*Tiger*" gallivat on the voyage between Bombay and Tellicherry. The "*Tiger*" was kept busy in looking after the Kottakal pirates to the south likewise.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LXXXIII, LXXXIV.

² *Cota Marcar* = *Kotta* (fort and name of river) and *Marggakkaran* (lit. doer of the law or rule, i.e., convert from Hinduism to some foreign religion, in this case, Muhammadan), Conf. foot-note p. 330.

After the monsoon of 1743 Angria again put to sea and came south to Calicut and Tellicherry. The "*Montague*" and "*Warwick*," coming down the coast, were engaged from 8 p.m. till 4 a.m. during one night and from 6 a.m. till noon next day with a fleet of Angria's, consisting of 7 grabs and 8 gallivats, but 4 of the small vessels under their convoy were taken. In January 1744 a Portuguese frigate was engaged for two days and two nights off "Pigeon Island" with 7 of Angria's grabs and 17 gallivats. She would likely have fallen a prize, for all her masts had been shot away, had not the Company's vessels above named, under Commodore Freeman, come to her rescue; two of the piratical grabs were hauled off from this encounter in a sinking state. In July the Kadattunad Raja (the king of the pirates) asserted his right to the wreck of a French brigantine, which went ashore to the south of Mahe.

In 1744 war broke out in Europe between England and France. Unfortunately the records are incomplete at this time (August 1744—31st July 1745). But the war had little effect at first on the Company's settlements owing to the great losses at sea sustained by the French. In March 1746 the factors found there were "no buyers of pepper now but us," and taking advantage of that fact they promptly proceeded to lower the price of the article. The following month they recorded that the French commerce was now carried in Dutch ships. It looked for a time as if the anticipations of the Bombay President and Council that the French would not be troublesome would be fulfilled. But on 17th July 1746 two ships came into Mahe roadstead, a French brigantine and an English prize (a country ship from Bengal) captured off Mozambique. On the 20th the factors heard with dismay of the activity of their quondam friend Labourdonnais on the Coromandel Coast. On the 24th the French at Mahe began to make warlike preparations, giving out they would soon be saying mass in Tellicherry as their fleet was expected in October.

Matters thus suddenly began to look alarming, and it was well that the factors had just before this news reached them been successful in getting one of the Kolattiri princes, favorable to their interests, installed in Kolattannad. They had in August 1745 been obliged to recognise another of the Kolattiri princes and assist him with gunpowder and lead in order to check the Prince Regent "his arbitrary proceedings." The weakness of that prince was avarice, and Ali Raja of Cannanore, helped by the French, had been "spiriting up" the Prince Regent with money and creating dissensions between him and the English factory. A desultory war ensued between Ali Raja and the English about the mouth of the Valarpattanam river and the English fort at Madakkara, but Captain Faudoll with 300 men on 22nd October 1745 dislodged the enemy from their entrenchments with the loss of 1 soldier killed and 5 wounded. As a protection on the landward side, the factors enlisted¹ in their interest the Raja of Kottayam as it seemed not

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. CX.

unlikely the Prince Regent himself would take the field against them. They next asked the Dutch for permission to attack Cannanore directly, but this was refused. In April 1746 there was a revolution in Kolattunad, and a prince favourable to the Company's interests obtained the reins of power after getting rid of an obnoxious minister, named Unni Chandu Kurup. Almost simultaneously there was a riot in Cannanore and two of Ali Raja's ministers were slain by the populace. In June the ex-Prince Regent died, so that in July, when the above ominous news came from the Coromandel Coast, the factors were in a position to raise all the important country powers (except Ali Raja) in their favour if there should arise a necessity for it.

Nor was the foresight thus displayed long in being justified, for, notwithstanding the indecisive naval action off Point Calimere, in which Labourdonnais was wounded, that indefatigable officer with his customary promptitude and decision brought matters speedily to a crisis by capturing Fort St. George at Madras. The first news that arrived was that it had fallen on the 8th September 1746, but Mr. Hinde at Fort St. David shortly afterwards corrected this date to the 10th and at the same time sent the factors the reassuring message that he had just completed a bomb-proof building, as the French used bombs, that the factors should follow his example, and that he had no doubt he could hold out in Fort St. David for twelve months against all the force the French could bring against him.

The French at Mahe marked the receipt of the news of the capture of Madras with every demonstration of joy and with much expenditure of gunpowder from all their forts. The English factors at once set to work to prepare for a siege by the French fleet. Provisions and liquors were laid in, men were enlisted, the garrison was concentrated as much as possible, the Native Chiefs, the Prince Regent, the Bednur Raja, the Nileswaram Raja, the Achanmar of Randattara, etc., came forward with offers of assistance of men, some of whom were accepted. The French at Mahe enlisted 1,500 Mappillas, and the Mudaliyar (chief man) of the Valarpattanam Mappillas joined the English. The English garrison was camped out between Tellicherry and Mailan forts to be ready at a moment's notice. But their services were not required, for Fort St. David not only stoutly held out, but even repulsed the enemy. And shortly afterwards the French fleet was reported as having passed Anjengo and Tanur on its way north to Mahe. It arrived in two detachments on 27th February and 1st March 1747, and consisted of the *Centaur*, *Mars*, *Brilliant*, *St. Lewis*, *Princess Mary* and one other. Ali Raja repaired at once to Mahe with 500 men. But his reception seems to have cooled his ardour for the French alliance, and after this powerful French fleet had sailed away without even attacking Tellicherry, he soon sued the English factors for peace and stated his hearty repentance. The factors promptly tendered to him a bill for 3,10,556 fans., 12 tar. He offered to pay Rs. 15,000, which was declined at first, but after a day or two's delay accepted.

The French fleet had gone ; the factors knew not whither. They heard it was at Goa and awaiting Labourdonnais' return from the islands with another squadron. They were still in daily dread of being besieged. It was with no little satisfaction therefore that, about July 1747, they received the welcome news that the dreaded Labourdonnais had been sent an unhappy prisoner to France.

The departure of the French fleet enabled the English factors to reduce their military establishment, and to succour Fort St. David with 250 sepoys in June 1747 and with 130¹ more on the 19th August. These men afterwards proved unfaithful to their salt. Their commander, "a Moor" (? Mappilla) was tampered with by an ex-interpreter of the Governor of Madras, who was in secret communication with Madame Dupleix, the wife of the French Governor of Pondicherry. The commander's design to desert to the French in the first engagement that should happen was discovered, and he and ten of his officers were banished to St. Helena, where several of them helped each other to end their lives rather than remain as prisoners in such a hopelessly remote island.

The naval warfare between the English and French still went on, and after the monsoon of 1747, the English fleet appears to have kept to the Coromandel Coast and the French to the West Coast, and there was constant anxiety for the safety of the Company's ships. On 14th and 26th September, four French ships arrived at Mahe, one of them bringing in two prizes, one English and one Dutch, taken off Bombay. As they came into the roads they were flying English colours "with the union downwards." But after the receipt on 8th February 1748 of the news of Anson's victory off Finisterre, events took a different turn, and on March 29th, H.M.'s ships *Exeter* (Commodore Paulet) and *Winchester* (Lord Thos. Bertie) came into the Tellicherry roads, and took on board a party of men, with a design to destroy the *St. Lewis*, which was lying in the Mahe roads at the time. Accordingly, on March 30th, H.M.'s ships ran into Mahe roads under Portuguese colours, which they hauled down about noon and the English ensign was hoisted in their place. The French were taken by surprise ; the *St. Lewis* fired signal guns and boats pushed off from Mahe to her assistance. They did not all arrive in time, however, and the action, which lasted only about an hour, resulted in the *St. Lewis* cutting her cables and getting under the protection of the Mahe forts with the aid of her jib or jib staysail, the rest of her rigging having been torn from her yards, and her three top-gallant masts having been shattered ; she continued, however, to defend herself, and the engagement ceased at sunset. Next day the French unloaded their ship and hauled her in so close under the forts that it was thought she was aground. She lost 50 men in the action, including her captain, while the English loss was only 2 men.

¹ Orme states this reinforcement at 400 men, but it seems that only 380 men were sent.

Meanwhile, the tables had been successfully turned on the French on the Coromandel Coast also, and the French at Mahe were obliged to despatch men to help to defend Pondicherry, besieged by Admiral Boscawen.

On 24th October 1748 the news of the preliminaries having been settled of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle arrived, and orders came at the same time for a cessation of hostilities after 19th October. The French at Mahe were immediately apprised of the fact. It was not, however, until 24th September 1749 that H.M.'s proclamation of peace arrived. This proclamation was read to the military and artillery train drawn up outside the Tellicherry gates. The Chief (Mr. Thomas Byfeld) proceeded thither in state, accompanied by two of the gentlemen from the Mahe factory, with whom cordial relations had again been established. Twenty-one guns were fired from the fort, and the day was "spent in other demonstrations of joy." The French and English factors had meanwhile likewise combined and had succeeded in reducing the price of pepper to Rs. 50 per candy, the lowest price it had ever fetched.

The Prince Regent of Kolattunad during the time of the French war (1744-49), by name Kunhi Raman, appears to have been jealous of the Company's interference in the affairs of Randattara, and to have impeded the Company's officers in collecting the revenues of that district. In 1747 he claimed the property of a Nambidi, who died without heirs, and interfered in two *desams*, "laying impediments on the ground," besides which, it was brought to the factors' notice, he had "tyed four or five elephants in Randattara and ordered the *olaes* and fruit to be gathered from trees belonging to themselves (the Achanmar) and others which used not to be done formerly." His alliance was of too much importance to the factors at this time for them to attempt to break with him, and as the Achanmars' troubles continued, and the Prince Regent encroached more and more on their privileges. In August and September 1748 matters came to a crisis by the Prince Regent "laying an impediment" on one of the Company's merchants, on mulcting him heavily. On being remonstrated with for this and other similar behaviour, he strenuously asserted his right to take the half of every man's property, and the whole of it if he committed a fault. In November 1748 he had, it seems, portioned out his country to certain headmen in order that they might plunder his subjects, and the Commandant at Madakkara reported that soon the country would be ruined. Meanwhile, the cessation of hostilities with France had strengthened the factors' position, and they were able to deal with him with more firmness in regard to Randattara and other matters. The result was duly recorded in an agreement,¹ dated 10th January 1749, by which he agreed to turn a number of people out of his dominions, to dismiss his customs master, and not to interfere except as agreed in Randattara affairs. But there were other matters remaining to be settled, particularly in regard to the island of Madakkara, and the Chief,

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XLVI.

Mr. Byfeld, took an early opportunity of visiting Madakkara fort and of personally conferring with the Prince Regent and others regarding them. He was present at an affecting interview with a very old and bed-ridden lady, described as the prince's mother; she expressed her satisfaction on being informed that everything had been amicably accommodated,¹ and enjoined her son as her last parental counsel and advice never to give umbrage to the Chiefs of Tellicherry, who had protected the Palli branch of their family in its utmost distress. Mr. Byfeld also seized the opportunity to obtain from the prince, who held the rank of *Vadakkalankur* (Northern Regent) at the time, and who belonged to the Udayamangalam branch, a deed,² dated 9th May 1749, transferring absolutely to the Prince Regent of the Palli branch all the property of his family lying to the south of a line drawn "from the river Quilavelly to Urbelli." This line appears to have coincided pretty closely with that of the Taliparamba river, and probably cut off the isthmus running south to Madakkara fort and lying between the river and the sea, the portion, in short, of North Malabar which was at this time tributary to the king of Bednur. This deed was cancelled and another³ signed two days later (11th May 1749), in which the southern limit of the Udayamangalam branch territory was fixed at "*Cheria Kunnu*," which appears to correspond with the amsam of Cherukkunnu, about a mile to the south of the Taliparamba river opposite Madayi. The Vadakkalankur, who signed these deeds, was at the time a prisoner in the Valarpattanam fort belonging to the Palli branch of the family. On signing the latter deed, which put the Prince Regent in a better position to pay off his debts to the Company, the Vadakkalankur was released from confinement at Mr. Byfeld's request. But the younger princes of the Udayamangalam branch naturally objected to being thus compelled to part with their birth-right, and as the Chief was unable to bring them to terms in any other way, he resolved to assist the Prince Regent vigorously with men and ammunition. The result was that their stronghold at Puttur was captured in June 1749, and they themselves were driven into the jungles and their followers dispersed.

Having thus for the time being enabled the Prince Regent to quell the dissensions in his own family, Mr. Byfeld next turned his attention to strengthening the position of the Company in the Kadattunad territory, while maintaining therein, as far as a treaty could do it,⁴ the authority of the Prince Regent of Kolattunad. And that having been satisfactorily accomplished, a general settling up⁵ of accounts took place in September 1749.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XLVIII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. XLIX; *conf.* i. XXXVIII and ii. CCX. It was probably under this deed that the Palli branch of the family virtually superseded the other (Udayamangalam) branch, which arrangement still continues in force. The nominal Kolattiri is still the eldest male of both branches, but the *de facto* head of the family is the oldest male of the Palli branch, who is usually styled the Chirakkal Raja. The matter has been more than once before the British Courts.—Mr. Rickards' decree of 6th August 1803 and Sadr Adalat Special Appeal No. 9 of 1821.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, i. L.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LIII.

⁵ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LIV to LXII.

The trade of the Company likewise received attention. The method adopted for getting the pepper at a low figure was as follows:—A monopoly of the trade in the country having been secured from the various chiefs by treaty, the exporting of the article without permission was prohibited both by sea and land. This prevented, to a certain extent, sales being made to outsiders, but whenever the price of the article in a free market, as at Calicut, rose high, the merchants were tempted to run the risk of exporting for the sake of the extra prices obtainable. The Company, however, had much control over its merchants, for the latter obtained no protection anywhere outside the limits of the Tellicherry factory, and when the Chief found that they were exporting the pepper to a free market, and that they were consequently unable to fulfil their contracts, he took summary means to bring them to reason by incarcerating them.

The same influences which had so weakened and distracted the Kolattiri family in the past were still at work. The Prince Regent had married the Kadattunad Raja's sister, and had built a house for her in Iruvalinad, the country of the Nambiaris. His object was to establish his son therein as ruler (*Valunnavar*, the title held by the Kadattunad Raja). But to do this, it was necessary that the semi-independent Nambiaris should either submit willingly or be compelled to it. The Chief seeing in this a means of counteracting French influences in that district, assented to the proposal, which also, of course, had the support of the Kadattunad Raja, whose nephew and heir this youth was. The Company were not, however, to take an active part in the operations: indeed on the contrary, they just then took the opportunity of reducing their military to a peace¹ footing. The design of the prince was not, however, carried through, but in March 1750 the Kadattunad ruler formally assumed the title of Raja, the Prince Regent being privy to it.

On 17th January 1750 Mr. Byfeld handed over charge of the Tellicherry factory to Mr. Thomas Dorril, as Chief, and immediately a change for the worse came over its management. Mr. Dorril appears to have been rash as well as narrow-minded and weak. He was easily misled, and being weak, he mistook obstinacy for firmness. The Prince Regent's bad advisers, banished in Mr. Byfeld's time, returned and signalled their return by an outrage on a private servant of one of the English officers at Madakkara fort. The new Chief, nettled perhaps at this event, set his face against the designs of the Prince² Regent, who had married Kadattunad's sister; and this estrangement speedily led to divers troubles, for, although the Chief and factors acknowledged an elder prince, who, by virtue of his age, ought to have been the ruling prince, the latter

¹ The establishment consisted of 400 military under a "Captain," who received 10 shillings sterling per day; 70 gunners under a "Lieutenant Fireworker," who received £75 per annum, and 365 "militia," consisting of sepoys, Mappillas and Nayars under various headmen.

² There were two princes *regnant* at this time, and although the younger is styled the junior prince in the Diary, he was *de facto* ruler.

was powerless, and very probably at heart unwilling to help them. Of the Iruvalinad Nambiaris, some adopted one side and some another. The Chief was warned from the Presidency not to allow the Company to be dragged in as principals in any of the country quarrels, but he blindly took the steps best calculated to bring this about. The *de facto* Prince Regent finding himself thrown over by Mr. Dorril, naturally turned to the French alliance. Mr. Dorril in April 1751 proceeded to the Madakkara fort, and thence to Valarpattanam fort, and placed himself in communication with the nominal head of the house, the Kolattiri Raja himself, a frail old man, who had no power in the country. He assented, at Mr. Dorril's suggestion, to the appointment of a junior prince, without any power in the country, by name Ambu Tamban, to be Prince Regent in supersession of the *de facto* ruler, and this arrangement was duly embodied in three deeds,¹ dated the 21st April 1751. The Chief's eyes ought to have been opened to the fatal step he was taking, when, on proceeding strongly guarded to Cotaenna (Kottakkunnu) to interview the elder Prince *regnant*, the latter, on learning his mission, abruptly withdrew inside his fort and prepared to fire at the Chief's party. The Chief's guard were ill advised enough to open fire at this threat. It was returned from the fort, and the Chief withdrew to Valarpattanam, where he received the news that the *de facto* Prince Regent, then in the south, was advancing with 1,500 Kottayam and Kadattunad men to attack Tellicherry. Next day (22nd April), as the Chief and party withdrew from Valarpattanam to Madakkara, they were again fired at. And to complete the list of his errors, Mr. Dorril made prisoner of the aged Kolattiri and of the young Ambu Tamban, and took them off with him to Tellicherry, presumably as hostages for the good conduct of the rest of the family.

It is difficult to understand what could possibly have been Mr. Dorril's object in acting thus, for it soon became evident that he had roused the country, and had no friend left among the chieftains, except Ali Raja of Cannanore, who only promised to remain neuter. Lost the Achanmar of Randattara should give him aid, the *de facto* Prince Regent threw 2,000 men into that district to overawe it and demanded 1,00,000 fanams from the Achanmar. Finding no friend near home, Mr. Dorril had perforce to seek them abroad, and on 7th July he advised the Bednur Governor of Mangalore that now was his opportunity to seize Nilesvaram fort. His real object in tendering this advice was to prevent its falling into the hands of the French, for it was only too obvious by this time that the French were stirring with a view to benefit themselves in the impending struggle, and the Nilesvaram country yielded sandalwood and cardamoms, which would be lost to the English if the French settled there.

The French were not slow to make use of the opportunity offered, and by the 17th July, they had hoisted their flag at Nilesvaram and

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LXV, LXVI and CXIII.

the mouth of Kavvayi river (Ayconna--Alikkunnur) and were busy fortifying both places. They had also thrown men into Valarpattanam fort.

The Canarese under a Brahman who is described as an "inactive man," moved towards Nilesvaram in August, but created very little diversion on that side. The Achannar of Randattara came to Tellicherry to seek protection, and receiving aid in military and militia, attempted to return to their district *via* Agarr; after some smart skirmishes, the military had to return on finding themselves confronted by 5,000 of the Prince Regent's Nayars. Their loss was 2 killed and 9 wounded.

The Prince Regent on 25th September openly visited Mahe and was received with a salute. And this was followed by fresh concessions to the French; Randilly fort and the Ettikulam fort on the point of Mount Deli were placed in their hands.

Moreover, by this time, the Prince Regent was able to assume the aggressive. On 9th September he had attacked and been repulsed from the Company's post of Edakad. On 18th October he attacked Ponolla Malla on the outskirts of Tellicherry with 4,000 men. Being repulsed he set to work with French aid to erect a battery on a hill called Chimbra which commanded Ponolla Malla. On 21st October Tirimalla, another outpost on the Tellicherry limits was taken by surprise, and (it was alleged) treachery. The garrison resisted, bravely headed by their corporal, but being taken unawares, they had not time to fix their bayonets and were all slain and their bodies placed on the *chevaux de frise*. Ponolla Malla was also hotly attacked. A panic ensued among the inhabitants, who all flocked into the limits commanded by the Tellicherry fort. Then a crisis occurred. The Nayars and Tiyars at Ponolla Malla deserted, and the sepoys refused to sacrifice themselves. Orders were sent to retreat from Ponolla Malla after spiking the guns and destroying the ammunition and stores and this was done. The English loss in this day's engagement was about 100 killed, and 20 wounded were brought to hospital. How many more were not brought in does not appear.

The panic among the inhabitants continued; families were sent away and the merchants deserted. The Prince Regent busied himself on the 23rd, burning the houses of the inhabitants within the Tellicherry limits, and threatening Morakkunnur, which was immediately reinforced.

On the 24th the Tiruvengad pagoda, another outpost, was in his hands and Melur and Kodolli were threatened. On the 27th a French ship of considerable force came in sight, and the most gloomy anticipations were indulged in by the beleaguered factors.

In the straits to which he had so easily brought the settlement, Mr. Dorril turned, as already said, to the Raja of Bednur for help, and to this end he despatched the Company's Canarese linguist, as

he was called, by name Antonio Pires, to Mangalore to seek assistance. The linguist arranged two treaties,¹ dated respectively 25th and 30th October 1751, but these were of little advantage beyond preventing the French from concluding terms with Bednur.

On 29th October a welcome supply of rice from Mangalore arrived just in time to save the garrison from starvation. And the Chief was on 2nd November at last successful in creating a split in the enemy's camp. From the position of the Kottayam Raja's territories abutting on the Tellicherry limits inland and extending thence into the Ghats and Wynad, the Raja and the Company combined could prevent the passage of troops and inter-communication between the Kolattiri's and Kadattunad's dominions. And any enemy attacking Tellicherry from the landward side was liable to have his rear attacked unless he had laid his accounts to have Kottayam as a friend. Kottayam ratified the proposals² on 12th November, and bargained for Rs. 40 per diem as his own allowance, payable fortnightly "so long as he acted as a faithful ally to the Honorable Company". He also agreed to lend the Company, on payment, 1,000 men with arms and to stop the communication between the Kolattiri and Kadattunad dominions as soon as the Prince Regent had gone north into Kolattunad and his wife (Kadattunad's sister) had gone south into her brother's territory.

It was well for the Tellicherry factory that this treaty was concluded, for the Company was beleaguered on all hands—Madakkara fort was also besieged. On 4th November the Morakkunnu redoubt within the Tellicherry limits was attacked, and the enemy came up to the very gates of the Tellicherry fort itself. The cavalier bastion in the south-east corner of the latter was of great service on this occasion. On the 13th the communications with Mailan fort guarding the southern limits were intercepted, and a second unsuccessful attack was made on Morakkunnu redoubt. On the 16th the siege was pressed with great vigour and the batteries kept up an incessant fire with shot and shell on the besiegers. On the 22nd the factors resolved that if any advantage was gained against Mailan fort they would withdraw their forces from all the outposts. Next day came the crisis, and it fortunately took a favourable turn, for Captain Cameron, in command at Mailan fort, succeeded in destroying the opposing battery on Putinha hill, and greatly alarmed the French by sending a few shells into Ponolla Malla battery, where their gunpowder was unprotected. Kottayam, who had probably been waiting the turn of events, now came forward, and on the 25th November he managed that the Prince Regent should withdraw his forces from Narangapuram and Putinha and so free the Tellicherry limits.

The Bombay President and Council had had troubles of their own on hand just then and had been unable to send the successor urgently demanded for Tellicherry. On 14th December they at last managed

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LXVII and CLXVIII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. CXIV.

to send ships to the assistance of Tellicherry, and with it came a letter expressing their utmost surprise at the turn affairs had so unexpectedly taken, and attributing it all to Mr. Dorril's great want of judgment for reasons already set forth above.

Meanwhile the mediation carried on by Kottayam went on slowly. He was in no hurry to arrange terms while being paid a personal allowance of Rs. 40 per day as may be imagined, and he appears not to have scrupled at declaring openly that he meant to make the most he could for himself of the troubles in the country. So the war went on. In December the Canarese met with a severe reverse when attempting to cross the Nilsvaram river. In January 1752, when terms of peace had been almost arranged, the Prince Regent "flew off" on hearing of another success in the north. On 10th March the French attacked Madakkara fort with big guns from a new battery, alleging they had acquired land there. On 22nd March the enemy returned to Putinha and began erecting a battery there. Captain Mostyn offered to take it, and he appears to have succeeded. But a panic ensued consequent on Ensign Target's being shot through the head going up to the captured redoubt, and a hasty retreat was made by the common soldiers, of whom it is recorded "happy was he who could run fastest." On the 1st of April an attack was made on Madakkara, but the enemy were driven back with 100 to 150 killed and wounded. On 12th April the batteries on Putinha were enlarged, but on the 17th the fire from Mailan fort silenced them for a time. Up to 13th May the duel between these two places continued.

A week later on (or 22nd May 1752) an armistice was concluded, and on the following day the terms¹ of peace were ratified by the Prince Regent. These were for the most part very general. The Honourable Company and the Kolattiri princes were not to meddle in each other's affairs, the grants to the Company being confirmed. They were to give each other mutual assistance if attacked. And finally the Tellicherry linguist (Pedro Rodrigues) and his family were not to be employed in any transactions between the parties.

But besides these terms there were others which did not appear: Rs. 50,000 was paid to the Prince Regent as compensation, and Rs. 10,000 to Kottayam as mediator. Madakkara fort was given back, and the prince was to destroy his redoubts on the outskirts of Tellicherry on the hills of Andolla, Ponolla and Putinha. Mr. Dorril objected to the insertion of these terms in the treaty because they were disadvantageous to the Honourable Company and because he did not wish to have the facts entered on the "Prince, his records."

The records for some time after this are full of the charges brought against the Company's linguist, Pedro Rodrigues. Mr. Dorril and the factors endeavoured to make a scapegoat of him, but although he fled to Mahe and the factors gave out that his property was going to be seized, no serious steps were really taken against him,

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LXIX.

and on 16th September 1752 the Bombay President and Council sent orders forbidding the seizure of his effects, "this family having been so remarkably distinguished by the Honorable Company." And the despatch continued: "We peremptorily order you not to do it."

The French continued at war with Bednur in aid of the Prince Regent of Kolattiri during 1753, and meanwhile a fresh combination of the country powers was brought about. The Zamorin was in April 1753 induced to visit the Tellicherry factory, and on his return journey he was escorted with great military pomp by sea as far as Quilandy. An alliance was formed between the Zamorin, Kottayam, and the Iruvalinad Nambiar, backed of course by the Honorable Company, and their object was "to ward against the growing power of the Prince Regent (Kolattiri) and Kadattunad backed by the French." This combination made the Prince Regent of Kolattunad exceedingly uneasy, and in June he wished to visit the factory. But on desiring the Chief to come out to meet him, Mr. Dorril declined and the prince then went to Mahe, where he was received with open arms by the French Chief. The war, however, had told on the French resources, and they began to be in straits for money, their new forts in the north costing them as much as Rs. 15,000 per mensem. Moreover, just about this time the Canarese gained an important success over the French allies, the details of which were carefully kept secret.

In October 1753 the Kadattunad commenced hostilities in Iruvalinad against the Nambiar and Kottayam, who were backed of course by the Tellicherry factors. The Prince Regent would fain have come to his brother-in-law's help, but the factors and Kottayam together effectually blocked his way in the manner already described. The effect of this was that the Prince Regent, for the first time since Mr. Dorril commenced hostilities against him, came to the factory on the 17th November 1753.

Little time however remained for effecting a complete reconciliation between them, for on 3rd January 1754 there arrived from Bombay two gentlemen (John Sewell and Thomas Hodges), commissioned as "Supravizors," to enquire into Mr. Dorril's administration of the factory affairs, and after completing the enquiry one of them (Thomas Hodges) was commissioned to remain on as Chief of the settlement. The "supravizors" completed their enquiry by the 15th March, on which date Mr. Hodges assumed the office of Chief. The enquiry resolved itself into a battle between Mr. Dorril and the linguist Pedro Rodrigues. The supravizors naturally held Mr. Dorril solely responsible for the misfortunes which had befallen the factory and Pedro Rodrigues was acquitted, and on 12th May 1754 restored to office as linguist.

In July the French Chief (M. Louet) managed to arrange a peace between Kadattunad and the Iruvalinad Nambiar and Kottayam. Kadattunad accepted M. Louet's intervention, but was disgusted at the French having secretly assisted the Nambiar.

Mr. Hodges' management of affairs was much more prudent than Mr. Dorril's and the factors began slowly to regain the ground they had lost in the latter's time. He avoided war; but steadfastly set his face to turn the French out of Nilesvaram. To this end he succoured the third Prince of the Nilesvaram family in opposition to the first Prince, who was in alliance with the French, and a desultory war begun in August 1755 kept the French employed in that quarter till after the news had arrived (28th May 1756) that France was again at open war with England.

Meanwhile it will be necessary to revert to Dutch affairs. The important resolution taken by the Supreme Council in Batavia in 1721 not to succour their native allies, which has already been alluded to, began shortly afterwards to bear its natural fruit. In October 1733 Calli-Qulion was threatened by the energetic Martanda Varma of Travancore; the Dutch Governor, A. Maten, was applied to for aid, and the result was a refusal to grant it, coupled at the same time with advice to join another chief who had refused passage to the Travancoreans and to drive back the invaders. In 1734 the territories of this latter chief and another were annexed by Travancore. In 1739 Mr. Van Imhoff became Governor. He was a most intolerant man, and directly he arrived he saw the necessity of curbing the rising power of Travancore if the Dutch were to retain their hold of the trade of the country and not allow it to pass into the hands of the English, who were backing up the Travancore Raja. Van Imhoff, it is said, carried to the Travancore Raja his own protest against the Raja's occupation of the territory acquired in 1734. His protest failed, and Van Imhoff nettled at this result spoke of invading Travancore. "The Raja replied¹ that doubtless he might do so, but there were forests into which he could retire in safety." Imhoff retorted that "where Travancoreans could go, Dutch could follow." The Raja then broke up the conference by sneeringly observing, he had "been thinking some day of invading Europe!" Unfortunately for Van Imhoff he had no sufficient force at hand to command respect and obedience to his wishes. War ensued, but it was not conducted with energy and vigour, and the successes obtained by the Dutch at starting were not maintained. They waited for orders from Batavia, and maintained a desultory war meanwhile. On October 18th, 1748, the Batavian Council at last approved of the terms finally accepted by Travancore, but it was not till nearly five years later that peace was finally established on August 15th, 1753.

The Dutch were mean enough to stipulate on this latter date that they "shall² recede from all engagements, which they may have entered into with the other Malabar princes, whom the King of Travancore might choose to attack, and on no account interfere in their disputes, afford them assistance or shelter, or in any respect raise any opposition to the enterprises of the king." And what

¹ Day's *Land of the Permauls*, p. 131.

² Day's *Land of the Permauls*, p. 133.

were they to get in exchange for such a pledge? Just 4 annas on every 25 lb. of pepper to be supplied to them from Travancore and from the territories *to be conquered* by that State!!

Such sordid meanness defeated its own end of course, and shortly after the treaty was signed, and after the Travancore frontiers had advanced as far as Cochin, the Travancore Raja of course turned on them and repudiated his obligations, telling the Dutch factors at Cochin they were no longer a sovereign power, but merely a number of petty merchants, and if they required spices they should go to the bazaars and purchase them at the market rates. They had eventually to pay market prices for the pepper they wanted.

This treaty gave the *coup de grace* to Dutch influence in Malabar.

The pirates too had meanwhile begun to give trouble once more. In 1753-54 the Tellicherry factors were kept in constant anxiety on account of the Honourable Company's shipping, and the Mahratta Angria's fleet was much feared. In September 1755, Ali Raja of Cannanore organised a big buccancering expedition in close alliance with Angria. He sent 3,000 men with guns in 70 native small craft (*manchuas*) and large boats to ravage the Canarese country. This expedition attacked Manjeshwar and obtained there a booty of 4,000 pagodas, besides 100,000 more from a private merchant. They also landed people to the north of Mangalore, marched 18 leagues inland to a very rich pagoda called "Collure" and carried off booty to the extent, it was reported, of no less than 4,000,000 pagodas. In this expedition the Mappillas killed some Brahmans who were greatly mourned at the Bednur court. And of course Bednur adopted the readiest means at his command for bringing everybody to their senses; he stopped the export of rice from Mangalore, and thus put everybody, English, French, Dutch, Nayars, and Mappillas, all in a serious predicament. The Bombay President and Council, on 7th November 1755, sent Ali Raja a sharp letter of remonstrance on his conduct. He had not attacked the Company's shipping, else he would have been as summarily dealt with as his ally, Angria, shortly afterwards (January and February 1756) was at Gheriah by a squadron of H.M.'s and of the Honourable Company's ships under Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive. The Tellicherry factors were jubilant on this occasion; the news of the capture of Gheriah on the 13th February reached Tellicherry on the 23rd and a royal salute was fired at once.

It had come shortly after this to the knowledge of the factors that affairs were again in a critical state in Europe between England and France, so like wise men they set all their energies to work to lay in a suitable stock of grain in anticipation of hostilities, and in this Mr. Hodges was successful in the early part of 1756.

On the 28th May of that year authentic news arrived *via* Madras of the renewal of hostilities in America, but war had not been declared. All doubt, however, on this latter point was set at rest on 17th October 1756 on receipt of H.M.'s declaration of war against

France. The news came *via* Bussorah and Bombay. The factors had not, when they got the news, completed their collection of stores, so they waited a day or two before publishing it till all their rice and store boats had come in. On 26th October a store of 12,000 bales of rice was on hand and the factors felt themselves to be relieved of anxiety on that score.

It has been said that the first news of the critical state of politics in Europe reached the factors on the 28th May 1756. Mr. Hodges had prior to this event been vigorously sending aid to his ally the third Prince of Nilesvaram in pursuance of his policy of driving the French out of that country and securing its cardamoms and sandalwood for the Honourable Company. The results of Mr. Hodges' action were soon apparent, for on 5th April news had come that the third Prince had defeated the French in two hand-to-hand engagements. On the 1st of May news of another victory came to hand: the French had again been defeated with the loss of 2 officers and 20 sepoys and others killed and 70 more wounded. Then on 23rd June came the still more important news that the French fort at Mattalye had been surprised by the third Prince of Nilesvaram. This fort maintained the French communications between their fort of Ramdilly (*Alikkunn*) and their furthest post at Nilesvaram, so that its capture imperilled their line of communications. The garrison, consisting of 1 officer and 20 soldiers, was put to the sword; all but the gunner, who was spared on the condition that he would point their guns for the captors. The fort mounted 20 guns, chiefly 18-pounders, and 1 mortar, and there were also 200 muskets with suitable ammunition. On the 4th July the third Prince was further aided by Mr. Hodges, both with money and stores, as news had come that the Prince Regent himself meant to take the field with 1,000 men in aid of the French. The French were very uneasy, as may be imagined, at the loss of the fort and the danger to their line of communications with Nilesvaram, and were ready to agree to any terms to have it restored. The Prince Regent intervened in their favor, and arranged that if Mattalye fort were restored to them they would evacuate Nilesvaram and some other small places, and the Prince Regent in return for his services was to have his bond for Rs. 60,000, advanced to him in the war with the Tellicherry factors, returned to him and cancelled. Moreover the Prince Regent guaranteed on oath that the French would perform their part of the contract and surrender Nilesvaram and the other places.

The French fired a salute of 15 guns at Mahe on being repossessed, on 22nd July 1756, of Mattalye; *but they deliberately broke their promises of evacuating Nilesvaram and other places and of returning the Prince Regent's bond to him.*

This was not unnaturally the turning point in the Prince Regent's friendship with the French.

When the declaration of war arrived therefore on the 17th October following, the English factory affairs under Mr. Hodges' able

guidance were in a prosperous condition, while the French at Mahe were exhausted with the protracted warfare in the north and with the heavy monthly expenses of their garrisons in those regions.

The Chief next directed his energies towards extending and consolidating good relations with the various country powers. Kottayam and Ali Raja appeared inclined to join the Honorable Company against the Prince Regent and the French. And it was hoped that Kadattunad and the Iruvalinad Nambiar too would join. There remained the Prince Regent to be brought to terms, and matters were already arranging themselves in the desired direction because of his disgust at the broken promises of the French. On 2nd November he came to the factory and gave vent to his anger at Mr. Dorril having been let off so easily; he had been dismissed the service: but that was punishment insufficient he thought for what he had done: he called him a "cullan"¹ (which in Mallabars signifies infamous man, or more literally interpreted, robber). At this interview it is noted that Messrs. Johnson and Taylor, from the progress they had made "in Mallabars," were able to understand the Prince without the aid of an interpreter, so that the linguist, Pedro Rodrigues, had not to be called in. A very important² step had consequently been taken towards freeing the Chief from underhand intrigues of the linguist. This interview was followed by a secret one on the following day, at which the Prince Regent promised to assist the factors against the French and to oblige Kadattunad to do the same. He would not, however, though pressed, give this in writing. He evidently wished to give the French a last chance of fulfilling their promises, and, accordingly, on 11th November, on his way to the south with his wife and family, he had a very private interview with the French Chief of Mahe.

The French too were on the alert, and on the very day after the Prince had thus gone to the south, the Honorable Company's fort of Meylure on Darmapattanam Island was attacked by three Mappillas, who killed two people and dangerously wounded the corporal in charge. They were however themselves slain, and Mr. Hodges, on informing the Prince Regent of the affair, learnt that, in the Prince's opinion it was an act of his enemies to embroil him with the Company. On hearing from him to this effect he was asked to send some of his people to be present to "assist ours in spitting them as they are not worthy of burial." This was accordingly carried out, and on the 25th November the bodies, after being "spitted" a sufficient time, were thrown into the sea to prevent others from erecting monuments and canonizing them for having slain others of a different religion. The factors, though in some doubt on the point, concluded that this attack was an artifice on the part of "Candotty Pacquey," the Mahe merchant, to embroil

¹ *Kullan*.

² This was followed up on 8th February 1758 by a formal examination, the first of its kind no doubt ever held in Malabar, conducted by the Chief in person, in which Messrs. Johnson, Taylor, and Samuel Coes were tested as to their proficiency "in Mallabars."

the English factors with the Prince Regent. It will be recollected that, at the beginning of Mr. Dorril's term of office, a somewhat similar event at Madakkara had led him into hostilities with the Prince.

On the 15th December 1756 the negotiations with Kottayam for a defensive alliance had progressed so far that a treaty¹ was arranged on a basis favorable to both parties. He promised to let the factors have the services of as many as 6,000 Nayers, and he himself was to receive a *doucour* of Rs. 2,000 whenever war broke out and the French assumed the offensive; but if the Company were going against the French he agreed not to assist the latter, but he would not act against them.

Meanwhile hostilities had commenced in November by the Honorable Company's *Commoodre* capturing between Tellicherry and Calicut a French vessel, the "*Indian*" of 700 tons and 24 guns with 400 men, coming from Pondicherry and laden with military stores for Mahe. No details of the fight are given, but the *Commodore's* loss was not great.

This capture must have crippled still more the French resources.

Mr. Hodges was still busy extending good relations with the country powers, and even the Kurangoth Nayar appears to have at this time been on good terms with the factory. The Prince Regent had fallen sick, and when he had recovered sufficiently, Mr. Hodges on 19th April 1757 set out for Chirakkal to pay him a visit. He was very handsomely received and the Prince sent his own chaise for him, and in it Mr. Hodges travelled as far as the road would permit. The result of this interview was embodied in an agreement,² dated the 21st April 1757, though the terms had been arranged in the previous November. The Prince agreed to assist the Honorable Company against the French or any other nation who might attack them, and to use his influence in the same direction with the other country powers. If a French fleet arrived, 1,500 musketeers and other armed men were at once to be sent to Tellicherry, and if the English were to go against the French, the Prince was to assist after settling what gain he was to get. He was in turn to be assisted by the Honorable Company if he required it, and his people, if killed or wounded, were to be treated like those of the Company. Finally the Company's trade was to remain on the same footing as formerly, and to be enlarged, if possible, and the Prince was to be assisted on his part as formerly.

This treaty, brought about in great measure by the broken promises of the French, restored English prestige in Kolattunad to its old footing and completed Mr. Hodges' masterly preparations for the coming conflict.

But just as the factors—their preparations being completed—were settling quietly down to await the anticipated conflict, an

¹ *Treaties etc.*, i. CXXI.

² *Treaties etc.* i. LXX.

event happened which upset, for a time, their calculations of preparedness. For on 19th August 1757 the diary records that "Cotiote (Kottayam) demised of a bile in his arm," and of course the agreement with him became mere waste paper unless ratified by his successor. Who that successor was to be was fiercely contested, for the Prince Regent of Kolattunad intervened in the dispute, and so did the French. It was not till the 28th June 1759 that the Vice Regent of Kottayam was able to report that he had been crowned at "Vaenalt" (Wynad), and on 23rd August following the Chief obtained from him a ratification¹ of the former treaty in an amplified form.

Meanwhile, another similar event had happened, and in the diary of 9th May 1759 it is recorded that the Prince Regent too had "demised." The Chief had much difficulty in securing a suitable successor, but he decided at last to exercise all his great influence in favour of a prince who had already succeeded to the title of *Vadakkalankur* or Northern Regent of the Kolattunad, and who was senior in age to the late prince, and to oppose the claims of a junior prince, Unaman, who had married the late Prince Regent's daughter, and who was therefore likely to fall under the influence of the French exerted through his wife's uncle the Kadattunad Raja. The preliminaries took months to arrange, but at last, on 5th September 1760, everything was ready and a combination of the Kolattiri Northern Regent, of Kottayam, and of Ali Raja of Cannanore was formed. On 9th September the Northern Regent executed two agreements² ratifying the Company's privileges and extending them. On the 23rd hostilities commenced and were rapidly and successfully carried through, place after place being taken from Prince Unaman by the allied forces, while the Kadattunad Raja's forces were kept from passing to the north to assist his beleaguered nephew-in-law by the cordon drawn across the country from the sea-shore at Tellicherry to the limits of Wynad by the combined forces of the Honorable Company and of Kottayam. On the 8th October Prince Unaman sued for peace, but the terms he obtained were so little to his liking that he determined to go to the south, taking his wife, Kadattunad's niece, along with him. He was allowed to pass through the cordon on 16th October, and on the 17th the Northern Regent was in full possession of the country and the Honorable Company's forces were recalled. Pursuant to his engagement in the previous treaty, the Northern Regent then transferred³ "for ever" to the Honorable Company the "whole right of collecting the customs in all places in our dominions" for the sum of 21,000 silver fanams to be paid annually. The formal deed evidencing this transaction, though dated 21st November 1760, was not signed till 11th March 1761, the Northern Regent having in the meanwhile on various pretexts put off signing it.

¹ *Treaties etc.*, i. LXXIII.

² *Treaties etc.*, i. LXXIV and LXXV.

³ *Treaties etc.*, i. LXXVI.

So far the Tellicherry factory had not been disturbed by the French. On 4th July 1758 the factors heard with alarm the news of the fall of Fort St. David in the previous month. The Prince Regent shortly after this, actuated by the French, put on foot negotiations for a strict neutrality between the settlements, but after what had passed this had no chance of being listened to. On 11th March 1759 the factors were jubilant with 21 guns over the news of the siege of Madras having been raised, and on the 20th of the same month they fired 21 guns on receiving intelligence of the taking of Surat castle and of Admiral Boscawen's successful expedition against Louisbourg. On the 24th they flouted the Dutch by stopping one of their ships from exporting pepper from Vadakkara. And things altogether seemed to wax prosperously with them: each of the ships despatched at this time to Canton with pepper and sandalwood was freighted by them up to £40,000 sterling. The Chief even found time to devote to such petty matters as the "cloathing of our irregulars." The sepoys had "scarlet coats faced with green perpets" and a belt "covered with green perpets." The Calli-Quiloners (Mappillas) had "blue coats faced with green perpets" and thin belts like those of the sepoys. The artillery lascars had blue coats faced and bound with red, and no belts. The coats were made to reach just below the knees.

The English fleet had come up the coast in the end of 1759, and the Chief had thought of going against Mahe but desisted for want of an Engineer officer to make the approaches.

In January 1760 the French again brought forward proposals for a strict neutrality between the settlements, which were of course rejected on the obvious ground that all the advantages of such an arrangement under the existing circumstances would be with the French. The French at Mahe were in fact in a bad way. On 13th April 1760 the factors wrote to Bombay that "Mahe had long been in a deplorable condition and was then without appearance of relief." On the 11th September 1760 the first ostensibly aggressive act of the factors against the French was an unsuccessful attempt to cut out a French "*Snow*" from under the guns of Mount Deli fort.

The English on the East Coast were still engaged with the siege of Pondicherry, when on 27th December 1760 there occurs the following entry in the Tellicherry factory diary:—"Imported the Honorable Company's ships *Neptune*, *York* and *Earl Temple* from England and *Triton* from Bengal—and came ashore Major Hector Munro, Commander of H.M.'s troops on board." The troops belonged to Colonels Parslow's and Moriss' regiments, the former under Major Piers, and the latter under Major Hector Munro the senior officer. There were six hundred and thirty-five rank and file, besides officers, and one hundred and three of them were down with scurvy.

On the following day (28th) the troops were landed and put under tents to await an opportunity of sending them to Fort St. George, and at a consultation with the factors Major Hector Munro

expressed an opinion that Mahe could be reduced, since the French there were now in great straits and had even been selling their good arms to procure means of subsistence, and their European soldiers were kept on constant duty to prevent their deserting for want of pay. On the 29th more troops arrived in the Honorable Company's ship *London*, and on the 30th there came H.M.'s ships *Elizabeth*, *Baleine* and *South Sea Castle* with a tender and a French prize, the *Hermione*—all from Trincomallee. On the 31st the fleet sailed for Bombay, all but the *Triton*. On the 3rd January 1761 the Company's ship *Egmont* arrived from England with the rest of the troops.

The factors now found themselves sufficiently strong to attack Mahe and so prevent the French from exporting pepper, as they had been doing in Portuguese bottoms, but orders came from Bombay disapproving of this, as the place must fall on Pondicherry being taken. And Pondicherry, it was well known, had for some time been in an almost hopeless plight and provisions were so scarce in that beleaguered city that the poorer inhabitants had been reduced for some time back to the eating "of camels, elephants, dogs and cats." The Bombay authorities, therefore, directed that if the news of Pondicherry having been taken reached the factors before they had forwarded the troops to Madras, they were to employ them against Mahe.

These orders arrived on 19th January, and simultaneously came the melancholy news from Colonel Coote of a dreadful storm having occurred on 2nd idem at Pondicherry, which had driven ashore several of Admiral Steven's squadron, had dispersed the rest, and had blown down, with many casualties among the native troops, the greater part of his encampment, and damaged most of his gunpowder. He sent an urgent requisition for stores and gunpowder, and the factors at once began their preparations to aid him.

By the 31st their preparations were almost complete and everything was ready to start, when there arrived "the glorious news" of the surrender of Pondicherry on the 16th idem.

Messages were at once sent flying about the country informing the various chiefs of what had happened, amidst thundering salutes from the batteries and ships and a *feu de joie* by the king's troops.

On February 1st the factors accordingly set to work in earnest for the conquest of Mahe. They prevented both by sea, and by land with Kottayam's help, the French from calling in their garrisons in the north; whilst they themselves withdrew as many as possible of their outpost troops in order to combine with H.M.'s troops under Major Hector Munro for the reduction of Mahe.

On the 3rd M. Louet was called on to surrender Mahe and its dependencies, to which he replied on the 6th that be the respective forces what they might, he could not "but defend and support H.M.'s colors." The factors' reply to this was the seizure of Chambrabill, from which to attack Fort St. George at Mahe, and on the

7th orders were sent to Major Hector Munro to march, everything being ready.

On the 8th accordingly the battalion of Colonel Parslow's regiment marched with the Company's irregular forces, all under Major Piers, to the south end of Ponolla Mala to take the defences in flank, but there was to be no fighting, for, on that same day a party of deserters came in bringing the news that the Mahe Council had decided to capitulate. Notwithstanding this, however, preparations continued and Colonel Moriss' battalion of Highlanders with the Company's regulars were ordered to join the other troops next morning.

And this movement was carried out although between 1 and 2 A.M. on the 9th, letters were received from M. Louet and his council proposing terms of capitulation.

On 9th February 1761 the French delivered over all their forts in the north, except Mount Deli and Ramdilly (*Alikkunn*), to Prince Capu Tamban of the Kolattiri family.

On the 10th two topsail vessels came in sight flying Danish colors, but evidently intent on reaching Mahe. The blockading squadron however cleared them away. And a manchua, a schooner and a sloop mounting six swivel guns were driven on shore, one sergcant being killed and six others wounded in the latter operation, which was successfully carried out by Captain James Lindsay in the *Success* ketch.

On the 11th Ali Raja of Cannanore, without giving any notice to the factors of his intention, surprised the French fort¹ on Ettikulam Point at Mount Deli and most barbarously massacred the garrison of 20 men.

The interval between the 9th and 12th had been taken up in discussing the terms of capitulation, and on the latter date the articles² were received back duly signed by the French Chief M. Louet and his military officers. The terms were briefly as follows:—The Roman Catholic religion was not to be disturbed. "The garrison to march out with honors of war, drums beating, colors flying, *each man with a ball in his mouth*, four field-pieces with one mortar and twelve rounds to march to Tellicherry, etc." the arms, etc., being delivered up at Tellicherry. The garrison was to be sent to the Island of Bourbon or to Europe. All deserters, except one, named Thomas Palmer of Colonel Parslow's regiment, were to be pardoned. Private property of various descriptions was not to be confiscated, along with that belonging to the French Company. All forts to the northward were to be surrendered on the same conditions. The French factory at Calicut was to be treated as neutral. Assistance was to be rendered to the garrison for transporting their effects and for treating the sick and infirm.

¹ *Conf. Treaties, etc.*, i. CV as to the terms on which the French had in Mr. Dorril's time obtained this and the Alikkunn fort from the Kolattiri.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. LXXVII.

On the 13th, in pursuance of the above articles, Major Piers with about five hundred men went to take possession of Mahe, and about noon the British flag was run up under a salute from the ships and forts. At 2 P.M. the French troops arrived at Tellicherry with drums beating, colors flying, etc., and grounded their arms at the southern limit gate. M. Louet and the officers were received by the Chief, Mr. Hodges, who returned them their swords, and M. Louet was saluted with fifteen guns as he entered the fort.

M. Louet publicly declared that if the country powers had not been drawn off from the French alliance, Mahe would have made a better stand, which was a well-deserved tribute to the superior diplomatic powers of Mr. Hodges.

On the 16th of February Major Hector Munro proceeded to the north to recover the French forts in Prince Capu Tamban's hands. He had some difficulty in effecting this service, and some experience, which has already¹ been quoted, of the Nayar modes of fighting. By the 19th of March he had accomplished the task and proceeded to demolish the forts, of which Mattalye was reported to be of great natural strength. Their retention would have been of no use for the Company's trade in those parts. When, therefore, the fleet came round from Pondicherry in March, bringing with it the 79th Regiment of Highlanders and artillery to assist in the capture of Mahe, there was nothing for them to do and they were considerably disappointed.

On the 1st May 1761 M. Louet with his family and the other French prisoners were embarked for Europe on board the *Lord Mansfield* under a salute of fifteen guns. And nothing else of importance, except an unseemly quarrel between the factors and Major Hector Munro in regard to the ownership of the French stores found in the Mahe forts, occurred, until on 20th April 1763 H.M.'s proclamation of a cessation of arms was received and published.

In consequence of the destruction of the French influence and competition in trade the factors were enabled to withdraw a number of outposts and to concentrate their establishments with economy. In this way the Madakkara fort was blown up, and the island was restored to the King Regent on 28th August 1762, and other smaller posts were similarly relinquished, until on 1st August 1764 the only outposts kept up consisted of Darmapattanam Island and Mount Deli.

Section (F).

THE MYSOREAN CONQUEST.

A.D. 1766-1792.

Meanwhile, however, fresh and most serious trouble was brewing in a totally unexpected quarter.

On the 11th March 1761 the Kolattiri Regent wrote to the Chief to say that Ali Raja of Cannanore had given the greatest affront possible to the Hindu religion by putting a golden spire on the top of one of his mosques, it being contrary to their established rules to have a spire of gold on any edifice throughout the coast except on the principal pagodas; and only those of Taliparamba, "Turukaconotu" in Kottayam, and "Uruppyachy Cauvil" at Agarr were entitled to the distinction. War ensued: the Court of Directors' orders were peremptory and forbade the factors from interfering, except as mediators, in the disputes among the country powers. At last on 28th August 1762 a hollow peace was patched up between the Kolattiri Regent and the Cannanore Mappillas.

Only a few months later, Mr. Stracey, the Honourable Company's Resident at Honore, sent an urgent message, which arrived on January 9th, 1763, to say that a large Mogul (*sic*) army was threatening Bednur, and that he urgently wanted a ship to be sent to remove the Honourable Company's property from Honore. And on the same day the linguist at Mangalore wrote to the same effect, but informed the factors that the army belonged to "Hedder Naique" and not to the Mogul.

The factors were not kept long in suspense, for, on the 24th of the same month, the news of the taking of Bednur by "Hedder Naique" on the 16th arrived, and on the 28th this was followed up by an account of "Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn's" arrival at Mangalore on the 27th.

In the success of a Muhammadan like Hyder Ali, the Ali Raja of Cannanore saw hopes of future aggrandisement and of settling the long score he had to repay the Kolattiris. The factors received intelligence that even so early as January 1763 he was endeavouring to persuade Hyder Ali to the conquest of Malabar, but for a time it did not suit that potentate's schemes to comply with the request.

Before proceeding to relate the story of Hyder Ali's conquest of the province, it will be well to take note briefly of the changes brought about in the south in the last few years.

When in 1753 the Dutch basely threw over their native allies and, more particularly, the Raja of Cochin in the manner already described, two important aggressive forces were let loose on the hapless Raja of Cochin and his allies and vassals. The Zamorin coming along the coast line from the north in 1755-56 attacked Chotwai, drove in the Dutch outposts, and rapidly possessed himself of Cranganore, Paroor and Verapoly. And the Travancore Raja advancing in like manner from the south, rapidly overran Tekkanur, Vadakkankur, Purakkat and other places—allies or vassals of Cochin—whom their suzerain attempted but in vain to assist. The allied forces were completely routed by the Travancoreans at Purakkat. The Dutch managed to recover their fort at Chotwai, and by a disadvantageous peace with the Zamorin in 1758 they obtained three islands lying off Palliport, but otherwise these encroachments from the north and south were unchecked.

In his extremity the Cochin Raja turned for assistance to Travancore instead of to his hereditary foe the Zamorin, and on the 22nd and 23rd December 1761 articles¹ of alliance passed between the two Rajas, providing for the expulsion of the Zamorin and for the cession of further territory to Travancore. The Travancore troops were admitted to the Cochin territory for its defence, and the first act of the Travancoreans was to set about the construction of the famous Travancore lines stretching in an almost straight line from the shore of the backwater opposite the ancient town of Cranganore to the foot of the ghats. The lines consisted of an imposing earthen rampart, but of no great height, fronted on the north by a ditch formed by excavation of earth required for the rampart. At intervals were placed flanking towers and at the western extremity a fort of considerable strength. Its weakness lay in the fact that so few of the points were closed on the rear or south side, and that if one such point were taken the whole line of defence, extending to nearly thirty miles, necessarily collapsed.

But however imperfect the Travancorean engineering was, the importance of such a line of works was not perceived by the troops of the Zamorin. The meaning of the trouble taken by the Travancoreans in constructing such a work was not seen until, with their right flank thoroughly protected by this work, the Travancoreans in 1762 launched themselves under their General Eustachius Benedictus de Lannoy² in three divisions on the Zamorin's garrisons, extending in a long weak line into Cochin territory at Cranganore, Paroor and Verapoly. The defeat of the Zamorin was rapidly achieved and his troops were completely and finally driven from Cochin territory. This left the Travancoreans masters of the whole country from Cranganore to Cape Comorin, a small isolated portion of territory lying round the Cochin Raja's palace at Tirupunattara on the east of the backwater, and another portion to the north and south of Cochin on the west of it, being all that was left to the Cochin Raja of his dominions to the south of the Travancore lines.

But it was not alone in Cochin territory that the Zamorin was actively aggressive about this time. Some time previously, but in what particular year it is impossible to say, he had driven a wedge through the territories of his other hereditary foe, the Walluvanad Raja, and had cut the dominions of the latter in two by annexing a broad band³ of territory extending from his own country of Ernad in the north to the previously conquered Walluvanad territory of Nedunganad in the south. And by adopting similar tactics with the dominions of the Palghat Raja, his neighbour on the east, the Zamorin had about 1756-57 driven a similar wedge, to which he

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. CXXIV and CXXV.

² De Lannoy lies buried in the ruined chapel of the Udayagiri fort in South Travancore. His tombstone contains the following inscription:—"Hic jacet Eustathius Benedictus de Lannoy qui tanquam dux generalis militiæ Travancotidis præfuit, ac per annos XXXVII forme summa felicitate regi inscribit, cui omnia regna ex Calamcolum usque ad Cochin vi armorum ac terrore subiecit. Vixit annos LXII menses V et mortuus est die I Junu MDCCCLXXII. Requiescat in pace."

³ See the map at paragraph 11, Section (B), Chapter IV.

gave the name of the Naduvattam,¹ through the Palghat territory and cut it in two with a view no doubt to eventual absorption of the whole.

The Palghat Raja turned in this emergency to his neighbour on the east, and despatched in 1757 a deputation to Hyder Ali, then Foulidar of Dindigul under the nominal sovereignty of the puppet Chick Kishon Raja of Mysore desiring his assistance against the Zamorin. Hyder Ali sent his brother-in-law² Mukhdum Sahib with 2,000 horse, 5,000 infantry, and guns to assist him: and this force aided by the Palghat Nayers carried their arms as far as the sea coast. The Zamorin's force retreated and the Zamorin bought off his opponents by agreeing to restore his Palghat conquests and by promising to pay in instalments a war indemnity of Rs. 12,00,000. Not relishing the presence of Muhammadan troops, while waiting for payment of the subsidy, the Zamorin opened negotiations with Deo Raju one of the puppet Mysore Raja's ministers. This afforded Deo Raj an opportunity he desired of settling some of her matters in dispute between himself and Hyder Ali, and the latter relinquished his claim to the Rs. 12,00,000 in favour of Deo Raj, who thereupon sent the Rajput corps of Herri Sing, the most zealous of his supporters, to collect it. Herri Sing failed to recover any portion of the money, and returned, on hearing of Deo Raj's death, which took place at Seringapatam on 19th June 1758, to Avanasi in Coimbatore. Here he was treacherously surprised and murdered at night by a force sent by Hyder Ali under Mukhdum Sahib for this special purpose, though the force was ostensibly detailed for service at Dindigul. The claim to this war subsidy was never relinquished, and to recover it was one of Hyder Ali's avowed objects in invading Malabar.

Shortly after these events, in June 1759 Hyder Ali successfully intrigued to remove Nunjeraj, the remaining minister of the puppet Mysore Raja. He was supplanted by Kunde Row, a creature of Hyder Ali's and the latter became virtually the ruler of Mysore. Two years later, in the beginning of June 1761, Hyder Ali finally overthrew Kunde Row and usurped the Government, still, however, nominally recognizing the Raja as such.

To resume the narrative of events. On the 7th May 1763 the Tellicherry factors heard that hostilities had been commenced on the Canara frontier by the king of Nilesvaram. Hyder Ali threatened to come down to take the forts lately vacated by the French, and the Honourable Company's Agents considered it high time to come to some understanding with him. A treaty, dated 27th May 1763, was accordingly arranged at Bednur in the shape of a "Phurmaund"³ from the "Nabob Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur," permitting the Honourable Company to export rice from Mangalore for Tellicherry, and binding both parties not to assist each other's enemies.

¹ See the map at paragraph 11, Section (B), Chapter IV.

² This was the first occasion on which a Muhammadan force ever entered Malabar.

³ For the two articles of it relating to the Tellicherry factory, see *Treaties, etc.*, i. 1.XXIX.

Hyder Ali's plans were not yet ripe for the conquest of Malabar, and in the interval orders were, about April 1764, received from Bombay that the French were in accordance with treaty to be put in possession of all their places as they stood in 1749. To Captain Louis D. Plusquellec, Commissary appointed by John Law of Lauriston, Commander-in-General of all the French Settlements in the East Indies, the factors accordingly in due course on October 20th, 1765, restored¹ "Mahe and its dependancies and the places where the fortifications stood."

During this interval also the Mappillas began to give trouble. The factors in exercise of their treaty rights had established round boats to prevent the export of pepper from Kadattanad. These boats were found not to be of sufficient strength for the purpose, as they were unable to cope with the Mappilla boats rowed by eight or ten men with four or six more to assist, all of whom (even the boatmen) practised with the "sword and target" at least. In retaliation for the pressure thus brought to bear upon them by the factors, the Mappillas took to committing outrages. In March 1764 two of them entered a church on Darmapattanam Island, where a priest was saying mass, and murdered one man and severely wounded several. They were shot by the garrison "and spitted." A few days afterwards another Mappilla came behind two Europeans while walking along one of the narrow lanes leading to Fort Mailan and cut one of them through the neck and half way through the body with one stroke of his sword. The other was mangled in such a way that his life was despaired of. After this the Mappilla picked a quarrel with a Nayar and was subsequently shot by the Tiyar guard. His body was "spitted" along with those of the others, and then thrown into the sea, to prevent their caste men from worshipping them as saints for killing Christians. Such outrages became frequent, and on July 9th, 1765, the Chief was obliged to issue a stringent order² to disarm them within factory limits.

The factors were fully alive to the fact that Hyder Ali's invasion of Malabar was only a question of time; and with a view no doubt to obtaining a reliable estimate of his power the Chief had, so early as January 1764, despatched Ensign Parker on a long journey overland to Madras. The ostensible object of the trip was to survey the line of country "through Cotiote³ to Syringapatam and thence through the pass in the mountains called Sautgurr to Vellour," with a view to marching troops that way if necessary to Madras.

On the 8th October of that same year Hyder Ali sent a letter to the Chief by the hands of Anant Row, who hinted that it was Hyder Ali's intention to invade Malabar as soon as he had settled with the Mahrattas. Against this, of course, the Chief and factors protested; but on the 6th November following came another letter from Hyder Ali, and Anant Row asked the factors to offer

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LXXX and CXXX.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. CXXVIII.

³ The Kottayam Raja's territory comprising the present taluks of Kottayam and Wainad.

no opposition when Hyder Ali's army entered the country as he had now made up his mind to make the Kolattiri, the Zamorin, and the Cochin and other Rajas tributary to him. Anant Row invited the Honourable Company to assist Hyder Ali in carrying out his designs or to at least remain neuter. The Chief and factors at first said they could not listen to such proposals, but on further consideration "that he might not in all probability be prevailed upon to desist from carrying his already projected plans into execution" by anything they might say or do,¹ they finally resolved to make the best terms possible for the Honourable Company. They accordingly informed Anant Row that it could not be expected that the Company would remain neuter unless Hyder Ali entered previously into engagements for preserving the Company's proper footing in any countries he might subdue, and they suggested the following as a basis for an agreement: --(1) The commodities dealt in by the Company to be solely appropriated to the Company on payment of the usual customs and no more. (2) Wollen goods and European staples to pass customs free on the Chief's certificate. (3) Goods (cloth, etc., purchased inland for the Company to pass duty free, and that not for the Company to pay half the usual rates. (4) Any quantity of rice to be exported free of *adlany* from the Canara ports.

Ali Raja of Cannanore, in view of the impending invasion, next proceeded to better himself by siding with the irreconcilable party of Capu Tamban in the Kolattiri family. The Prince Regent applied to the factors, and they tried to bring Ali Raja to reason, but without much success; for notwithstanding the engagement² given by him to give back what he had unjustly seized and not to interfere further in Kolattiri affairs, the war went on, and on 18th August 1765 the Ramdilly (Alikkunn) fort was taken by a party sent from Tellicherry under Captain Lytton Le Lie to aid the Prince Regent. The reconcilables under Prince Ambu Tamban still, however, kept the field, and it was in ostensible aid of this prince, and also to collect an old Bednur outstanding of Pagodas 2,00,000 against the Kolattiri and his own debt against the Zamorin, that Hyder Ali eventually crossed the frontier.

The news of this event reached the factors on the 10th February 1766, and on the 12th Mr. Ashburner reported from Nilovaram that Hyder Ali was there with a considerable army bent on subduing Malabar. In accordance with orders from Bombay two members of the Tellicherry Board set out for Hyder Ali's camp to point out to him what powers were in alliance with the Company and should not be molested. And the result of this mission is embodied in "a grant"³ from Hyder Ali, executed at Madayi on the 23rd of the same month, confirming all the Honourable Company's trading privileges in Malabar.

¹ Ensign Parker's mission had no doubt opened their eyes to the power Hyder Ali commanded.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i, CXXIX.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, i, LXXXV.

Prior to this, Hyder Ali had been directing his attention to the formation of a fleet, and Ali Raja of Cannanore, who already had a number of well-equipped vessels at sea, was appointed High Admiral, while his brother Sheikh Ali received the appointment of "Intendant of the marine, of the ports, and of the maritime commerce of his dominions." Reinforced by a number of the disciplined soldiers of Hyder Ali, the High Admiral, it is said, sailed for and conquered the Maldive Islands. After taking the King of the Islands prisoner, he had the barbarity to put his eyes out. Returning victorious to Mangalore, Ali Raja next proceeded to Nagar with his unfortunate captive. But Hyder Ali was so irritated at the cruelty practised on the unfortunate king by his admiral that he instantly deprived him of the command of the fleet, which he afterwards, it is said, bestowed on an Englishman named Stanot. And it is a pleasing trait in Hyder Ali's character that he entreated the unfortunate king to forgive the outrage committed, and that he provided sumptuously for the blind man's comfort. Thence forward Ali Raja and his brother served on land, and aided by a body of their troops, stated to have been 8,000, and by a different account 12,000 in number, they acted as very efficient scouts to Hyder Ali's army in its progress through Malabar.

Hyder Ali's own army consisted, it is said, of 12,000 of his best troops, of which 4,000 were cavalry and the rest infantry, and his artillery consisted of only 4 pieces, but the fleet accompanied him along the coast and afforded assistance as required. *A general instruction was given to the army to grant no quarter.*

On the 21st February 1766 the factors heard that the force had taken possession of a temple¹ and had laid siege to Madayi, which the officer in command offered to deliver up. Hyder Ali would, however, consent only to an unconditional surrender. On the following day news came that the fort had been evacuated.

The Kolattiri family made no resistance, for simultaneously with Hyder Ali's advance Ali Raja and his men seized their palace at Chirakkal, and the old Tekkalankur prince with his attendants came to take refuge at the Brass Pagoda within Tellicherry limits. They were followed by numerous refugees, fleeing probably more before the terror of the Mappilla scouts than before Hyder Ali's army.

On the 6th of March Hyder Ali, encamped at Chirakkal, sent a message to the Chief (Mr. James Ryley) asking for a personal interview, but the Chief declined the honour unless Hyder Ali would consent to come to Darmapattanam Island, or on board a country ship then in Tellicherry roads.

On the 7th the army entered Randattara and began to commit irregularities, whereupon the factors sent one Ramjee Purvoo to remonstrate. Hyder Ali changed his demeanour and told the messenger it was entirely the factors' own fault: "Why did they

¹ Probably that of Kunhimangalam.

not hoist his colours instead of the English ones, which his people did not know?"

The Nabob had, by this time, come to the conclusion that the English were destined to be the masters of all India unless a change soon took place. They were already, he was heard to say, "masters of the whole of Bengal, of the greatest part of the Coromandel Coast, they are trying to get Malabar under them, and they have it in contemplation to send an expedition to China." He was, he added, determined to prevent this coming to pass. This conversation was reported to H. Kroonenberg, the Dutch Commandant at Cannanore, when he, in great state mounted along with Hyder Ali on the latter's own elephant, returned the visit paid by the latter to Cannanore fort on the 15th of March. The Nabob said he looked to the Dutch to help him to drive out the English.

Being in this frame of mind, the Mysorean objected to the protection afforded by the Tellicherry settlement to the refugees who fled before his army. He also asked to be supplied with gunpowder and arms, and being refused, made another grievance out of this. The factors at the same time had information that Ali Raja was all this time urging Hyder Ali to attack the factory, but to this he would not listen. On the 15th March the army entered the Kottayam Raja's territory after some opposition and with some casualties, on both sides. The Kottayam Mappillas deserted the Raja and assisted the invaders.

On the 21st, at 6 P.M., an interview took place between Hyder Ali and the Chief, Mr. Ryley, at a spot in Kottayam territory opposite to Darnapattanam Island, but no business was discussed, and it was arranged that Ramjee Purvoo should remain behind to settle all such affairs.

On the 25th the factors despatched the Achanmar of Randattara to their district, escorted by British sepoy, but the Mappillas refused them passage thither.

On the 26th came orders from Bombay counselling the adoption of a conciliatory policy towards the invaders, as opposing them would lead the Company into projects far too extensive, for which there was no sufficient force. These orders were subsequently modified by further orders from Bombay, ordering the factors when it was too late—the orders were received only on the 17th April—to repel force by force if the invaders attempted to pass the Tellicherry limits, or to invade the Company's immediate property. The orders were accompanied by a letter to Hyder Ali himself, which was sent to him, upbraiding him for attacking the Company's allies.

The invaders met with the first serious opposition they had experienced when attempting on the 28th to enter Kadattanad. To do this they had to cross the Maho river in the face of the enemy strongly posted on its southern bank. It is difficult to point to the exact scene of this battle, but it probably lay at or near the existing ferry of Perinkulam.

The fight is thus picturesquely, but, perhaps, not very accurately, described by the Mogul officer, whose work was subsequently edited by Prince Ghulam Muhammad,¹ Tippu's only surviving son.

"To succeed in his attempt, in spite of this numerous army and the artillery, Hyder caused his fleet to enter the river. His vessels sailed up as far as possible; and drawing up his infantry in order of battle in a single line in face of the enemy with his twelve pieces of cannon, he waited for the ebb of the water. When the river was at the lowest he entered it full gallop at the head of his cavalry which he had till then kept out of sight of the Nayres: they were led on by fifty of the French Hussars lately arrived from Pondicherry. As the rapidity of the current was diminished by his vessels, he traversed the river without difficulty at a place where it was a league in breadth, sometimes swimming and sometimes wading: he soon came to the other river where the Nayres were busied in attempting to oppose the infantry, who pretended to be on the point of passing over. They were frightened at the sudden appearance of the cavalry and fled with the utmost precipitation and disorder without making any other defence but that of discharging a few cannon which they were too much intimidated to point properly. Hyder foreseeing this event, had given orders to pursue the fugitives full speed, cutting down all they could overtake, without losing time either by taking prisoners or securing plunder.

"This order being executed with the utmost strictness, nothing was to be seen in the roads for the distance of four leagues round but scattered limbs and mutilated bodies. The country of the Nayres was thrown into a general consternation, which was much increased by the cruelty of the Mapelets, who followed the cavalry, massacred all who had escaped, without sparing women or children: so that the army advancing under the conduct of this enraged multitude, instead of meeting with resistance, found the villages, fortresses, temples, and in general every habitable place forsaken and deserted. It was not till they were near the environs of Tellicherry and Mahe, French and English establishments, that they began to find people, who had taken refuge near those places."

The factors' information regarding this severe engagement was that it lasted twenty-four hours, that there were many casualties, including some principal officers, and that the Kadattanad Raja retired to a pagoda with his force not altogether beaten.

The invading army remained at the spot, making good their passage for over a week, and on the 6th of April a force of 1,000 men entered and searched Mahe in an attempt to discover the Kadattanad treasures. On that same day another force of 6,000 men was despatched against Calicut. The invaders met with little further resistance, and as they proceeded they secured the country in their rear by a series of block houses (called *lakkidikkottas* or wooden forts). The Nayars, in their despair, defended such small posts as they possessed most bravely. "One of these

¹ London: Thacker & Co., 1855, p. 60.

which my manuscripts name Tamelpelly, was surrounded by Hyder in the following manner: first, a line of regular infantry and guns with an abbatis; second, a line of peons; third, of cavalry. This disposition was made for the purpose of striking terror by not allowing a man to escape destruction. The Nayers defended themselves until they were tired of the confinement, and then leaping over the abbatis and cutting through the three lines with astonishing rapidity, they gained the woods before the enemy had recovered from their surprise." (Wilks' History, I, 291.)

The officer left in command at Kottayam wrote on the 10th to say he had instructions to maintain a friendly footing with the Honourable Company.

And next day the factors received news from Calicut that Ali Raja, at the head of 1,000 men, had reached the Zamorin's palace near Calicut, and on summoning it, to surrender, had been refused by the second prince of the family. Calicut itself was quietly occupied by another party.

Another account says that the Zamorin himself met Hyder Ali in Kurumbranad, to which the latter had advanced with his army from the Turasseri river. The demand made for a crore of gold mohurs was so extravagant that the Zamorin protested his inability to comply with it. He offered to deliver the whole of his treasure and all his property, but this did not satisfy his adversary, who caused him to be seized and imprisoned. "He was sent¹ under a guard of 500 horse and 2,000 infantry to the fort of Calicut; the Raja was confined in his own house without food, and was strictly prohibited from performing the ceremonies of his religion: and as he thought that Hyder might inflict some further disgrace upon him, either by causing him to be hanged, or blown from a gun, the Raja set fire to the house with his own hand, and was consumed in it."

At Calicut Dutch commissioners met Hyder Ali at his request and discussed with him the terms on which he would be prepared to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Hollanders. It is unnecessary to give the proposals in detail, for nothing came of the conference, and it was manifest that to have accepted his terms the Dutch would have had to fight the English both at home and abroad. He agreed not to molest the Raja of Cochin on certain conditions, but he would guarantee nothing in regard to Travancore. As there was delay in replying to his proposals he then modified his terms as regards these Rajas and demanded 4 lakhs of rupees and 8 elephants from Cochin, and 15 lakhs and 20 elephants from Travancore, in default of receiving which, he said, he meant to visit those countries. In reply to this demand, the Cochin Raja placed himself unreservedly in the Dutch Company's hands, but the Travancore Raja, strong in the

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, V, pp. 30, 31. Several accounts of this event are extant. That given in the text was obtained in 1793 from the then Zamorin by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, President of the first Malabar Commission, and afterwards Governor of Bombay.

assurance of English support, replied that Hyder Ali had not commenced the war to please him or with his advice, that therefore he objected to contribute anything, that moreover he was already tributary¹ to the Nawab Muhammad Ali and could not afford to subsidise two suzerains at the same time, but that he would contribute a considerable sum if Hyder Ali would reinstate the Kolattiri and the Zamorin, and ended by suggesting to the Dutch to do the same. And strangely enough, in spite of the ill-treatment which the Cochin Raja had quite recently received at the hands of the Zamorin, the Cochin Raja too in his reply trusted that the Kolattiri and the Zamorin would be restored. The Dutch did not care to send such replies to Hyder Ali, as in the case of Travancore they would have shown him how helpless in reality they were to conduct such negotiations, and how powerful by contrast their English rivals were; the Cochin Raja eventually obtained immunity from conquest by agreeing to pay a subsidy of 2 lakhs of rupees and 8 elephants.

To the demand of Hyder Ali the Travancore Raja, on July 20th, 1766, made further significant reply by commencing on that date to extend the Travancore lines to within range of the guns of the Dutch fort at Cranganore and on to the territory of the Cranganore Raja. The Dutch, in their fear of offending Hyder Ali, required them to desist from this work within Dutch limits.

After engaging in these negotiations and in further preparations for securing, by means of fortified posts, the conquered country, Hyder Ali at length started eastwards, leaving a movable column of 3,000 regular troops aided by Ali Raja and his Mappillas at Calicut. He also left Madanna, an experienced revenue officer, as civil governor of the province.

He had remained too long on the coast, however, and was overtaken by the south-west monsoon on his fourth day's march. His march was rendered difficult in consequence, and it was only after sustaining a heavy loss of horses and cattle that his army debouched at last on the cool and pleasant plains of Coimbatore. At Madakkara he left Raza Sahib in quarters with 3,000 infantry.

While Hyder Ali was thus engaged in the south, the Tellicherry factors on the 17th April again attempted to recover Randattara, and a small force sent thither for the purpose had to retire. A boat sent to the Valarpattanam river at the same time to protect the Company's trade was captured by the Mappillas, two guns and three mortars were seized, and the sergeant in charge was made prisoner. The factors suspected that Ali Raja ("that Moor") was being secretly assisted by Hyder Ali, who, however, when appealed to, restored on 7th May the guns and mortars and other property. As regards Randattara, Hyder Ali told the factors to send only one Brahman thither to collect the revenue, and wound up ironically thus; "but if you do not choose to trust me, keep what people you please there."

¹ *Conf. Treaties, etc.*, i. CXXXIV to CXLI.

On the 22nd June came a letter from Madras strongly advising the Bombay Council not to come to a rupture with Hyder Ali—first, because having command of the passes, he might send his cavalry and ravage the country; secondly, because he was a check on the Mahrattas, who but for him would do the same thing; and, finally, because the Mogul having recently given a grant of the Northern Sirkars to the Company, and the Nizam being inclined to oppose it, it would be a formidable combination if Hyder Ali were driven to join him. Moreover they pointed out that the Company's position on the West Coast put it in their power to disturb him at any time when he was not prepared to resist, or when troubles in other parts of his extensive dominions called him away elsewhere. They recommended, however, that the factors should not submit to be insulted by him.

On the 24th June, after Hyder Ali had retired to Coimbatore, news reached the factors that the Kottayam and Kadattanad Nayars had risen and retaken many places, and next day it was reported that Ali Raja had been appointed civil governor and his brother, Sheikh Ali, military governor of Kolattunad. The former was at Quilandy with 200 men and unable to pass through Kadattanad, being opposed by the Nayars. In September too Prince Ambu Tamban revolted, took two forts, and inflicted a defeat with a loss of 300 men on the Mappillas. The Kottayam Nayars also retook the Nittur fort close to the Tellicherry limits, and the country rose *en masse*.

The revolt was also general in South Malabar. No word of it, so effectually were messengers intercepted, reached the Mysoreans at Coimbatore until after the chief forts at Calicut and Ponnani had been closely invested. And even then the news was only conveyed by a Portuguese sailor, who, on promise of a handsome reward from the officer commanding at Ponnani, succeeded after many hardships, and with only a compass for guide, in reaching Madakkara and apprising Raza Sahib of the revolt and of the dangers to the garrisons at Calicut and Ponnani. Raza Sahib marched at once with his infantry alone in spite of the inclement weather and of the inundated state of the country. The absence of his cavalry enabled the Nayars to harass the force at every river-crossing, and at length it was drawn into a position at the junction of the Tutakal and Ponnani rivers, whence it could neither advance on account of the streams, nor retreat on account of the ravines strongly held by the enemy in the rear.

Prince Ghulam Muhammad's author gives the following interesting account of Hyder Ali's march to relieve his lieutenant :—

“ Raza Sahib having contrived to send advice of his situation, Hyder immediately marched with 3,000 horse and 10,000 sepoy or topasses. He ordered his cavalry, both officers and men, to ride without saddles; and commanded his infantry to quit their habits and march naked, excepting a pair of light drawers and shoes. Each soldier was provided with a waxed cloth to wrap up his knapsack, and

the 300 Europeans lately arrived from Pondicherry and Colombo, were offered parasols as they did not choose to quit their habits. Their refusal was the cause that they were almost the only persons in the army that were attacked by the dysentery.

“All the artillery of this small army consisted in twelve light pieces of cannon that were carried by elephants.

“It is scarcely possible to form an idea of the species of war to which Hyder led his troops this campaign. Imagine an army of 15,000 men marching from the break of day through a mountainous country in roads or passages scarcely admitting more than three men abreast, exposed from morning till night to a constant shower, equal to those that fall in the greatest storms attended with frequent thunder and lightning, excepting for three hours after noon in which the sun shone out with almost insupportable lustre and heat; frequently obliged to cross rivers up to the chin in water and sometimes swimming; and passing the night in towns or villages deserted by their inhabitants, where, however, they found plenty of the necessaries of life. Their path was everywhere marked by rain and destruction, for their orders were to burn and pillage, and they exerted themselves so much in this horrible work that they left behind them nothing but heaps of ruins where houses had formerly stood.

“This unexpected march obliged the Nayers to collect all their troops and gave some relief to the troops of Raza Sahib, though not sufficient to prevent his losing many of his men for want of necessaries and in consequence of the hardship they were subjected to. The Nayar princes, though half defeated by the fear of the consequences of their revolt, nevertheless expected Hyder with confidence in a retrenched camp near Pondiaghari,¹ which on its left wing had a village fortified with a ditch and parapet planted with pallisades well furnished with artillery and maintained by the most resolute, who had determined rather to perish than to yield. Hyder, for the attack of this retrenched camp, disposed of his army so that 4,000 of his best sepoys, forming the right wing, were charged to attack the village; this corps was commanded by a Portuguese Lieutenant-Colonel lately arrived from Goa, with different officers of his nation. The left wing, composed of topasses, was commanded by an English officer, and Hyder himself commanded the main body, having behind him a reserve of Europeans, almost all French, with whom were joined those who are called the *Bara Audmees* or great men, a corps composed of all the young nobility and courtiers, without excepting even the generals who have not appointed posts or commands on the day of battle. They were all on foot and armed with sabres and bucklers, having voluntarily put themselves under the command of the officer of Europeans, whom they promised to follow wherever he might lead them.

¹ The place indicated appears to have been Vettatt Putiyangadi in Ponnani taluk. It is usually referred to as Putiyangadi (*lit.* new bazaar).

“The cavalry, that could not be of service till after the entrenchment was forced, was formed behind the *corps-de-reserve*. According to the orders, the Portuguese officer attacked the retrenched village with his 4,000 sepoys, by conducting them bravely to the edge of the ditch ; but without advancing a step farther, he contented himself with causing his troop to fire as if at their exercise. These unfortunate sepoys, totally exposed, were destroyed with impunity by their enemies, who fired from pent-holes or from behind the hedges. This firing, which lasted upwards of two hours, highly enraged Hyder, who receiving every moment news of the state of the attack, learned with the utmost mortification the unavailing loss of his best troops. The French officer, commandant of the Europeans, who lately arrived, and had not yet had an opportunity of distinguishing himself, offered to advance with the *corps-de-reserve* and put himself at the head of the sepoys. Hyder answered that he might do as he thought proper ; and he immediately joined his troop, which was impatient for the combat and burned with a desire to revenge the French who were inhumanly ¹ massacred at Pondiaghari. Headed by this active and courageous officer, and joined by the *Bara Audmees*, they ran with violent eagerness to the attack. The intervals between the battalions of sepoys afforded them a passage : they jumped into the ditch, and hastily ascending the retrenchments tore up the pallisades, and were in the face of the enemy in an instant. They gave no quarter ; and the enemy, astonished to the last degree at their impetuosity and rage, suffered themselves to be butchered even without resistance. The flames of the village on fire, and the direction of the cannon now pointed on the distracted Nayars, evinced to Hyder that the village was carried. The whole army in consequence moved to attack the retrenchment ; but the enemy perceiving that Hyder's troops had stormed their outpost, and catching the affright of the fugitives, fled from their camp with disorder and precipitation.

“Hyder had supposed his enemies would have exhibited more firmness on this occasion. This brave and fortunate attack, which was much exalted by the young nobility that shared the glory, gave him infinite pleasure. He created the French commandant Bahadur upon the spot ; and in the evening presented him with a patent appointing him general of 10,000 horses, which is the highest military post among the Moguls, at the same time declaring him general-in-chief of his artillery. He likewise gave a gratification of thirty rupees to every soldier, and twice that sum to each of the wounded, of which there was a great number, though no more than one died. As the Nayars had no bayonets, the wounds were only cuts with the sabre, little dangerous where ready assistance is to be had. The Europeans inspired the Malabars with a new terror by this exploit ; and Hyder, to increase it, spread a report that he expected many

¹ This refers to the massacre at this same place a few months previously of five French deserters from Mahe proceeding to join Hyder Ali's army. This event occurred during the general revolt which followed Hyder Ali's withdrawal from the coast. Two women accompanying the deserters were, it is alleged, most barbarously mutilated and killed at the same time.

thousand men from Europe ; he added that they were a cruel people and devourers of human flesh, and that his intention was to deliver all the coast to their outrages. The rage and fury by which his small handful of French were urged on to revenge their murdered countrymen gave much force to the belief the wretched inhabitants were disposed to afford to his reports. Wherever he turned he found no opponent, nor even any human creature ; every inhabited place was forsaken ; and the poor inhabitants, who fled to the woods and mountains in the most inclement season, had the anguish to behold their houses in flames, their fruit-trees cut down, their cattle destroyed, and their temples burnt. The perfidy of the Nayars had been too great for them to trust the offers of pardon made by Hyder ; by means of Brahmans he despatched into the woods and mountains to recall these unhappy people, who were hanged without mercy and their wives and children reduced to slavery whenever they were found in the woods by the troops of Hyder, severity and mildness being both equally ineffectual in making them return to their homes. Ali Raja and the Mappillas, who saw themselves thus involved in the ruin of the Nayars, persuaded Hyder to return to Coimbatore in hopes that his absence might remove the timidity of the people ; and it is highly probable that the dysentery that raged in his army was a much more effectual reason that induced him to leave the country. The officers and Europeans, who had retained their clothing and had more particularly abused the liberty of doing as they pleased, were the most exposed to this dangerous malady.

“ Before he quitted the country, Hyder by a solemn edict, declared the Nayars deprived of all their privileges ; and ordained that their caste, which was the first after the Brahmans, should thereafter be the lowest of all the castes, subjecting them to salute the Parias and others of the lowest castes by ranging themselves before them as the other Mallabars had been obliged to do before the Nayars ; permitting all the other caste to bear arms and forbidding them to the Nayars, who till then had enjoyed the sole right of carrying them ; at the same time allowing and commanding all persons to kill such Nayars as were found bearing arms. By this rigorous edict, Hyder expected to make all the other castes enemies of the Nayars, and that they would rejoice in the occasion of revenging themselves for the tyrannic oppression this nobility had till then exerted over them.

“ This ordinance being found to make the submission of the Nayars absolutely impossible, because they would have thought death preferable to such a degradation, he made a new edict by which he re-established in all their rights and privileges such Nayars as should embrace the Muhammadan religion. Many of these nobles took the turban on this occasion, but the greater part remained dispersed and chose rather to take refuge in the kingdom of Travancore than submit to this last ordinance. Though the approach of the fine season and the terror he had spread might have left little apprehension of another revolt, yet he left several

bodies of troops in the country distributed in posts so situated as to assist each other in case of necessity, and quartered the rest of his infantry in the neighbourhood of Madigheri,¹ taking only his cavalry with him to Coimbatore, which he was obliged to spread over the country on account of the scarcity of forage."

In addition to the measures described above Hyder Ali adopted other means of subduing the refractory Nayars. His troops spread over the face of the country after taking Vettattputiyangadi, and acting from Manjeri in the Ernad taluk as a centre, they brought in numerous prisoners. These were at first either beheaded or hanged; "but" as their numbers increased, Hyder conceived the plan of sparing them for the use of his former territories. This cure for rebellion in one province and for defective population in another, of which such numerous examples occur in the Jewish history, was not successfully practised by Hyder. The captives were uncared for, and owing to privations and a violent change of climate, of 15,000 who were removed, it is supposed that 200 did not survive the experiment."

These violent measures produced a deceitful calm in the province, and Hyder Ali thinking he had permanently tranquillised the country proceeded to Coimbatore, giving orders *en route* for the erection of the present Palghat fort, which, lying in the centre of the gap in the line of ghats, was judiciously chosen as an advanced post and depot to facilitate communications with the newly-subdued province.

Hyder Ali at this juncture had to face a more formidable confederation than any he had yet experienced. The Mahrattas and the Nizam, aided by an English corps, were threatening him on the north and north-east. In the face of this combination, he accordingly resorted to measures likely to be pleasing to one of his antagonists, and on 3rd November 1766 the factors at Tellicherry had the satisfaction of learning that he had evinced a real desire to be on good terms with the Honourable Company, and in proof of it he had ordered all the pepper and other monopoly products of Malabar to be given to them.

But the seeming calm was not destined to last. Hyder Ali had not received the submission of Travancore, and only a week after the above event the factors obtained intelligence that he was preparing to invade Travancore and was seeking for a passage for his troops through the mountains. And, on 10th January 1767, came the further news that a force despatched for this purpose had been defeated, and this reverse seems to have been the signal for another general rising in Malabar. A force of 4,000 men had been sent into the Kottayam territory. It was attacked by 2,000 Nayars and defeated with great slaughter and loss of their camp and stores. The Nayars all over the country again rose and shut up the invaders in their stockades (*lakkidikotta*).

¹ Madakkara.

² Wilks' "*Historical Sketches, etc.*," I, 293.

Hyder Ali bought off the Mahrattas, and the Nizam was induced to throw over his allies and to join Hyder Ali in a campaign against the English on the east coast. The first act of hostility occurred on 25th August 1768, but the news did not reach Tellicherry till the 13th October.

It is unnecessary to trace in detail the operations which followed. The allies were beaten in the field, the Nizam made a separate peace, the English in conjunction with Muhammad Ali, Nabob of the Carnatic, overran Hyder Ali's dominions, and planned, with an utterly inadequate force to carry out this resolution, an invasion of Mysore itself.

To aid the operations on the east coast an expedition under Messrs. Govin and Watson was despatched in February 1768 from Bombay to take or destroy Hyder Ali's fleet. The leaders of the expedition, on reaching Honore, wrote to Tellicherry for boats to assist in crossing the Mangalore surf, and Mr. Sibbald at Honore prevailed on Hyder Ali's naval commander to join the expedition with one three-mast grab, one two-mast grab, and five gallivats. In Mangalore the expedition took the "*Buckingham*" and another three-mast grab. On 1st March the news arrived that Mangalore had been taken and that three vessels of the expedition were being despatched to help the Tellicherry factors in an expedition they had planned against Ali Raja's town of Cannanore. On the 3rd of March the expedition against Cannanore was despatched. The force consisted of 2 captains, 5 subalterns, and 182 infantry, the commanding officer of artillery and 47 of his train—232 Bombay sepoy, 80 of the Honourable Company's Narangpuratta Nayars, and 175 Tiyars—altogether 716 effective men besides officers; and the Prince of Kolattunad and the Raja of Kottayam had agreed to join with 1,700 Nayars. The whole force was under the command of Captain Thomas Henry assisted by Mr. Robert Sparkes.

Their first move was from Darmapattanam Island to Carly Hill on 3rd March. After reconnoitring the place Captain Henry determined to attempt the capture of a fort called Avarakotta¹ lying to the north-east of the town. Once in command of this fort the town would have been at his mercy. He accordingly proceeded on the 9th March to storm it, but the defence was desperate and the attacking column was driven back with the loss of 1 officer, 9 Europeans, 6 seamen, and 6 natives killed, and 1 officer, 16 Europeans, 4 seamen, 19 Bombay sepoy, and 8 Nayars wounded—altogether 70 men killed and wounded.

An application to the leaders of the expedition at Mangalore for assistance was made, but only one artillery officer's services could be spared, and so on 22nd March, after a council of war had been held, at which it was estimated that a force of 2,200 men of all arms would be required to effect the reduction of the place, the scheme was finally abandoned. The factors were indignant at their native

¹ Probably identical with the ruined fort now called the Sultan's Battery.

allies, Kottayam and Kadattanad, for not assisting them. The Prince of Kolattunad, on the other hand, was present and energetically assisted the besiegers.

On the 26th the news of the capture of Honore was reported, and on the same day came a vigorous remonstrance from the Bombay council at the line of action taken by the factors. "This your precipitate and ill-judged conduct¹ in the present state of affairs lays us under the greatest embarrassment." And the despatch peremptorily directed operations against Ali Raja to be suspended in order that those against Hyder Ali might be carried on more vigorously.

Hyder Ali's rapid and secret march across the peninsula and his re-capture of Mangalore are matters of history. The Bombay force was driven out of Mangalore with such indecent haste that they even left their sick and wounded behind them, as well, as their field-pieces and stores. Honore and other places were recovered with equal ease, and before the monsoon commenced Hyder Ali's army had reascended the ghats.

In June he was at Bednur wreaking his vengeance on the inhabitants who had favoured the English designs, and on the 18th of the month he prevailed on a Madras officer there imprisoned to write to the Chief at Tellicherry, signifying his desire for peace. This letter was in due course forwarded to Colonel Wood, and on 20th August the Chief was instructed from Madras to reply as follows :—"I have communicated to the Governor of Madras what you wrote to me at the desire of Hyder Ally, the 18th June, to which I have received the following answer :—'In the letter you sent me from the officer at Biddanora it is said Hyder Ally is desirous that a general peace may be effected through the mediation of Bombay. I have no objections to receive his proposals for peace ; if Hyder Ally has anything to propose on that subject and will write to me, I shall answer his letters. If he rather chuses to write to Bombay 'tis well, it will only prolong the negotiations, the end will be the same. It is said also in the same letter that Hyder Ally desires not to make war with the English but with Nabob Muhammad Ally only. The English are always true to their friends and faithful to their allies and therefore must look on the enemies of the Nabob Wallajah as their enemies. Whether the forts we have taken be of mud or stone 'tis not necessary to explain here, 'tis enough that Hyder Ally knows what they were worth to him, and I know well their importance to us. As to his threats of laying waste these countries and destroying the inhabitants, of what avail are words—they cannot hurt and merit not a reply—'Tis not my custom to threaten but to act.' "

Hyder Ali's threats were not empty words, however, as the Madras council learnt to their cost when in November 1768, Fazlulla

¹ The council's declared policy had been to assist the native powers against Ali Raja, but not to engage as principals in any warfare against him—Despatch of 30th September 1766.

Khan in command of one column and Hyder Ali himself in command of another made a rapid and unexpected descent on Coimbatore and Salem, and Colonel Wood's weak and scattered posts, designed more for the Nabob Muhammad Ali's extortionate exactions of revenue than for military operations, fell an easy prey to the Mysoreans, some by treachery and some by force. Lieutenant Bryant and his sepoy, being well apprised of treachery within their own lines, left Palghat by night, and marching south-west into Cochin territory eventually reached Madras by way of Travancore and Cape Comorin. Hyder Ali fulfilled his threat by scouring the country up to the very gates of Madras itself and almost¹ dictated peace within sight of its walls on the 3rd April 1769.

The Tellicherry factors were not too well pleased with the terms obtained, although the Honorable Company's trading privileges were confirmed, and recorded their opinion that Ali Raja should either be obliged by Hyder Ali to restore Kolattunad to the Prince Regent, or be compelled to give it up by force of arms. The fact was that Hyder Ali had insisted, as a special condition in the negotiations which Madanna, the Civil Governor of South Malabar, had opened with the various Malabar chiefs in December 1768, that Ali Raja should remain undisturbed, and as Palghat was also studiously omitted, Hyder Ali had thus previously secured two points on the coast from which at any time he could resume his designs on the province. Excepting Kolattunad and Palghat, therefore, and perhaps Kottayam and other petty chieftains, whose territories Hyder Ali's officers had never so far been able to command, the Malayali chiefs eagerly adopted the terms offered, and "Hyder's"² provincial troops, whose escape would otherwise have been impracticable, not only retreated in safety, but loaded with treasure—the willing³ contribution of the chiefs of Malabar—the purchase of a dream of independence." The Malabar contingent of troops thus relieved in December 1768 formed a respectable portion of the army with which Hyder Ali and Fazlulla Khan a few months afterwards, ravaged the Carnatic plains, and forced the Madras Government to accept the terms of peace above alluded to.

Ali Raja's territory did not however in the factors' view, or in that of the native chiefs', extend to the south of the Anjarakandi river, and accordingly, in December 1768, the factors shelled his people out of a bamboo fort which they had erected on Nittur point close to the Tellicherry limits on the opposite side of the Koduvalli river. And this fort was in due course made⁴ over to the Kottayam Raja, its rightful owner, and he in return finally waived his claim to some land on the Honorable Company's Island

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. CXLIV and LXXXVIII.

² Wilks, I. 383.

³ The Kadattanad Raja paid as much as Rs. 80,000.—(*Factors' Diary*, December, 1768).

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LXXXVII.

of Darmapattanam, regarding which he had from time to time been troubling the factors ever since 1735.¹

At the conclusion of the peace with Hyder Ali in 1769, affairs in Malabar seem to have settled down into their usual quiescent state. In 1770 the factors were once more reinstated in full possession of the district of Randattara. And in the following year the Dutch, following out their policy of reducing the number of their fortified places, sold Fort St. Angelo at Cannanore to Ali Raja, and about this same time or a little earlier the equipments of their forts at Chetwai and Cranganore were materially reduced. Cochin fort too was in a ruinous state, and Governor Moons set to work to repair it.

While the Dutch were thus still further reducing² their hold on the country, the English factors were busy, but in another way, in strengthening their position. On 12th March 1772 the factors began to levy a regular land revenue assessment. Private gardens were taxed at "25 per cent. of the produce," rice lands belonging to the Honourable Company paid 40 per cent. of the gross produce, and the factors were at a loss to know what to impose on other lands of that description. A reference to Bombay brought back, on 24th April, an order that "the estates and verges³ not yet assessed must be taxed at 10 per cent. on account the Honorable Company." The officer charged with collecting the revenue of Randattara was styled "Inspector of Randattara."

Hyder Ali had meanwhile after suffering many reverses been forced by the Mahrattas to make a disadvantageous peace. In a short time, however, his treasury was again replenished at the expense of his subjects and his forces were reorganized: so that when dissensions broke out in the Mahratta camp consequent on the death of Madu Row in November 1772, Hyder was ready "for⁴ whatever event the page of fate should unfold;" and in little more than six months, between September 1773 and February 1774, he managed to repossess himself of all the territories he had lost during the English and Mahratta wars.

Coorg fell to him in November 1773, and a force despatched under Said Sahib and Srinavas Row Berki pushed through Wymad and descended on Malabar about 27th December by a new and direct route *via* the Tamarasseri pass. The Malayali chiefs yielded without striking a blow, and Srinavas Row remained as Foujdar (or military governor) assisted by Sirdar Khan, while Said Sahib, returned to Seringapatam with the cavalry and other troops not required as a garrison.

¹ *Treaties*, etc., i. XXVII, XXVIII.

² Under the circumstances, it is not a little curious to know that even as late a date as 1790, the Dutch at Cochin passed a formal resolution that the English factory at Anjengo should be destroyed.

³ Paddy flats.—*Port.*

⁴ Wilks, I. 388.

About a year later (1775) Hyder Ali appears to have made up his mind that any idea of an alliance with the English was hopeless. The latter had agreed in the Treaty of 1769 to assist him against the Maharattas, but Muhammad Ali, the Nabob of the Carnatic, had by intrigues in England effectually prevented the fulfilment of that part of the treaty in order to carry out an ambitious scheme of his own. Hyder Ali appears to have fathomed the Nabob's designs, which, as a preliminary to still more ambitious schemes, required Hyder Ali's own destruction, and he accordingly determined to break with the English. His relations with the Mahrattas, however, led him to temporise for a time. Meanwhile if he could possess himself of Travancore he would not only replenish his coffers, but would secure an advantageous position on his enemy's flank for his contemplated invasion of the Carnatic.

In 1776 then he demanded of the Dutch at Cochin a free passage through their territories into Travancore. The Dutch still held possession of their fort at Cranganore, which effectually protected the western flank of the Travancore lines, and which was regarded on this account, and also because it commanded the great natural water communications between north and south, as the key of the country. Hyder's demand to be allowed to pass was refused on the plea that a reference had to be made to Batavia; but ten years previously this very same request had been met by this very same reply. Hyder Ali knowing that the Dutch had had ten years to consider his proposal, not unnaturally regarded the reply as evasive and threatened the Dutch with annihilation.

Sirdar Khan was accordingly set in motion at the head of about 10,000 men. He invaded in August 1776 the northern portion of Cochin and took the fort of Trichur. The Cochin Raja agreed to give a nazar of 4 lakhs of rupees and 4 elephants and to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 1,20,000; but the Travancore lines blocked a further advance southward of Sirdar Khan's force and the Dutch were beginning to hope there would be no more trouble.

"The Dutch now congratulated themselves on the disappearance of the Mysoreans, but a letter soon arrived from Sirdar Khan in which he claimed the Chetwai territory on the plea that it had formed a portion of the Zamorin's dominions wrested from him by the Dutch, who had promised to return it after a certain period. That time having elapsed, and Hyder being now by right of conquest the successor to the Zamorin, the Cochin council were requested to give up the lands, which they declined doing. On October 9th, Sirdar Khan crossed the Chetwai river near Poolicarra, a little to the north of the Dutch fort, and took possession of the customs-house, making a prisoner of the writer who was sent to him as the bearer of a message. The Mysore forces now divided into two bodies, one of which proceeded southwards towards Paponetty, from whence the Dutch Resident retired into the Cranganore fort, taking with him the company's treasure. Sirdar Khan now threw up strong works at Paponetty and despatched a letter to the Governor of Cochin, stating that Hyder Ali considered that he had

met with a premeditated insult from the Dutch Governor, who had given no decided reply to his letter. Still he wished to be friends, but a free passage for his troops towards Travancore was essential; and were such refused, it would be considered equivalent to a declaration of war.

“Governor Moens replied that he was glad to understand that the Mysoreans wished to be regarded as friends, and he should feel obliged by their evacuating the Dutch territory, and not allowing their people to approach the Cranganore fort. But before his reply could reach its destination, Sirdar Khan attempted to surprise this fort on October 11th, but failed. He then wrote another letter, stating that having taken the lands of Paponetty, he should feel obliged by the accounts of the last twenty years being forwarded. He also demanded the territory the Dutch Company had received from the Zamorin in 1758, as well as a nazar and a free passage towards Travancore.

“Without sufficient troops to hold their own by force, surrounded by native states outwardly friendly but secretly hostile, attacked by the Mysoreans, and awaiting instructions from Batavia, Moens’ position was a very difficult one. A common danger, it was true, bound the Cochin and Travancore States to the Dutch, but it was feared that they did not possess sufficient forces to afford any effectual barrier against the advance of the Mysore troops. Still Moens considered it advisable to sound the dispositions of the two Rajas, so wrote and informed them that he was ready to commence offensive operations against the Mysoreans, but he first required a categorical answer as to how far he could depend upon their support; he also proposed a plan on which all would have to act in concert against the common enemy. The Raja of Travancore replied that he had entered into an alliance with the Nabob of Arcot and the British, in which it had been stipulated that he was only to act on the defensive, and not to be the aggressor, otherwise he would receive no aid: so he regretted being unable to join the Dutch, except for defensive measures. Should the Mysoreans advance on his territory, British and Arcot troops were promised for his assistance.

“Urgent requests were despatched to Ceylon for more troops as there were only 200 effective soldiers present and the safety of Cochin itself was now endangered, for it was ascertained that a fleet, consisting of one three-mast ship, six two-mast grabs, and twenty well-armed gallivats, were preparing at Calicut to take troops by sea past Cranganore to the island of Vypeen. It was suspected that the Ayacotta fort would be first attacked, and should it fall, that Cranganore would be besieged from the south, whilst Sirdar Khan invested it from the north. An armed sloop was placed at the entrance of the Cranganore river, and two armed merchant ships further out to sea to cover the coast. The Raja of Travancore and Cochin improved the lines, which commenced from the rear of the Ayacotta fort and were carried along the southern bank of the river towards the ghauts. The Cranganore and Ayacotta forts

were strengthened, the first and most important by having a retrenchment thrown up under its guns, and the latter by being repaired.

"Some Travancore sepoys were now sent to Ayacotta, which the Mysore troops prepared to attack; but unwilling to come to blows, the Travancoreans retired to their own country. Fortunately at this critical time a Dutch detachment arrived by sea, and consequently the Mysoreans retreated. A strictly defensive policy was now decided upon, for fear of giving offence to the British and the Nabob of Arcot, but in November, as a further reinforcement had arrived, the Dutch considered themselves strong enough to become the aggressors.

"The Muhammadans had invested Chetwai, the garrison of which place sent a message to Cochin, representing that they could not hold it much longer, so Governor Moens now determined to attempt its relief. Provisions and ammunitions having been packed in casks, 180 men embarked in the ship *Hookeverf*, having some small boats in tow for the purpose of landing the men and stores. On the same afternoon, November 11th, they arrived before Chetwai, but the surf being high, the wary Muhammadans had the satisfaction of perceiving that they delayed landing until the next day. A chosen band of Sirdar Khan's troops was told off, and in the dead of the night placed in ambuscade close to the beach where the landing was most likely to be effected, and in silence awaited the disembarkation of their prey.

"The morning dawned, and the Dutch having examined the shore, could see no vestige of an enemy, all appeared perfectly quiet, and they congratulated themselves on surprising Hyder's troops. The landing commenced, the first boat upset, but the troops waded to the beach with their loaded muskets wet, and their ammunition of course spoilt. Suddenly the ambuscade rushed out, and finding advance impossible, the Dutch retreated in good order to the beach; but their boats were gone, and the terrified native boatmen were pulling quickly away from the scene of strife. Some of the detachment were killed, and the remainder obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

"The Europeans were disheartened and abandoned the attempted relief whilst the Muhammadans were greatly elated and the fort of Chetwai was compelled to capitulate on the 13th, one condition being that the garrison should be permitted to retreat to Cranganore, a promise which was of course broken. The prisoners were plundered of everything, even to their very clothes, and with the women, children and slaves, were sent to Calicut. From thence the military were despatched loaded with chains to Seringapatam, where all took service with Hyder, excepting the Commandant of Chetwai and the Resident.

"The whole of the island including Chetwai, Ayroor or Paponetty, and the territory of the Raja of Cranganore (excepting the Dutch fort), all of which were tributary to the Dutch, now succumbed to Hyder's general; but he found his further advance

impeded by the Travancore lines. The Cochin council now decided upon still further strengthening the Cranganore fort and on not again breaking up their troops into detachments.

“ On January 9th, 1777, the answer to Hyder’s letter arrived from Batavia, and with it the customary presents, which with an apologetic letter from the Governor of Cochin, were forwarded to Hyder’s camp. On February 25th the Commandant and Resident of the Chetwai fort arrived in Cochin from Seringapatam and informed Governor Moens from Hyder that most of the prisoners, including the women and slaves, were set at liberty (some soldiers were induced to remain in Hyder’s service) and that they were commissioned by Hyder to say that he was still anxious to enter into a treaty of friendship with the company, upon which subject he would shortly write. Hyder’s letter disowned Sirdar Khan’s proceedings, and stated that he had only despatched him into the sandy¹ country to inquire after some of the Zamorin’s lands ; that he had no unfriendly feeling towards the Dutch, and whilst returning the prisoners trusted all matters of dispute between them would be rapidly and amicably settled.

“ Hyder Ali in a secret correspondence became very pressing to carry into effect his former propositions for entering into an alliance with the Dutch. He now reduced his requirements to 400 European infantry and 100 artillery men. Governor Moens evaded this application without declining it, and held out hopes which were never carried into effect. He foresaw that neutrality with the English and Travancore must cease should he join Hyder. The Dutch council also wished to prevent the Travancore Raja, who was becoming alarmed at Hyder’s increasing power, from forming too intimate relationship with the British, so they tried to induce him to believe that from Hyder he had nothing to fear.

* * * *

“ On January 8th, 1778, the Dutch planned an expedition to recover their lost ground. They stormed and took the Cranganore Raja’s palace, which had a garrison of 300 men, and pursued the enemy to Paponetty. The succeeding day the Dutch forces reached Bellapattoo, and on the evening of the third day arrived before Chetwai. At once the guns began to play upon the fort, and continued all that night and throughout the next day. On the third day they unsuccessfully attempted to storm ; the attack was continued seven days, but the enemy commencing to assemble in force on the opposite side of the river, the Dutch were obliged to retreat to Cranganore on January 19th with the loss of some guns. On the morning of March 3rd the Mysoreans attacked the Cranganore palace with 3,000 men on foot, 150 horse and 4 guns. After ten hours’ fighting the Dutch retired to the Cranganore fort with the loss of 6 men.

¹ Chetwai Island is some times called Manapuram, i.e., sandy place, from the nature of the soil.

"In March the Dewan of Travancore came to Cochin to have an interview with Governor Moens, who pointed out to him the necessity of preventing Cranganore from falling into the hands of Hyder, and urged that it was to the interest of the Travancoreans to join the Dutch as they were running a risk of losing their country, whilst the Dutch could only lose a little strip of territory, which Moens hinted might even be avoided should he join the Mysoreans.

"About this time Hyder, who was now most indignant with the Dutch, was obliged to go to war with the English and the Nabob of Arcot. On his way he found time to plunder the Dutch store-house at Porto Novo and make a prisoner of the Resident."

* * * *

"In 1783 the Raja of Chetwai was peaceably reinstated in his dominions by the Dutch when they retook the place from Tippu's forces; but in the following year orders arrived from Batavia to return this territory to Tippu, Hyder having died in December 1782."—*Day's Land of the Permauls*, pages 149 to 155.

Meanwhile in North Malabar, in consequence of Ali Raja's failure to pay the stipulated tribute, the Prince Regent of Chirakkal (Kolattunad) had been restored to his dominions and a Mysorean officer had been sent to administer the revenue. On 25th April 1775 the Prince Regent, backed by the Mysoreans, forced the Kurangoth Nayar, backed by the French of Mahe, to come to terms, and on 5th May the French paid Rs. 80,000 and procured the withdrawal of the enemy. In June the Prince Regent proceeded into Kottayam to reduce various forts: all guns taken were sent to Hyder Ali. The Prince Regent however during all this time continued to supply the Tellicherry factory with pepper, and thereby the factors incurred the jealousy of the French Settlement at Mahe. M. Law de Lauriston wrote to Warren Hastings, complaining of the entire ruin of French trade on the coast through the factors "new treaties" with the Prince Regent "for all the pepper and other productions of the country."

Notwithstanding this aid, however, in their mercantile pursuits, the Tellicherry factory had not for some years past been a paying investment. On 8th January 1776 advices were received by the *Gatton* that what had been impending for some years had at last been ordered to be carried out. The factory was to be reduced to a residency and the troops removed. At this juncture the principal inhabitants of all classes came forward voluntarily and presented a petition, "representing the deplorable situation they will be reduced to in case the Honorable Company withdraw their protection from them, and as they learn that the great expense of this settlement is the cause of the Honorable Company's resolution to withdraw their troops, they have agreed to raise a sum sufficient, with the present revenues, to maintain a force for their protection by a tax on their oarts¹ and houses as specified at the

¹ *Port.* Horta = garden.

foot of their petition. The officer commanding estimated that the force required would cost Rs. 60,000 per annum, and the new tax and other revenues were estimated likewise to produce that sum. The petition was accordingly sent to Bombay for orders, and the factors pointed out that, unless the settlement was kept up on a more respectable footing than a residency, it would be impossible to provide for the annual investment in pepper and cardamoms, except at exorbitant rates. It remained as a residency—with an establishment of a Resident, and one or sometimes two factors—until 27th January 1784, on which date the chiefship was re-established, and it continued on this footing down to 1794, when the factory was finally abolished.

On March 13th, 1778, the French recognised the declaration of American independence and thus brought on another war with England. The news reached Tellicherry *via* Anjengo on the 29th July, shortly after a French reinforcement for Hyder Ali had been passed on to him through Mahe.

Mahe was at this time of more importance to Hyder Ali than even Pondicherry itself, for it was through that port that he received his guns and ammunition and French reinforcements. He was busy wresting from the Mahrattas the territory lying between the Tumbadra and the Kistna rivers, when the English laid siege to Pondicherry on August 8th, 1778, and he failed to make a diversion in their favour. Pondicherry fell on 18th October. The news reached Tellicherry on 3rd November, and shortly after that date the factors heard that it was in contemplation to reduce Mahe also. But the reduction of Mahe would have cut off Hyder Ali from his base of supplies, so, although not yet prepared finally to break with the English, he appears directly Pondicherry fell to have sent orders, which resulted in the Prince Regent of Kolattunad joining the French at Mahe with 1,500 of his Nayars. Besides which 200 of Hyder Ali's own sepoy were thrown into the place; and orders were sent to Kadattunad to reinforce Mahe with 2,000 more men, and Kolattunad was to send a like further number. Kadattunad, however, inclined to the English alliance, and so did the Zamorin and Kottayam. The factors at Tellicherry took every possible means to secure these allies, and as the event turned out, the Kolattunad Prince was the only chief who remained faithful to Hyder Ali's interest until after Mahe had fallen.

On January 3rd, 1779, the siege stores for Mahe came in from Bombay. On February 6th the Kolattunad force¹ in defence of Mahe was reinforced by 2,000 men from Coorg. On February 21st the first division of Colonel Brathwaite's expeditionary force, 800 sepoy under Captain Walker, reached Tellicherry. On February 24th there arrived another battalion under Captain Fraser. On March 2nd there came the *Terrible* bomb ketch *Asia*, man-of-war, and on March 12th H.M.'s ships *Sea Horse* and *Coventry*, with the *Resolution* in convoy, carrying Colonel Brathwaite and

¹ 1,500 men and 2 guns.

a European battalion. At 4 p.m. on that day the colonel landed under a salute of 15 guns, and at 5 p.m. the first gun was fired by the French at the British advanced posts. On March 15th the *Royal Charlotte* brought Major Clifton and three companies of artillery. And the force being now complete, Colonel Brathwaite, on the 16th March at 3 p.m., summoned M. Picot to surrender the place. Lieutenants Bato and Williams, his messengers, returned with M. Picot's refusal at 8 p.m. on the same day.

But meanwhile the Prince of Kolattunad had, on February 27th, thrown a cordon round Tellicherry and stopped the import of provisions. The factors, however, effectually replied to this move by supplying Kottayam with military stores and despatching him on March 11th to recover his country. The Prince Regent thus found himself with Kottayam and the British actively hostile on his rear and right flank, and Kadattanad and the Truvalinad Nambiar passively hostile on his left flank, and it became at once apparent that he was helpless to assist the French unless they could feed him and his men.

The position was hopeless for the French, so on the 19th March, at 7 a.m., proposals of capitulation were received from M. Picot. Brathwaite's reply was accepted¹ the same day, and at 4 p.m. the British colours were hoisted on "Currahee redoubt". Chimbrah and Fort St. George were handed over next morning under a salute of 21 guns, and the British colours were flying in Mahe itself at 6 p.m. on the evening of the 20th. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, but all arms, stores, etc., were surrendered, and the forts, etc., were placed at the disposal of the Honourable Company.

The Prince Regent of Kolattunad effected his retreat from Maho through Nittur after suffering defeat from Kottayam and sustaining considerable loss, and both Kottayam and the Zamorin for a time recovered most of their dominions from Hyder Ali's troops.

The Company was, however, still nominally at peace with the latter, and no overt encouragement, beyond the grant of supplies of arms, etc., was held out to the country powers, though the circumstances might have justified the adoption of active measures, for Mr. Wm. Freeman, the Company's Resident Factor at Calicut, had, by order of the Governor, been obliged, on March 18th, summarily to leave that place, and the Company's goods and some of their employees had been left behind by him at the mercy of Hyder Ali's people there.

The Mysorean provincial troops had consequently no difficulty in putting down the rising in the south, and the Kolattunad Prince, after joining Bulwant Row, returned to the Kottayam country, dispersed the Kottayam force, and then proceeded to Kadattanad, where the Senior Raja, who had sided with the English, was deposed in favour of a young prince.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LXXXIX.

The effect of these measures was soon apparent at Mahe and Tellicherry. On June 24th young Kadattanad's force closed in on Mahe and began erecting fortifications. On August 20th a washerman belonging to Brathwaite's force camped at Mahe was carried off. Restitution was demanded, and in a collision which occurred in consequence eight of the Kadattanad Nayers were slain. Hyder Ali approved of young Kadattanad's conduct, and the latter beheaded the unfortunate *dhobi* in the presence of a peon of Brathwaite's, who had gone with a message, and of a horsekeeper who had also been entrapped. The two latter, with their hands cut off, were permitted to return to Mahe.

It soon became apparent in short that Hyder Ali, by means of the Malabar chiefs in his interest, meant to become actively hostile. The country powers intercepted letters and stopped the supply of provisions, and in October still more active measures were undertaken by them—first against the British outpost at Mount Deli in the beginning of that month, and towards the end of it the British district of Randattara was overrun by the Kolattunad Prince with his force. The Mappillas of this latter district undertook to assist the British to maintain their hold of the province, but when it came to the push their hearts failed them. A small force sent out to assist the Randattara Achanmars was obliged to retreat before overwhelming numbers to Darmapattanam Island. On October 24th the factors recorded their opinion that Hyder Ali intended to break with the Honourable Company, and that the native chiefs were acting under secret orders from him.

On October 31st young Kadattanad attacked the British outpost at "Moicara" and seized it and Andolla and Tira Malas, and as the factory was now attacked on all sides, the factors sent a requisition to Colonel Brathwaite to come to Tellicherry to assist in its defence.

On November 1st, 1779, the factory diary thus runs: "As the enemy seem to be gaining ground—resolved that, agreeable to the Company's orders, we deliver the keys of the fort to the Military Commanding Officer, who is to take all possible means for the security of the fort and districts." From this date till January 8th, 1782, the town was in a state of close siege on the landward side, and the keys were only returned to the Resident on the 24th of this latter month.

Colonel Brathwaite accordingly evacuated Mahe and brought his Madras troops to assist in the defence of Tellicherry. Part of the British Island of Darmapattanam was seized by the enemy so early as November 3rd, but the rest of it was held till July 18th, 1780, two days prior to the date on which Hyder Ali finally threw off the mask and descended on the Nabob of Arcot's territory with his army of 90,000 men in pursuance of his plan with the Mahrattas of annihilating the English power. And it was on that very day, July 20th, 1780, that the factors were at last authentically apprised

by a deserter that Hyder Ali was at war with the Company. The only remaining outpost at Mount Deli was evacuated in November 1780.

Prior to these events the state of siege was maintained ostensibly by the Kolattunad and Kadattanad Princes; for Kottayam was throughout the siege firmly attached to the Honourable Company's interests, and helped materially, with a body of from 1,000 to 1,300 of his Nayars, to enable them to hold the town successfully. The post was not a strong one, although it was protected on three sides by the sea and the river with redoubts¹ on all positions of importance, but there was cover available for the enemy up to within 200 yards of the main fort itself if they had once broken through the "extensive², but indefensible" outer line of defence.

Into this small and insufficiently protected area flocked every one who had property to lose. Hyder Ali's "Buxy" (*Bakshi* = paymaster) at Mahe, in a letter of May 29th, 1780, to the Resident put the matter very forcibly thus: "I know perfectly well that you have been guilty of giving an asylum to people that ought to pay to the Nabob lacks and lacks of rupees, and given assistance to the vassals of the Nabob. You also keep in your protection thieves, who ought to pay lacks and lacks of rupees." Hyder Ali himself, too, in a letter to the Resident received on February 4th, 1780, complained of the protection afforded to the Nayars and their families and of the assistance given to them in arms, etc., in order to create disturbances, whereby "my country of 20 lacks of rupees revenue is entirely ruined, and I cannot get the same increased." This security of property and perfect trust in the Company's officers probably did more than anything else to bring the siege to a successful issue, for there was no other spot on the coast, not excepting the Dutch settlement at Cochin, where such perfect security to person and property could be found. The persons who flocked into Tellicherry from all the country round accordingly fought and watched with the courage and vigilance of despair, and every effort of the enemy to break through the slender line of scattered outworks was defeated.

On December 6th, 1779, Sirdar Khan, accompanied by some European officers, minutely reconnoitred all the posts, and on January 17th, 1780, the factors reported to the Governor-General (Warren Hastings) that Sirdar Khan was expected shortly with a large force from Seringapatam. On February 17th, 1780, the news arrived that he had reached Tamarasseri and wished to treat with Kottayam, the Honourable Company's only native ally at this time, for the restoration³ to him of his country below the ghats. The negotiation took place: a demand was made for five lakhs of rupees, of which two lakhs were to be paid at once. Kottayam could raise

¹ "Cuchieundy", Koduvalli, Pallikkunnu, Morakkunnu, Chirakkalkandi, Tiruvengad temple and Mailan were the principal outworks.

² Wilks' *Historical Sketches*, II. 1.

³ It appears that Kottayam had previously received from Hyder Ali a "Phjrmound for Vaghatoo" (Wainad).

but one lakh ; an application to the factors for the loan of another lakh was of course refused, although it would have gone hardly with the besieged had the Kottayam Nayars been withdrawn. Eventually Kottayam paid Rs. 60,000 to Sirdar Khan, but this was not enough to satisfy the latter, and his request to be restored to his dominions was accordingly refused. The result of these negotiations was to attach Kottayam more strongly than before to the Company's interests.

On December 23rd, 1779, Brathwaite was relieved of the command of the town by Major John Cotgrave, another Madras officer. On July 8th, 1780, Sirdar Khan appeared at Mahe with a large force, which three days later he began to pass across the river, and on the morning of the 12th the force reached "Mellure." This led to the evacuation of Darmapattanam Island and to the concentration of the Honourable Company's force within the lines of Tellicherry. Sirdar Khan refused to assign any reasons for his action; but it was no longer doubtful that Hyder Ali had finally broken with the Company.

As soon as the state of the season permitted, Sirdar Khan commenced operations by sea as well as by land, and on October 1st, 1780, the factors reported that they were "blocked by sea by a ketch and a great number of armed manchuas and toneys." But this did not last long, for on October 6th came the "*Drake*" and "*Eagle*" cruizers, which disabled the enemy's ketch and drove away the smaller vessels into the creeks and rivers, where, however, they lay ready for future operations.

When the news of Bailey's defeat by Hyder Ali arrived on November 1st, matters assumed a very serious aspect, as it was supposed the Madras troops under Major Cotgrave would be withdrawn, and the evacuation of two redoubts called Whippey's and Connor's created shortly after this quite a panic in the town. But a day or two later (November 27th) matters began to look brighter when Sir Edward Hughes with H.M.'s ships *Superb*, *Exeter*, *Eagle*, *Worcester*, and *Burford* and others in convoy put into the roads.

Just about this time the Mahratta Angriah, in command of Hyder Ali's fleet, consisting of two ships, two snows, six ketches, and two gallivats, sailed south as far as Cannanore to attack the ships in the Tellicherry roadstead, but he did not like the aspect of the shipping when he arrived there and wisely retreated.

Directly, however, Sir Edward Hughes sailed north to Bombay, the enemy's fleet again began to give trouble, and to remedy this Captain LeMesurier of the *Ponsborne* was appointed Cammodore of the Tellicherry roads.

In March and April 1781 the enemy's exertions were redoubled, but the garrison reinforced by two 12-pounder guns and 60 marines from the ships successfully repelled the attacks. The following singular account of one of the modes of attack adopted by Sirdar

Khan is given by Wilks¹ on the authority of Sir Barry Close, "one of the besieged":—"Sirdar Khan had no acquaintance with the European science of attack and defence, but, after failing in several assaults which were repelled by the bravery of the defenders, and finding every ordinary battery opposed by corresponding and more skilful defensive means, or destroyed by sorties, adopted a species of offensive work, which from its height should enable him to see and counteract the designs of the besieged, and from its construction be exempt from the dangers of assault. An immense extent of base served as the foundation for several successive storeys, constructed of the trunks of trees in successive layers, crossing each other and compacted by earth rammed between the intervals; the contrivances in the rear for raising the guns were removed when the erection was complete, and enormous inaccessible towers rearing up their summits by the successive addition of another storey as the besieged covered themselves from the proceeding, exhibited a system of attack too curious to be dismissed in silence, but too imperfectly impressed by distant recollection to be well described."

Shortly after this, on May 7th, Sir Edward Hughes' squadron again came into the roads with troops and stores and Major Abington as "Major Commandant" in succession to Major Cotgrave, who with the Madras troops sailed with the fleet on May 16th.

On May 17th and 18th ineffectual attempts were made by the enemy to set fire to the *Sea Horse* in the roadstead, nor were their efforts by land more successful.

On August 6th, however, they opened a fresh battery of 5 guns against Morakkunnu, a redoubt by the river side, and in consequence of the incessant firing kept up in reply, the gunpowder supply of the garrison began to run short and became "very alarming." An urgent requisition was sent to Anjengo, and Mr. Firth, one of the factors, proceeded by sea to Cochin to endeavour to get a supply from the Dutch.

A day or two after he had gone (August 27th), the news arrived that England was at war with the Dutch. Mr. Firth was accordingly detained as a prisoner of war at Cochin, and the money and other things that he carried with him were seized.

As the British fire slackened, the enemy came closer to the lines, and in spite of the news of Sir Eyre Coote's victories on the East Coast in July and August, the enemy were no whit less assiduous in the siege. On October 11th they had, Major Abington reported, mined "under and even within our lines." But on that day also arrived the first instalment of the long looked for supply of gunpowder and hand grenades from Anjengo, and the anxiety so long felt was removed.

On November 22nd Mr. Firth was released at Cochin in exchange for a Dutchman, a relative of the Dutch Governor Van Angelbeck.

¹ Wilks' "*Historical Sketches, etc.*," II. 2.

With the beginning of December 1781 came the news from the East Coast of the retaking of Arcot and of Hyder Ali being in "a very perilous situation at a place called Convy." And by this time the Bombay authorities had matured their plans for relieving the settlement. Accordingly, on December 18th, the Resident and Major Abington had a consultation and agreed on a plan of operations to be put in force directly the expected reinforcements arrived.

The plan appears to have been much the same as that already long before proposed by the Kottayam Raja in December 1780, and then warmly approved by Major Cotgrave. Kottayam was to advance from the fastnesses of the ghats in rear of the enemy opposing the Morakkunnu redoubt. The garrison were to join hands with him there and thus cut the besieging army in half and afterwards vanquish it in detail.

Besides this, the cruizers were to be stationed to the south of Mahe to prevent a retreat of Sirdar Khan's force by sea. The cruizers protecting the roadstead at this time were the *Morning Star* and the *Drake*, and as a preliminary to the further operations, they, on 21st December, set upon Hyder Ali's gallivats, took one of them, and drove the remainder in a very shattered condition into the Valarpattanam river. On the same day the enemy sprung two mines at Fort Mailan, but without doing any damage, and that post was made stronger than ever. On December 28th, the Travancore and Zamorin Rajas were addressed to assist in crushing Hyder Ali's force on the coast as soon as the Tellicherry siege was raised. It was necessary to maintain the strictest secrecy in regard to the intended movements, and hence the addresses to these Rajas were not sent sooner.

On December 30th, 1781, the expected reinforcements arrived from Bombay, consisting of the 2nd and 8th battalions of sepoys and 40 artillery men with four 6-pounders, besides lascars.

With this force, and as many of the troops in garrison as could be spared, Major Abington left his trenches at 5 A.M. on Monday, 8th January 1782, and "stormed and carried the enemy's batteries, took their cannon, ammunition, etc., and a number of prisoners, etc." And the further results were thus described by him in a note addressed to Mr. Freeman, the Resident, written from "Guerechee" at 11 o'clock:—"Sir, I congratulate you on our success, and I believe our whole loss does not exceed 30 killed and wounded. We are in possession of Guerechee, Putney, Bench Hill and I hope by this time of everything under Moylan, all the guns and 2 brass field-pieces. Scirdar Caun is now setting with me, and all his family; he is wounded and seems very ill; the Buckshee of the irregulars is killed, and they have suffered very considerably. Poor Woodington is the only officer wounded. Yours very sincerely—William Abington."

Fort St. George at Mahe surrendered at 9½ P.M. on the 8th, and Mahe at 5 A.M. next morning.

The left attack being thus annihilated, the remainder of the besieging army on the point of Nittur and on Darmapattanam Island evacuated their positions on the 9th.

The keys of the fort were re-delivered to the Resident on January 24th. The Nayars rose all over the country, and Major Abington pushing on southwards took Calicut on February 13th, and by the 20th of that month "Palicatcherry" was reported to be the only place of importance, though this fact is doubtful, remaining in Hyder Ali's hands in South Malabar. "Sirdar Caun departed this life at 9 o'clock this morning" (February 26th).

Hyder's affairs at this time were in a very unprosperous state—Sirdar Khan's army destroyed at Tellicherry; disappointed and, as he thought, deceived by the French, foiled in every battle by Sir Eyre Coote. Rebellions in Malabar, in Coorg and in Bullum, and finally threatened by a Mahratta invasion from the north, "he determined¹ to concentrate his force, to abandon his scheme of conquest in Coromandel, and to direct his undivided efforts first, for the expulsion of the English from the Western Coast, and afterwards for the preservation of his dominions, and for watching the course of events." He had to reduce his army in the Carnatic considerably in order to despatch the three expeditions required to put down the rebels. Mukhdum Ali was sent to Malabar, Woffadar (a Chela) to Coorg, and Shaikh Ayaz (Hyat Sahib,² another and more remarkable Chela) was ordered from Bednur (of which he was appointed governor) against Bullum.

¹ Wilks' "*Historical sketches*," II. 9.

² The story of this man is remarkable. Wilks gives the following account of him:—

Among the prisoners carried off in the first inhuman emigration from Malabar, was a young Nair, from Chereul, who had been received as a slave of the palace, and to whom, on his forced conversion to Islam, they had given the name of Shaikh Ayaz.* The noble port, ingenuous manners, and singular beauty of the boy attracted general attention; and when at a more mature age he was led into the field, his ardent valour and uncommon intelligence recommended him to the particular favor of Hyder, who was an enthusiast in his praise, and would frequently speak to him, under the designation of "his right hand in the hour of danger." . . . In the conversation of Muhammadan chiefs, a slave of the house, far from being a term of degradation or reproach, uniformly conveys the impression of an affectionate and trustworthy humble friend, and such was Ayaz in the estimation of Hyder. To the endowments which have been stated, incessant and confidential military service had superadded experience beyond his years; and Hyder selected him for the important trust of civil and military governor of the fort and territory of Chittledroog. But modest as he was, faithful and brave, Ayaz wished to decline the distinction, as one to which he felt himself incompetent; and particularly objected, that he could neither read nor write, and was consequently incapable of a civil charge. "Keep a corla † at your right hand" said Hyder, "and that will do you better service than pen and ink," then assuming a graver countenance, "place reliance"

* The same person afterwards Governor of Bednur at the accession of Tippu, and called in most English accounts Hyat Sahib.

† A long whip of cotton rope, about an inch and a half in diameter at the thick end, where it is grasped, and tapering to a point at the other extremity; this severe instrument of personal punishment is about 9 feet long; and Hyder was constantly attended by a considerable number of persons too constantly practised in its use.

Shortly after Major Abington had, on 13th February 1782, taken Calicut, there arrived at that place from Bombay, under the command of Colonel Humberstone, a portion of the force despatched from England under General Medows and Commodore Johnson. Col. Humberstone's force consisted of about 1,000 men, and it appears that the original plan was for General Medows' whole force to co-operate with Sir Edward Hughes' squadron in an operation against the Dutch settlements in Ceylon. But it was diverted from this object through instructions received from Mr. Sullivan, the British Resident at Tanjore, and Colonel Humberstone accordingly proceeded to make a diversion against Hyder Ali by advancing from Calicut against the approaching army of Mukhdum Ali.

added he, "on your excellent understanding! act for yourself alone! fear nothing from the calumnies of the scribblers! but trust in me as I trust in you! Reading and writing!! how have I risen to empire without the knowledge of either?" In addition to this Hyder Ali was in the habit of publicly drawing very invidious comparisons between his son Tippu and his favorite Shaikh Ayaz. Reprimanding the former on one occasion for attempting secretly to embezzle some plunder, he called him "a thief and a blockhead"; observing that he had not the common sense to perceive that he was stealing from himself: for "unhappily," said he, "you will be my successor; would that I had begotten Ayaz instead of you!" Directly therefore Tippu assumed the reins of Government on the death of Hyder Ali, he despatched secret instructions to the second in command at Bednur to put Ayaz to death and assume the government. What follows is thus narrated by Wilks:—"Whatever may have been the ultimate intentions of Ayaz at this period, it is certain that apprehensions of treachery were mixed with all his deliberations: he had taken the precaution of ordering that no letter of any description from the eastward should be delivered without previous examination; and being entirely illiterate, this scrutiny always took place with no other person present than the reader and himself, either in a private chamber, or if abroad, retired from hearing and observation, in the woods. On the day preceding that on which the ghauts were attacked, and while Ayaz was occupied near Hyderghur, in giving directions regarding their defence, the fatal letter arrived and was inspected with the usual precautions; the Brahman who read it, and to whom the letter was addressed as second in command, stands absolved from all suspicion of prior design by the very act of reading its contents; but in the perilous condition of Ayaz he durst not confide in a secrecy at best precarious, even for a day; without a moment's hesitation, he put the unfortunate Brahman to death to prevent discovery; put the letter in his pocket, and returning to his attendants instantly mounted, and without leaving any orders, went off at speed to the citadel to make the arrangements for surrender which have been related. It may well be presumed that this horrible scene could not have been enacted without some intimation reaching the ears of the attendants, and the very act of abandoning the scene of danger contrary to his usual habits, spread abroad among the troops those rumours of undefined treachery which abundantly account for their dispersion and dismay."

He accordingly surrendered to General Matthews the fort and country of Bednur, of which he was the governor, on the condition that he was "to remain under the English as he was under the Nabob (Hyder Ali)." Of the unhappy results of General Matthews' expedition it is unnecessary to say anything. Shaikh Ayaz fled precipitately from Bednur on hearing of the approach of Tippu with the whole of his army, leaving General Matthews and his army to its fate, and his flight was so sudden that he lost the small remains of property belonging to him. He appears to have fled to the protection of the Company's settlement at Tellicherry, and there "on the 7th of the month Kany," in the year 1783, he obtained under pretence of using his influence with the English to procure for his quondam sovereign, the reigning Kolattiri Prince, the restoration of his country, a grant for his family of three *taras* or villages in the Chirakkal taluk (*Treaties, etc., i. XCI.*). The grant was subsequently pronounced invalid as having been obtained by fraud. Tippu tried in vain to persuade the English to give up his enemy Ayaz under one of the conditions of the treaty of peace executed in 1784, which provided for a restitution of prisoners captured. Ayaz eventually retired to Mazagon in Bombay in enjoyment of a money allowance granted to him by the Supreme Government. It would appear that he was originally a Nambiar by caste belonging to the Valia Putiya house in Chirakkal.

The following is Colonel Wilk's narrative¹ of the events which followed :—

“ The naval and military officers commanding this portion of the armament having received the communication from Mr. Sullivan, which has been described, and deeming the attempt to reach the opposite coast, while the French were understood to have the superiority at sea, as a precarious undertaking, determined that the troops should be landed at Calicut in aid of the proposed diversion, and that the ships should return to Bombay in furtherance of the same design. Colonel Humberstone, as senior officer, assumed also the command of the troops which had hitherto served under Major Abington, and being joined by a body of Nayers anxious to emerge from a long and cruel subjugation, he moved about twenty miles to the southward (of Calicut) and close to Tricalore,² came in contact with Hyder's detachment under Mukhdum Ali, already adverted to. That officer, confident in superior numbers, estimated at 7,000, waited the result of an action in a strong but most injudicious position, with a deep and difficult river in the rear of his right ; from this position he was dislodged, and the retreat of the left being interrupted by a judicious movement of the English troops, a large portion of the Mysorean right was driven into the river with a loss, in killed alone, estimated by Colonel Humberstone at between three and four hundred men, and among that number Mukhdum Ali, their commander ; 200 prisoners and 150 horses were secured, and the total loss in killed, wounded and prisoners may thus be estimated at from 1,500 to 2,000 men, while that of the English was inconsiderable.

“ Colonel Humberstone followed the route of the fugitives as far as Audicota, but finding pursuit unavailing, he resumed his plan of proceeding to the attack of Palghautcherry by the river Paniani, which passing near to that fort discharges itself into the sea at a town of the same name with the river, distant about sixty miles, and is navigable for boats to distances fluctuating with the season, but sometimes for thirty miles. While moving southward for that purpose and waiting the arrival of the boats which conveyed his stores, a violent gale of wind, attended with five days' incessant rain, dispersed the boats, spoiled the provisions, and damaged the ammunition ; and the soldiers, from exposure to the inclemency of the season, becoming sickly, he was induced, as soon as the violence of the weather would allow, to march his troops to the towns of Tanoor and Paniani. During these events, the Mysoreans rallied at Ramgerry,³ a place situated about half way from the coast to Palghautcherry, whence detachments of cavalry were advanced for the usual purpose of annoyance. Colonel Humberstone being himself seriously indisposed, directed Major Campbell, in an interval of fair weather to advance towards the enemy, who again awaited the

¹ Wilks' *Historical Sketches*, II. 28.

² On 8th April 1782.—(Tellicherry Factory Diary, 13th and 15th April 1782.) The place appears to be identical with Tirurangadi in Ernad taluk.

³ On the cross road between Pattambi and Choruplasseri.

attack in an injudicious position and were defeated with the loss of two guns. Experience of the nature of the season already commenced compelled Colonel Humberstone to seek for better cover to shelter his troops during the monsoon, and he availed himself of the first favourable interval to return to Calicut after a short course of operations highly creditable to his energies as an executive military officer, but founded on views neither sufficiently matured nor combined by the Governments, who were to supply the means necessary to the execution of the service and finally undertaken at an improper season.

“ In contemplating the policy of such diversion, the Government of Bombay were wisely of opinion that no middle course was expedient between measures purely defensive on that coast, and an armament capable not only of penetrating into the interior but maintaining its communications. Previously to the departure of Colonel Humberstone from Bombay, the Government had distinctly objected to a project which he had suggested for employing the troops under his command in the reduction of Mangalore or Cochin, and urged his proceeding to Madras where the reinforcement was expected. The operations which have been described are therefore to be viewed as resulting from a coincidence of circumstances, and not the effect of digested measures, for we shall hereafter have occasion to see that the combinations which might have rendered them safe and efficient were never practically adopted. On receiving intelligence, however, of his landing at Calicut and sending back the ships, although the Government of Bombay state this determination to have ‘disconcerted their measures,’ ‘they nevertheless resolved to take the proper means to assist him’; afterwards however expressing their regret that ‘while General Coote is in want of every European we can collect, as appears by the Madras letter received on the 13th ultimo, the force under Colonel Humberstone should be shut up at Calicut in the utmost distress for many necessary articles; in no situation to render any service to the public; and out of the reach of support or supply from hence at this season of the year.’

“ Sir Eyre Coote, however, judiciously converting his own disappointment with regard to this reinforcement into the means of effecting a secure diversion, placed Colonel Humberstone under the orders of the Government of Bombay, recommending to them such a concentrated and powerful attack on Hyder’s western possessions, as should have the effect of compelling him to return for their defence and thus leave his French allies in Coromandel to their own separate resources. Before, however, these measures could be matured, or the season could admit of conveying to Colonel Humberstone the requisite orders for his guidance, that officer was again in motion for the prosecution of his original design. The river Paniani afforded conveyance for his stores as far as the post of Tirtalla, thirty miles inland, and he soon afterwards obtained possession of Ramgerry, a place of some capability, five miles further up the river. Fortunately the extreme peril of the expedition was here tempered by the

consequences of local inexperience, and apparently inadequate means of communication with the natives; he describes himself to be 'ignorant of the road and situation of the country, and could place little dependence on the information of the Nayars,' natives of that part of the country, and deeply interested in his success: he consequently determined to leave under the protection of a battalion of sepoy at Ramgerry the whole of his battering train and heavy equipments and marched with six 6-pounders, two 1-pounders, and the remainder of his force 'to reconnoitre the country and fortress of Palghautcherry, before he should undertake to attack it.' The remains of the Mysorean troops appeared to make a stand in a position not far from the place, but suffered themselves to be easily dislodged, and retreated into the fort. The colonel proceeded under cover of his troops to reconnoitre the southern and western works; he moved on the ensuing day to the northward of the fort, and after finding by a complete examination that it was 'everywhere much stronger than he had reason to apprehend,' he returned to his first ground to the westward of the place, but in this movement, a judicious and well-timed sortie produced the loss of nearly the whole of his provisions and the discomfiture of all his Nayars, who seem to have gone off in a panic in consequence of being attacked in a morass during a thick fog. On the ensuing day he fell back to a little place named Mangaricota, eight miles distant, where he had left some provisions. An attack in force upon his rear repelled with judgment and spirit was of less importance than the distress sustained by rains which fell from the 21st to the 24th with as great violence as during any period of the monsoon, and rendered impassable for several hours a rivulet in his rear. It appears by letters, not officially recorded, that on the 10th November he received at Mangaricota orders from Bombay to return to the coast; he commenced his march for that purpose on the 12th. On the 14th he was at Ramgerry, about halfway from Palghaut to the coast. A chasm occurs in the materials which the public records afford from the 30th of October till the 19th of November, when Colonel MacLeod, who had been sent by Sir Eyre Coote to assume the command, landed at Paniani. 'On the 20th Colonel Humberstone with his whole force came in, having made a rapid retreat before Tippu and Lally, who followed him by forced marches with a very superior force;' the last march being from Tirtalla, thirty miles. The public despatches are silent with regard to his numbers and the fate of the battering train, but the circumstances which led to this attack are better ascertained.

"After the defeat of Mukhdum Ali, Hyder had made all the requisite arrangements for endeavouring to repair that misfortune as soon as the season should permit. Tippu's usual command including the corps of M. Lally had been reinforced and improved, and towards the close of the rains in Malabar, affected to be meditating some blow in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly in order that when the state of the season and of the roads should be reported favourable, and above all when Colonel Humberstone should have

advanced a sufficient distance from the coast, Tippu¹ might be enabled by a few forced marches to come unexpectedly upon him. The receipt of orders from Bombay for his return to the coast, considered by himself as a public misfortune, may be deemed the efficient cause of the preservation of the troops under his command. Tippu commenced his forced march from the vicinity of Caroor in the confidence of finding Colonel Humberstone at Mangaricota advancing his stores for the siege of Palghaut. Tippu arrived at the latter place on the 16th, when his enemy had receded to Ramgerry; it was not, however, until the 18th,² at night, that he had any intelligence which satisfied him of the necessity of retreat at four o'clock on the ensuing morning; but from an official neglect to send the order to a picquet of 150 men stationed at the extraordinary distance of three miles, five hours were lost; incessantly harassed and cannonaded throughout the day, he attempted without success to pursue his route on the right bank of the river which was not fordable, but found himself stopped by impenetrable swamps. The early part of the night was passed in anxious search for a practicable ford, and at length one was found so deep as to take ordinary men to the chin; yet by clinging together in silence, the tall assisting the short, the whole got across without the loss of a man. Tippu supposing the river to be everywhere impassable, employed the night in making dispositions for destroying his enemy in the snare in which he supposed him to be entrapped; but by daylight on the 20th the detachment had performed the largest portion of the march and was only overtaken within two miles of Paniani. The hope of intercepting him was thus frustrated by an unexpected event, but Tippu determined to persevere in the attack.

"Colonel MacLeod, on examining his position" at Paniani, began to strengthen it by some field works, and on the 25th attempted to surprise Tippu's camp by night, an enterprise from which he desisted on forcing a picquet and discovering regular military arrangements and a strong position. On the morning of the 29th, before day, the field works being still unfinished, Tippu attempted the strong but weakly occupied position of Colonel MacLeod by a well-designed attack in four columns, one of them headed by Lally's corps; but such was the vigilance, discipline and energy of the English troops that the more advanced picquets were merely driven in on the out-posts, not one of which was actually forced; support to the most vulnerable having been skilfully provided and M. Lally's corps having fortunately been met by the strongest, each column before it could penetrate further was impetuously charged with the bayonet. The errors incident to operations by

¹ Colonel Humberstone, on 16th June 1782, when at Calicut, received information that "Tippu Saib will most undoubtedly command the army on this side in the ensuing campaign."—(His letter in Tellicherry Factory Diary, dated 1st July 1782.)

² Apparently he had intended marching on the evening of the 18th.—(Tellicherry Factory Diary, 22nd November 1782.)

³ The Tellicherry factors sent him 500 bags of rice on the 27th, there being only 13 days' provisions in store at Ponnani.—(Tellicherry Factory Diary, dated 27th November 1782.)

night divided the columns, but the English tactic was uniform. A single company of Europeans did not hesitate to charge with the bayonet a column of whatever weight without knowing or calculating numbers. M. Lally's dispositions were excellent, if the quality of the troops had been equal, a pretension which could only be claimed by a portion of one column out of the four, and the attempt ended in total discomfiture and confusion, the Mysoreans leaving on the field 200 men killed and carrying off about 1,000 wounded; the loss of the English was 41 Europeans and 47 sepoy's killed and wounded, including eight officers.

"Sir Edward Hughes proceeding with his squadron from Madras to Bombay, came in sight of the place on the ensuing day; and on learning the circumstances in which the troops were placed, offered to Colonel MacLeod the alternative of receiving them on board, or reinforcing him with 450 Europeans. He adopted the latter, from considering that while Tippu should remain in his front, the small body under his command could not be better employed than in occupying the attention of so large a portion of the enemy's army, and that while at Paniani he was equally prepared, as at any other part of the coast, to embark and join the concentrated force which he knew to be preparing at Bombay. The return furnished by Colonel MacLeod to the Commander-in-Chief at Madras of his total number, after receiving from Sir Edward Hughes the reinforcement of 450 men, was European 800, English sepoy's 1,000, Travancorean troops 1,200, showing that the number of Europeans engaged in the late encounter were fewer than 400 men, and as he had been accompanied in landing by 40 men, the number with which Colonel Humberstone returned to Paniani could not have exceeded 300 men, out of the thousand with which he had landed in the preceding February.

"Tippu after this ineffectual attempt retired to a further distance to await the arrival of his heavy equipments in order to resume the attack on the position at Paniani; but on the 12th of December, the swarm of light troops which had continued to watch the English position was invisible, and successive reports confirmed the intelligence that the whole Mysorean force was proceeding by forced marches to the eastward, whither our narrative must return."

* * * * *

Hyder Ali died on the 7th December 1782 and Tippu was in full march back to secure his father's throne.

* * * * *

On hearing of Colonel MacLeod's position at Ponnani the Bombay Government determined to despatch their Commander-in-Chief, Brigadier-General Matthews, to relieve him with such forces as were immediately available. In his progress down the coast General Matthews heard of the hasty retreat of the enemy's force, and instead of going on to Ponnani, he commenced, under special orders from Bombay, a hasty and ill-considered scheme for an advance

on Bodnur. For this purpose he sent ships to Ponnani and brought away Colonel MacLeod and the force under his command. The factors at Tellicherry were alarmed at the withdrawal of the force, as it exposed the settlement to great danger in the event of its being again attacked.

It is unnecessary to follow in this narrative the unhappy issue of the campaign thus rashly undertaken, or of the defence of Mangalore which brought it to a glorious but unfortunate close. The shattered remains of the Mangalore garrison, with their brave commander, Colonel Campbell, reached Tellicherry on the 3rd February 1783 in the ships *Sullivan*, *Hawke* and *Alfred*, escorted by the *Morning Star* and *Drake*, cruisers.

As a diversion in another quarter to draw Tippu's attention away from Mangalore after his breach of the armistice at that place Colonel Fullarton, in command of a force¹ of 1,700 Europeans and seventeen battalions of sepoy which had been organised by Mr. Sullivan, the Resident of Tanjore, to operate in Mysore, pushed westwards from Dindigul *via* Darapuram towards Palghaut as soon as he had been apprised² by the factors of Tellicherry of a recommencement of hostilities at Mangalore. "The immediate object of this movement was the relief of Mangalore: the ultimate object was the reduction of Hyder's family, or at least the attainment of a respectable accommodation." The vaguest ideas regarding the topography of the country prevailed, and Mangalore was found to be too distant to be reached by the force, but the seizure of Palghaut "as an intermediate place of strength and resources" and "to serve as a magazine of stores and provisions for the prosecution of our undertaking or to secure a retreat if necessary," with a view to the carrying out of the ultimate object for which the force had been organised, appeared to Colonel Fullarton an operation of the greatest importance.

His own account³ of his Palghaut campaign is thus related:—

"Palghautcherry⁴ held forth every advantage; it was a place of the first strength in India, while its territory afforded a superabundance of provisions. The mountains that bound the

¹ "One European and three sepoy brigades, besides four flank battalions that acted as a fifth brigade." Also "65 pieces of cannon, with field ammunition and 10,000 battering shot; the engineer's department was stored with besieging tools and other implements; the pioneer corps was strengthened; our cavalry, excepting three troops, were natives and irregulars; they amounted to 1,000 men"—Col. Fullarton's letter to Madras Government, 7th January 1785. The figures given in the text are taken from the Tellicherry factory diary.

² This was on 3rd October 1783. They had, the previous day, received secret intelligence of the fact from Mr. Murdoch Brown written, as alleged, at the peril of his life from Valarpattanam; but the fact was subsequently not confirmed. Mr. Brown's information was that Tippu taking advantage of an opportunity "seized and put in irons the troops, general, and gentlemen, who were out of the fort" at a time when Tippu's own force was apparently dispersed; but the General (MacLeod) arrived at Tellicherry on the 12th.

³ "A View of the English Interests in India," etc., Madras 1867, pp. 26-30.

⁴ Palghautcherry was completely re-built by Hyder since the war of 1767 with the English, and was furnished with all the advantages of European construction and defence.

pass which it commands are strengthened by thick forests and surrounding woods, and the intersections of the Ponnani river, through deep rice grounds, all concurred to enable a small body of infantry to defend the territory against any number of horse. It commanded, further, the only practicable communication between the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, and promised us possession of all the countries from Trichinopoly by Darapuram, in a reach of more than two hundred miles. It opened the means of supply from Travancore, Cochin, and other places on the Malabar coast. It afforded confidence to the Zamorin and other disaffected rajas, from Cochin to Goa, who were struggling to shake off the yoke of Hyder. It left us at liberty to disguise our movements and to proceed either by the route of Coimbatore and Gudgereddy, or by Calicut on the Malabar coast, and the pass of Damalcherry,¹ to the siege of Seringapatam. It was, besides, of such intrinsic consequence to the Mysore Government that the reduction of it could not fail to weigh essentially in the negotiations for peace, then said to be in agitation, and promised to make Tippu Sultan raise the siege of Mangalore, in order to oppose our farther progress.

“ We marched from Pulney in October, reduced the forts of Cumalum, Chucklygerry, and Annamally, and passed through a rich country abounding with dry grain, cattle, wood, and rice-fields. At Poliatchy the ground attains its highest elevation, and the streams run east and west to the Coromandel and Malabar seas. During our whole march through this part of the country, the flank brigade, under Captain Maitland, moved constantly in front, occupied positions, and secured provisions for the army.

“ From Annamally our progress became truly laborious; we had to force our way through a forest twenty miles in depth, extending thirty miles across the pass of Palghaut. Our object was to reach Calingoody,² a post on the western side of the forest, within fifteen miles of Palghautcherry. The frequent ravines required to be filled up before it was possible to drag the guns across them; innumerable large trees, which obstructed the passage, required to be cut down and drawn out of the intended track, and then the whole road was then to be formed before the carriages could pass. The bridges were distributed to succeed each other at intervals, preceded by pioneers, in order to clear what the advanced body had opened, for the guns and stores that were to move under cover of the rear division.

“ While we were thus engaged, an unremitting rain, extremely unusual at that season, commenced. The ravines were filled with water, the paths became slippery, the bullocks lost their footing, and the troops were obliged to drag the guns and carriages across the whole forest. I forced on with the advance to Calingoody,² in order to make the necessary arrangements with the people of the Zamorin, who had prepared for the future subsistence of the army. The disposition of the inhabitants towards us, and their means of

¹ Tamarassori.

² Kollengode.

supply, exceeded our most sanguine expectations. The Zamorin's vakeel informed the Brahmans that we were friends to their cause, and eager to deliver them from the yoke of Hyder; that we only wished to receive the public proportion of grain, but none from individuals, and that any person belonging to the camp who should attempt to plunder, would be hanged in front of the lines. On hearing these declarations they testified the strongest satisfaction, and their confidence increased when they found that the first offenders were executed. The rains continued fourteen days without intermission, the passage through the forest became daily more distressful, and the troops were exposed, in their whole progress, without the possibility of pitching tents or of affording them either cover or convenience.

"Calingoody¹ is fifteen miles from Palghautcherry, and the road lies entirely through rice grounds, with intersecting ridges covered with cocoa and other trees; the water and embankments necessary for the cultivation of rice render it difficult for guns to pass and impracticable for cavalry to act. As soon as sufficient force got through the wood, the advance corps moved to the bank of the Ponnani river, within random shot of the works of Palghautcherry. There we took a secure position and prepared to attack the place. My Brahman Hircarrahs² had executed a model of the fort in clay, a work at which they are extremely dexterous, and on all hands we had received accounts of it that appeared exaggerated; but on a near inspection, my admiration of its strength was mingled with serious apprehensions that much time might be wasted on its reduction.

"On the 4th of November the main body of the troops, not including the rear division, arrived at our position on the river, which we crossed next day, and encamped about two miles east from the fort across the great road that leads from Coimbatore. The engineer's stores arrived and a post for them was established, where all the preparations for a siege were collected. As our next object was to circumscribe the besieged and accelerate our approaches, with this view we occupied the pottah, or open town, on the east and north faces of the fort; and on each of these faces we carried forward an attack. During the whole period of our approaches, and in the construction of our trenches, parallels and batteries, the besieged kept a continued fire on our covering and working parties. The battering train and stores, under cover of the 4th brigade, reached our encampment on the 9th, after a succession of toils that would appear incredible if recited in detail.

"Apprehending much delay from the strength of the defences and the obstinacy of the defenders, especially if they should force us to approach by sap to the crest of the glacis, and to proceed from thence by regular gradations across the ditch, we resolved, at a seasonable opportunity, to attempt the gateway. We found

¹ Kollengodo.

² Hircarrahs are people who give intelligence, show roads, etc.

it so strongly flanked and fortified that it appeared almost secure from any attack; however, having no drawbridge, we founded our hopes of accelerating the siege on this circumstance. We did not permit any heavy metal whatever to be fired till the 13th when we opened with twelve guns and four howitzers from two batteries, at four hundred yards' distance from the east and north faces of the fort, and before sunset the defences were so much damaged that the fire of the besieged considerably abated. The fortunate circumstances¹ attending our attack, and the surrender of the place during the night, are explained in my letter of the 15th November.

"On the surrender of Palghautcherry, I appointed Captain Dewar, one of your ablest officers, to command there, and the 19th battalion with a few Europeans and some irregulars to garrison the place. The heir apparent to the Zamorin left his retirement in the woods and remained with me during the siege. In answer to his urgent solicitations that I should restore him to the dominions, of which Hyder had deprived his family, I declared that, in the event of our moving by Calicut, I hoped to effect his re-establishment there; and that, in the meanwhile, he should be reinstated in the territory of Palghaut, an ancient dependency of the Zamorins, requiring only from him that he should furnish grain for the army while in that vicinity, without any other obligation until the termination of the war, or until your Government should make some regular agreement with him. To establish more fully the Zamorin's authority, and to afford him the necessary support in his present situation, a large body of Brahman hircarrahs, who had constantly remained with me in camp, were employed, and proved not only of material service in the business of intelligence, but of material influence in conciliating the Gentoos. Accompanied by them we frequently rode through the adjacent villages, assembled the head people, and assured them of protection."

Finding that the physical difficulties in the way of effecting a junction with General MacLeod's force at Tellicherry with a view to a combined movement against Mysore were insurmountable, Colonel Fullarton still bent on reaching Mysore, turned eastwards, and on 26th November received the surrender of Coimbatore.

Two days later he received instructions, which he at first sensibly disregarded, from the peace plenipotentiaries proceeding to Tippu's camp, to abandon his intentions of aggression against Mysore and to retire within the limits held by the English on the 26th July preceding. But the orders received confirmation from Madras, and Fullarton on 28th December began reluctantly to obey them. Hardly however had he reached Dindigul once more, when the government

¹ "The Honorable Captain (now Sir Thomas) Maitland being on duty in the trenches, had taken advantage of a heavy fall of rain to drive the enemy from the covered way which was not palisaded, and pursuing the fugitives through the first and second gateways, struck such a panic into the garrison so as to cause its immediate surrender." (Wilks' *Historical Sketches*, II. 80.)

of Lord Macartney changed its mind and he was told to stand fast in his possessions.

It was too late, however, the evacuation had been carried out and as Mr. Swartz, the famous missionary, forcibly expressed it, "they had let go the reins and how were they to control the beast!"

Palghaut had been occupied by the Zamorin of Calicut as soon as the British force retired. Fullarton applied for and received four battalions of Travancore sepoys, which he despatched to the place to help the Zamorin to hold it till further assistance could arrive, but before the succour arrived, the Zamorin's force despairing¹ of support had abandoned the place and retired into the mountains. Tippu's forces, thereupon, speedily re-occupied all the south of Malabar as far as the Kota river, at which point a detachment of troops from Tellicherry was stationed to prevent the enemy from encroaching on the Kadattanad country to the north of the river.

Meanwhile, an independent expedition had been planned against Cannanore, "that nest of enemies" as the officer in command, Brigadier-General Norman MacLeod, styled it. The reason for attacking it was that some 300 sepoys on their way from Bombay to join General MacLeod's army had been wrecked on the coast in a storm. Two hundred of them had been detained by Tippu as prisoners, and the rest had similarly been detained by the Bibi of Cannanore. There are very few particulars in the records regarding this expedition, of the reasons for which the factors were not informed until after the place had fallen. General MacLeod arrived at Tellicherry on October 12, 1783, almost simultaneously with the detachment of French troops under Colonel Cossigny, which had taken part in the earlier operations against Mangalore, but which had left Tippu's service on the conclusion of peace between the English and French. On October 20th there arrived the squadron of H.M.'s ships under Sir Richard Bickerton bringing with them from Madras "800 of H.M.'s troops" for General MacLeod's command. More troops came from Bombay shortly afterwards, and by 11th December General MacLeod reported "everything in great forwardness in the siege." And three days later, or on 14th December, the place was carried. The 42nd and 100th regiments and two companies of the Tellicherry grenadiers took part in the operations.

On the 8th of January 1784 the General and the Bibi of Cannanore entered into an agreement² of peace and friendship, stipulating for repossession of all the countries, of which the Bibi stood possessed before the English army entered the country (thereby including³

¹ Fullarton, in his narrative, gives the following curious account of the reasons for abandoning the place:—"The Zamorin and his followers of the Nayar caste are rigid Gentoos and venerate the Brahmans. Tippu's soldiers, therefore, daily exposed the heads of many Brahmans in sight of the fort. It is asserted that the Zamorin, rather than witness such enormities, chose to abandon Palghautocherry."

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. XCII.

³ The reigning Kolattiri prince, while a vassal of Tippu's, had in 1782 joined General Matthew's force. This was the signal for the Cannanore Mappilla family to rise and re-possess itself of the territory which it had held under Hyder Ali from 1766 till 1777.

the greater portion, if not the whole, of the Kolattiri northern dominions), for a war indemnity of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees, for an annual tribute of another lakh, and for the Bibi's protection against the Nayars, retention of the forts by the English, and offer of the pepper crop at a reasonable price.

This engagement was however disavowed subsequently by the Bombay Government as having been concluded without authority, but afterwards it was temporarily confirmed during the armistice with Tippu or until peace should be concluded.

And peace was now near at hand, although it was not a peace of which the English could be proud; for Tippu, already in possession of all the territory which the English held as guarantees of peace excepting Cannanore and Dindigul, was in a position to flout the peace plenipotentiaries, and he on the 11th March 1784 acquiesced eventually in the articles¹ only when he learnt that the English were again preparing in earnest for a further conflict.

In the first article the parties stipulated for peace on behalf of their "allies and friends," among whom the English particularly cited, as theirs, the Rajas of Tanjore and Travancore and the Nabob of the Carnatic, and among those whom Tippu similarly cited were "the Bibi of Cannanore and the Rajas or Zamindars of the Malabar Coast."

The peace plenipotentiaries were not in a position to protect their friends. Warren Hastings pertinently remarked that the proper place for the plenipotentiaries to have arranged terms with Tippu would have been at the head of Colonel Fullarton's force instead of which they went as suppliants to Tippu's camp at Mangalore. The Tellicherry factors addressed them at that place under date the 16th February, begging earnestly that the dominions of the Coorg, Kolattiri, Kottayam and Kadattanad Rajas and of the Iruvalinad Nambiaris might be secured independence, inasmuch as the welfare and trade of the company's settlement, and their China investments, depended upon the degree of independence which might be secured for these chieftains. They pointed out that Coorg had been independent since the close of the siege of Tellicherry, that the company through their conquest of Cannanore were now in a position to reinstate the Kolattiri prince, that the Kottayam² family had never

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XCIII.—Which contains only those articles relating to Malabar affairs.

² The Resident at Tellicherry had in August 1782 submitted to Bombay proposals from Kottayam and Kaddattanad and the Iruvalinad Nambiaris to pay annual tribute to the extent of Rs. 1,00,000, Rs. 50,000, and Rs. 25,000, respectively, in "consideration of the countenance and protection" of the Honorable Company (See *Treaties, etc.*, i. XC).

But the Bombay Government were not yet prepared to undertake such responsibilities, and on the 30th September of the same year the Resident was informed that "we do not think it advisable to enter into engagements for taking them (Malabar powers) under our protection." The country powers had fully realized by this time that the traders could fight as well as trade, and were eager to have their protection as tributaries. The empire of India was being forced on the acceptance of a humble company of foreign traders, whose only object was to buy pepper ginger, cardamoms and piece goods as cheaply as they could.

bowed their necks either to Hyder Ali or to Tippu's rule, had preferred exile in their mountain fastnesses to submission to the conqueror, had in company with Kadattanad rendered "very essential service to the company during the siege of Tellicherry," and had, since January 1782, been in independent possession of their country, and finally that Kadattanad,¹ though a feudatory of Hyder Ali's from 1774, had in 1779 evaded his demand to assist the French at Mahe, had on being driven out in favor of his nephew taken refuge in Tellicherry, rendering also good service to the company during the siege of that place, and had since the raising of it been in independent possession of all his own territory. Tippu was admittedly in possession of South Malabar, but from the Kota river northwards the chiefs and the company were exclusively in possession.

On the 17th March, Messrs. Staunton and Hudleston, two of the plenipotentiaries, arrived by sea at Tellicherry, bringing news of the peace, and of the Malabar chiefs having been included by Tippu among *his* "friends and allies" !!

The fourth article stipulated that Cannanore should be evacuated by the English and restored to the Bibi "as soon as all the prisoners² are released and delivered." On Tippu's inhuman treatment of his prisoners, it is unnecessary to dwell. Beginning with the brave Captain Rumley, he had already poisoned, or destroyed in other ways, all whom he thought from their gallantry or abilities would be dangerous opponents in a future struggle. But he was not without a grievance himself owing to the summary manner in which the fort of Cannanore had been evacuated in April by General MacLeod in express breach of this fourth article. Without waiting to hear of the release of the remaining prisoners, MacLeod in April disbanded his force which included the 42nd and 100th regiments, sending some to the east coast, some to Bombay, and some to garrison Tellicherry, and he himself left Tellicherry on the 27th of that month. There were doubtless reasons—near approach of the monsoon, difficulty in obtaining transports, and difficulty in feeding the force—for evacuating the fort so soon; but these ought to have been set aside in favor of strict adherence to the terms of the treaty. Tippu complained bitterly of this evasion, and, on the 25th May, the

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² 180 officers, 900 soldiers, 1,600 sepoys—British.

Chief at Tellicherry had a letter from him complaining¹ further that the Cannanore fort had been looted of everything, "and the said fort made empty as a jungle, and then your troops went away. By this it is certain that the heart is not clean:—What more is to write!!"

The eighth and ninth articles renewed and confirmed the Honourable Company's trading privileges in Malabar and stipulated for the restoration of the fort and district of Mount Deli and of the Calicut factory.

Among other prisoners taken at the raising of the siege of Tellicherry in 1782, the Kurangoth Nayar, chief of a portion of the petty district of Iruvalinad, lying between the English and French settlements, had ever since remained a prisoner at Tellicherry. When the peace with Tippu above cited was concluded, all the English acquisitions along the coast were relinquished, except this Nayar's territory. He continued to pay tribute to the Honourable Company for some time. The French on receiving² back on 15th August 1785, their settlement of Mahe in pursuance of the treaty of Versailles (3rd September 1783) claimed the Nayar as their ally, not as their dependent. The Nayar appears to have been set free, but in 1787 he was seized by Tippu, who hanged him and in spite of French remonstrances annexed his territory to the Iruvalinad collectorship.

Tippu's affairs were not well managed in Malabar when he recovered possession of it. The exactions of his revenue collectors appear to have driven the people into rebellion. Ravi Varma of the Zamorin's house received in 1784 a jaghire in order to keep him quiet, and even Tippu's Mappilla subjects in Ernad and Walluvanad rebelled. In 1784–85 Tippu unwisely separated the civil from the military authority of the province. The latter was entrusted to Arshad Beg Khan, "a Mussulman of rare talents, humanity and integrity," who had previously, since Hyder Ali's death, been sole governor, and the former was bestowed on Meer Ibrahim. The civil governor broke through all the engagements with the Malabar chieftains, imposed new exactions, and of course rebellions broke out on every hand.

Foreseeing the evil consequences, Arshad Beg Khan, in 1786, tendered his resignation of his post, and asked to be permitted to visit Mecca. And some time afterwards he earnestly requested Tippu to come in person and avert the threatened destruction of his authority in Malabar.

This request was eventually complied with after Tippu had succeeded in making peace with the Mahrattas and the Nizam. It was, on the 4th April 1788, that the factors at Tellicherry heard that Tippu was shortly coming³ to the coast and that a great magazine of rice

¹ It is clear the Tippu expected the guns and stores to be handed over with "the fort and district;" but there is nothing in the article to countenance such an interpretation of its clauses.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. XCIV.

³ As matter of fact, Arshad Beg Khan had told the Resident at Calicut six months previously of Tippu's intended visit, but the fact had been overlooked.

was being laid in at Calicut, and next day they received the "alarming intelligence" of his being actually "this side of the Tamalcherry (Tamarasseri) Ghaut." The Calicut governor was meanwhile engaged with the "Insurgent Moors." The Calicut Resident was at the time at Tellicherry, but he was sent post-haste back to his appointment at Calicut, with instructions to beg for the removal of the embargo laid on articles entering the Tellicherry settlement from the districts lying round it, which appeared to have been in force more or less ever since the treaty of Mangalore, and in spite of the specific terms of that treaty.

Various alarming rumours were current as to what Tippu's intentions were, and the factors set earnestly to work to repair their defences which had fallen considerably into disrepair since the close of the siege; but more re-assuring news came from the Resident directly he reached Calicut. Tippu had only 5,000 men and 100 field pieces and no battering train.

Calicut was not well placed for the operations then in hand, the subjugation of the "rebellious Moors," and shortly after having had an audience with Tippu on 14th April, the Resident sent word that "the Nabob has been twice to Beypore, where on the 12th he began the construction of a strong fort, and it is supposed he intends to transfer the trade of Calicut thither," and next day he reported that the Nabob was to proceed that day to Beypore to select a site "to build his new city."

On April 25th the Resident (Mr. Gribble) had another audience of Tippu, but failed to extract any promise from him in regard to trade. Tippu's formal reply to the factors' letter, with the delivery of which and of the customary present the Resident had been charged, was given into Mr. Gribble's own hands, and Tippu insisted that he himself should convey it to Tellicherry. This very unusual request was complied with. When the reply was opened it was found that Tippu referred the factors to Mr. Gribble for full details of business, and Mr. Gribble had none to give, his conversation with the Nabob having been of the most general character!

On May 3rd, Mr. Gribble was sent back to Calicut with another letter from the Chief, and another audience produced no better results although on this occasion some verbal promises were made. On the 11th it became quite certain that the Nabob was preparing to leave the place and on the 12th the report was—"The Pasha is now in the country lately infested by the rebel Moplas (Mappillas) to the southward of the Beypore river, from whence, it is said, he will proceed to Panany (Ponmani) on his way to Palacatcherry (Palghaut)."

The monsoon was on him before his journey was completed, and he arrogantly said that he would order the clouds to cease discharging their waters till he should have passed but the rains showed no respect to him and his army suffered the greatest hardships on their march.

On the 25th May 1788, the factors at Tellicherry received proposals from the Bibi of Cannanore to take her under their protection ; and her message stated that Tippu had advised her to make up her quarrel with the Kolattiri prince and to pick one with the English.

The reason for this seems to have been that the Kolattiri prince was just then in high favor with Tippu, and had been confirmed in his tenure of his own dominions. The Bibi and her ministers had, on the other hand, desired to be reinstated in the position of Governor of Kolattunad conferred on the Cannanore chieftain by Hyder Ali in 1766, and had been disappointed, and so, for the time being, they leaned to the English alliance.

On May 27th the Kolattiri or Chirakkal¹ prince began to show his zeal for Tippu's cause by demanding a settlement of accounts with the factors, and by asking for an immediate payment of one lakh of rupees, for which purpose he sent one of his ministers with orders to remain at Tellicherry till he was paid that sum. The factors were astonished at the demand since the accounts showed that the prince was over four lakhs in the debt of the Honourable Company. The Chief stopped the minister's "diet money," invariably paid while such officers remained in the Company's settlement, and the minister after some demur departed.

The factors were not long left in doubt as to the next step. The prince had three years previously resumed possession of the district of Randattara, on which the Honourable Company had a mortgage claim to a large amount. The factors and the Bombay Government did not consider it necessary actively to oppose this occupation as the Company's claim was not that of full sovereignty ; but on June 4th, 1788, the factors received information that the Chirakkal prince meant to seize Darnapattanam island, which ever since 1733, had been in the company's undisputed possession. On June 7th accordingly, the prince occupied the island with his troops, and the garrison of Tellicherry being inadequate to defend the island as well as the main settlement, the factors prudently resolved not to oppose the occupation.

¹ The old name of the dynasty, Kolattiri, had by this time become pretty well forgotten, and in the records the prince is invariably styled as of Chirakkal. There had been a split in the family at the time of the Bednur Raja's invasion (1733-40). At that time, the Kolattiri had conferred heirship on "Odeormen of the Palace of Pally" (*Treaties, etc.*, i. XXXVIII), and ever since the princes of this Palli branch of the family had been recognized as having taken the place of the head of the family—Kolattiri. In fact, the Udayamangalam branch had been shut out from the Kolattiri sovereignty (*Conf. Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCX) although, as matter of fact, one of that branch might still have claimed, if he was the eldest male of both branches, the empty title of Kolattiri. The title of Kolattiri thus fell into disuse, and the ruling family (Palli branch) gradually began to be known as that of Chirakkal from the Kovilagam of that name, which was the headquarters of their branch of the family. The Palli branch claimed "such part of the kingdom as had not been dismembered" by the Ikkeri (Bednur) Raja, and as the ruling family they obtained and still enjoy Rs. 23,500 out of Rs. 24,000 mullikana allowance from the British Government. The remaining Rs. 500 is enjoyed by the Udayamangalam branch.

The factors plainly saw that Tippu was the real aggressor¹ in these instances. The monsoon season had just commenced, communication with Bombay was consequently cut off, and the factors wrote urgent letters to Madras and *via* Madras to Calcutta of the dangers threatening.

On the 17th of June, they heard that the Chirakkal prince had met with an honourable and flattering reception from Tippu at Coimbatore and that he had been sent back with orders to molest the English settlement. On the 25th came further news that the prince meant to seize Muicara on the south-east of Tellicherry as his nephew had been appointed by Tippu Governor of Iruvalinad and Kurangoth. There was every prospect, therefore, of the settlement being put at an early date in a state of close seige, as it was from Iruvalinad that supplies of country provisions, etc., were chiefly obtained.

Happily for the factory this latter design was never carried out, for, on his return journey, the Chirakkal prince was suddenly taken ill and died on June 19th at Palghaut, and his brother, who succeeded him, though he still pressed his money claims on the notice of the factors, was not inclined to be aggressively hostile.

Meanwhile the factors were busy looking to the state of their lines. Captain Paul Daser of the Engineers reported, on the 30th June, that the limit lines had been very nearly completed. The weak point still was, as it had been during the siege of 1779-82, the "very open and exposed" portion stretching from Chirakkalkandi round Morakkunnu by the river side which was insufficiently protected by a stockade along the river bank.

Both the Madras and Supreme Governments meanwhile remonstrated with Tippu for his Chirakkal feudatory's unauthorized invasion of the Honourable Company's territory, "in a manner very little short of actual hostilities" as the Madras Government chose to put it. But Tippu put them off with a false representation of the facts pretending that the Honourable Company had merely a mortgage claim to Darmapattanam island, and that the Company was deeply indebted to Chirakkal.

It was, on July 14th, that the next most important item of news reached the factors. They wished to send an express messenger overland with news of their situation to the Anjengo settlement for communication to Madras and Calcutta. Such messages had heretofore been safely entrusted to Brahmans who, from the sanctity of their caste, had hitherto been permitted to come and go without hindrance. *But the factors now learnt that Brahman messengers were no longer safe*; a Brahman selected to convey the message refused to go; and assigned as his reason that there was "a report prevailing that the Nabob had issued orders for all the Brahmans

¹ Indeed Tippu did not disguise the fact, but he chose to impute to the factors that they had taken Darmapattanam island "by force" from his feudatory of Chirakkal, and as he had given back Chirakkal with all its territories to the prince, Darmapattanam island, he wrote, must also be restored to him.

on the coast to be seized and sent up to Seringapatam." And on the 20th confirmation of the fact was received from Calicut, where "200 Brahmans had been seized and confined, made Mussulmen, and forced to eat beef and other things contrary to their caste."

The effect of this on the country powers became speedily apparent, for, on the 27th August, the factors received identical notes from the Kottayam and Kadattanad Rajas saying they could no longer trust Tippu, and beseeching the factors in the most earnest way "to take the Brahmans, the poor, and the whole kingdom under their protection."

But it was not only the Brahmans, who were thus put in a state of terror of forcible conversion, for, in this same month, a Raja of the Kshatriya family of Parappanad, also "Tichera Terupar, a principal Nayar of Nelemboor" and many other persons, who had been carried off to Coimbatore, were circumcised and forced to eat beef.

The Nayars in desperation, under these circumstances, rose on their oppressors in the south, and the Coorgs too joined in. The Mappillas likewise, though in their case, fiscal oppression and intrigues to be presently alluded to must have been the causes, rose in rebellion. The movement was headed by Ravi Varmma of the Zamorin's house, on whom, to quiet him, a jaghire had already been conferred by the Mysoreans. This chieftain, between July and November 1788, took the field, and being victorious¹ made himself master of the open country. He then proceeded to invest Calicut. Tippu, in December, sent down Lally and Mir Asr Ali Khan, who succeeded with 6,000-native troops and 170 Europeans, in driving him away from Calicut, but never quite succeeded in driving him out of the field.

While these operations were in progress no less than 30,000 Brahmans with their families, it is said, fled from the country, assisted by Ravi Varmma, and took refuge in Travancore.

The factors in the interval were left in peace at Tellicherry. No further aggressive movement of the Chirakkal prince took place, and the factory having been reinforced from Bombay after the rains, was strong enough to take the field. On December 23rd, the Chief demanded restitution of Darmapattanam Island within ten days, failing compliance with which, he said, "I shall be under the necessity, conformably to my orders, to resume possession of the said island by force." No heed was taken of this threat, so on the appointed day (January 2nd, 1789) at 7 p.m. a force of one battalion of sepoys with artillery men and two field pieces, was despatched to carry out the orders. Next day the Prince's Nayars quietly yielded up

¹ The Tellicherry merchants living under the Honourable Company's protection, it seems, supplied the insurgents with gunpowder and "shott," and the Governor of Calicut wrote in September an angry remonstrance to the factors regarding this.

possession of the island to the force, and the Chief wrote to the prince to say he was now ready to come to a liberal adjustment of his accounts with him.

So early as October 30th, 1788, the factors heard of Tippu's intention shortly to revisit the coast, and Sir Francis Gordon, *Bart.*, the Company's Resident at Calicut, when reporting on, January 1st, 1789, the arrival of Lally's troops, indicated pretty clearly what Tippu's mission was; for Lally and his coadjutor had already received "orders to surround and extirpate the whole race of Nayars from Cotiote (Kottayam) to Palacatcherry (Palghaut)".

Shortly after this, the Bibi of Cannanore again sought protection from the company and stated positively that Tippu was shortly coming to the coast with the whole of his force. The Bibi was probably at this time playing a deep game. The Mappillas of the coast generally recognised her as their head, and the Mappillas of the south were in open rebellion against Tippu's authority. Her reinstatement in possession of the country of her hereditary enemy, the Chirakkal prince, would doubtless have induced her to quiet the troubles in the south, and as events turned out this appears to have been her object all along. Meanwhile, she again turned to the English alliance.

On the 11th of February, there was a report at Calicut that Tippu had descended into the low country by the Tamarasseri ghaut, and on the 15th he sent a formal request to the factors not to give protection to any Nayars, who might flee to Tellicherry. Next day, Sir Francis Gordon's letter from Calicut stated that Tippu was then at "Anjacuddechaveddy," some four leagues from Calicut on the Tamarasseri road.

Tippu's first object on reaching the coast was to try to reconcile matters with his rebellious subjects. This piece of information came from Sir Francis Gordon at Calicut. But Tippu had already broken with the Nayars, so that it would appear it was his rebellious Mappilla subjects and fellow-religionists whom he wished to reconcile. It is nowhere stated that, to accomplish this object, he found it necessary as a preliminary step to secure the good will of the Bibi of Cannanore, but it is almost certain that this was the reason which impelled him to his next move; for, on February 27th, after leaving a force at Calicut "to surround the woods and seize the heads of this faction," that is, Nayars, he turned his steps northwards.

This move was the signal for a general exodus of the Hindu chiefs in North Malabar. The Fouzdar of Kottayam wrote angrily to the factors, on the 7th of March, to say that both the Kottayam¹

¹ Prior to his retreat to the south, the Kottayam Raja had, in December 1788, extorted from the Coorg Raja, while a refugee in Kottayam pursued by Mysoreans, a grant of Kiggatnad, one of the countries composing Coorg. But when shortly afterwards Kottayam ascended the ghauts to take possession of Kiggatnad, the Coorg Raja turned the tables on him and forced from him a deed relinquishing Wainad as far as Kalpati.

and Kadattanad Rajas and other principal people had taken refuge in Tellicherry. The Chief replied that he had given orders to put out all the people belonging to Tippu's Sirkar, and the Fouzdar was at liberty to come and see if they were there. The fact was, as Tippu afterwards pointed out in a very angry letter to the Chief, that the Rajas had come into Tellicherry and taken boat thence to Travancore, carrying with them, so Tippu alleged, ten lakhs of rupees each. But Tippu was not convinced that they were really gone until, with the Chief's consent, he had on March 10th and 11th, sent an officer and six other persons to search for them in Tellicherry.

It was time for the factors to bestir themselves in looking to their defences, for, on the 12th March, they had authentic information from a spy that the force now at "Cootypore" (Kuttippuram in Kadattanad) within a few hours' march of the settlement consisted of between 20,000 and 30,000 regulars, namely:—

	Mon.	Guns.
Lally's corps	5,000	9 Field pieces.
Mir Kamr-ud-din's corps	10,000	7 do.
Said Guffar's corps	2,000	6 do.
Chelas	2,000	6 do.
Near Nabob's tent	..	18 do.
Totals	19,000	46 do.

Besides some other "Russalas" and a great number of "Camattys and Comattys" irregulars. There were but 400 horse of the "Khaspaga."

It was at Kuttippuram, the head-quarters of the Kadattanad family, that this force surrounded 2,000 Nayars with their families in an old fort which they defended for several days. At last finding it untenable they submitted to Tippu's terms which were "a voluntary¹ profession of the Muhammadan faith, or a forcible conversion with deportation from their native land. The unhappy captives gave a forced assent, and on the next day the rite of circumcision was performed on all the males, every individual of both sexes being compelled to close the ceremony by eating beef."

This achievement was held out as an example to the other detachments of the army.

There was no doubt that Tippu was bent on carrying out to the letter the substance of the proclamation, which, he himself in his autobiography says, he addressed to the people of Malabar. "From² the period of the conquest until this day, during twenty-four years,

¹ Wilks' "Historical Sketches," II. 120.

² Wilks' "Historical Sketches," II. 120.—It appears that circular orders for the conversion of the Hindus were issued to all the different detachments of his troops. The original of one of these orders found in the records of Palghaut fort, after its capture in 1790, ran as follows:—"It directed that every being in the district, without distinction, should be honored with Islam, that the houses of such as fled to avoid that honor should be burned, that they should be traced to their lurking places, and that all means of truth and falsehood, fraud or force, should be employed to effect their universal conversion."—*Ibid.*, II. 132, footnote.

you have been a turbulent and refractory people, and in the wars waged during your rainy season, you have caused numbers of our warriors to taste the draught of martyrdom—Be it so. What is past is past. Hereafter you must proceed in an opposite manner; dwell quietly, and pay your dues like good subjects: and since it is a practice with you for one woman to associate with ten men, and you leave your mothers and sisters unconstrained in their obscene practices, and are thence all born in adultery, and are more shameless in your connexions than the beasts of the field: I hereby require you to forsake these sinful practices, and live like the rest of mankind. And if you are disobedient to these commands, I have made repeated vows to honor the whole of you with Islam and to march all the chief persons to the seat of government.”

The factors at Tellicherry redoubled their efforts to get their lines into a proper state of defence. The length of the lines which had been successfully defended against Sirdar Khan was no less than over 3,000 yards from Mailan Fort to Chirakkalkandi, and 5,500 yards more from the latter place to the Coduvall river mouth, besides upwards of three miles of sea shore. The factors set to work at an inner line of defence stretching from the river north and west of Morakkunnu to the beach at the south end of the bazaar.

But they might have spared themselves the trouble, for Tippu's plans were not yet ready for breaking with the Honourable Company. He was bent on his proselytising mission for the present. On March 22nd the Chirakkal prince, who had been till lately in hostile possession of Darmapattanam Island, and who was still in hostile possession of Randattara, next claimed the protection of the factors, but as the receiving of him would probably have diverted Tippu's whole force against the settlement, and as moreover his recent conduct had been so unfriendly the Chief gave him a stern refusal. Next day however his sister and the rest of the family made their appearance uninvited on Darmapattanam Island. On being told to go they refused both that day and the next. In the following night they appear to have set sail in a boat for Travancore. Tippu made another grievance out of this against the factors; this party was also said by him to have carried off ten lakhs of rupees with them in their flight. Some 10,000 to 15,000 Nayars came with the family to Darmapattanam Island and provoked the angry letter from Tippu to which reference has already been made. The island was crowded with them on the evening of March 26th, but during that night, after their Chief's family had sailed, they most mysteriously disappeared,² and the Commanding Officer of the Island, who had received orders to send them away, found, to his surprise, on the morning of the 27th that they had already gone.

¹ This line was afterwards completed by special orders of Lord Cornwallis.

² *Pakal kutaka raru vitaku* is a saying still current regarding the hardships endured by the Nayars at this time. It was only at night that they could with safety visit their houses; during the day time they had to conceal themselves in the jungles. Another conquering race had appeared on the scene, and there is not the slightest doubt that, but for the intervention of a still stronger foreign race, the Nayars would now be denizens of the jungles like the Kurumbar and other jungle races whom they themselves had supplanted in similar fashion.

There are different accounts of what befel their unhappy prince. Wilks says that he "had been induced by the most sacred promises to pay his personal respects to the sultan, and was for several days treated with considerable distinction, and dismissed with costly presents to his little principality." But after his departure malign influences came into play; he was accused of a secret conspiracy to revenge the cruel indignities committed on his countrymen; two brigades were sent to take him; his attendants prepared to defend themselves; and, in a skirmish, he was killed. The factory diary records that "he was killed in attempting to escape." Another account says he shot himself on finding that escape was hopeless. However that may be, it is certain from Tippu's own account, as well as from the factory diary record, that his body was treated with the greatest indignities by Tippu. He had it dragged by elephants through his camp and it was subsequently hung up on a tree along with seventeen of the followers of the prince who had been captured alive.

On April 18th, the factors requested Tippu to carry out one of the stipulations of the treaty of Mangalore, which had provided for the restitution to the Honourable Company of their fort and district of Mount Deli, whence the settlement used to be supplied with timber and firewood; but Tippu was too incensed with the factors to listen for a moment to such a request. Being furious, he was not unnaturally also illogical, and in his reply of the 21st he accused the Chief (Mr. W. Lewis) of something like a falsehood, and wound up his letter with—"Therefore I believe you are not a good man, but whether good or bad what can I say? I have many lakhs of people like you in my service and so have the company." And he desired that the Chief would not write to him again.

Tippu, when he sent this reply, had again turned his face southwards. But previously to doing so he had visited Cannanore and solemnised the preliminary ceremonies of a marriage between the Bibi's daughter and one of his sons, Abd-ul-khalic.

There can be little doubt that the main object of his visit at this time to North Malabar was to appease the Cannanore chieftainess. Having made friends with the Bibi by handing over¹ to her a portion of the Chirakkal district, as well as by the projected marriage, the trouble from rebellious Mappillas in the south rapidly disappeared, and in the future this turbulent race ranged themselves on the side of Tippu's troops.

On April 22nd Tippu, his mission to the north having been accomplished, quitted the Kottayam territory and was expected at Calicut

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. CLI, CLII.—The Malabar Commissioners subsequently refused to recognize these sanads. As, however, part at least of the grant had been made in consideration of the Ameni, Chitlac, Kiltan, and Kadamat Islands of the Laccadive group having been taken from the Bibi and annexed to Tippu's Cutcherry of Mangalore, the claim to compensation was afterwards recognised, not however as of right, and a deduction was made to the extent of 1,500 pagodas per annum in her annual payments of revenue to the Honourable Company—*Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLXXIII.

on the 27th. Before leaving the neighbourhood of Tellicherry, he drew the cordon of troops round the place still closer and stopped all supplies, even the most trifling, from entering the settlement.

The Bibi still professed friendship for the English, although the factors remarked, on March 10th, that in spite of her professions she had in an unfriendly way sent two of the company's European deserters to Tippu at Calicut. The fact was that her maritime trade was so great that she dared not to oppose the Honourable Company openly for fear of the reprisals, which would certainly have been made at sea. She professed friendship for the Honourable Company, but did all in her power in an underhand way against them.

The final act in the drama was now about to commence. From a state of scarcely veiled hostility against the English at Tellicherry, Tippu rapidly passed into one of active aggression against the Honourable Company and its allies.

The conquest of Travancore had been the goal of Mysorean ambition ever since Hyder Ali's first raid through Malabar.

How that conqueror was stopped by the Dutch from passing into Travancore round the flank of the Travancore lines has already been related.

The Travancore lines again barred Tippu's path, and nothing but the entire subjugation of that country, whither so many of his unhappy "friends and allies" (Mangalore Treaty, Art. I) had fled with their "tens of lakhs of rupees" would satisfy him.

He was anxious to conquer the country without appearing as a principal in the war, for the very good reason that the Travancore Raja had been included in that same article of the Mangalore treaty as one of the special "friends and allies" of the Honourable Company. In 1788 the Zamorin was accordingly induced by a promise of the restoration of a portion of his territory to put forward some rather antiquated claims to suzerainty over Travancore. But being disgusted at the forcible conversions which followed the sultan's advent, he drew back from the arrangement.

In this same year and in the following year (1789) there occurred the combination, which resulted in the complete isolation of the Mysore State. The Nizam took umbrage at the assumption by the Honourable Company of the government of the province of Guntur, to which their reversionary right was, in Lord Cornwallis' opinion, "no longer doubtful," owing to the death of Basalut Jung. And he accordingly sent embassies, both to the English Company and to Tippu, with a view to forming an alliance with either the one or the other, and so protecting his own interests. To Tippu he sent an ambassador bearing a splendid Koran for his acceptance and return of a similar present by Tippu was intended to mean the establishment of "the most sacred and solemn obligations of, friendship and alliance." Tippu had, unfortunately for himself, by his insolent letters to the Nizam in 1784 after the conclusion of peace with the English at Mangalore, shown that he contemplated

the early subjugation of the Nizam himself. And now (May 1789), just after the events above related, when Tippu reached Coimbatore for the rains and found the Nizam's ambassador awaiting his arrival, he, instead of accepting the proffered friendship, had the insolence, as the Nizam viewed it, to propose an intermarriage between the families as a preliminary condition to the acceptance of the Nizam's terms. The Nizam publicly repudiated the counter proposal, and accepted instead the proposals of the English Viceroy as conveyed in his famous letter of July 1st, 1789, the substance of which was that the treaty of 1768 was to be carried into full effect with the aid of the Mahrattas and the Nizam. One of the provisions of that treaty provided for the conquest of Mysore. An English subsidiary force was to be organised and furnished to the Nizam, and Lord Cornwallis, in enumerating the powers against whom the force was *not* to be used, studiously omitted the name of the Mysorean ruler, and as studiously included the name of every other power in the Deccan and the south. The omission of Tippu's name could not be misunderstood, and the sultan, therefore, directly the monsoon season was past, set himself to the conquest of Travancore as the most efficient preparation he could make for the struggle which he now saw was impending.

He had not meanwhile been inactive in his preparations for the subjugation of Travancore, but he made the mistake of thinking that it was easy of accomplishment. He had about June-August, 1788, minutely investigated the routes leading into Travancore both from the north by way of the coast, and from the east by way of the Cumbum valley and the pass of Gudalur. The Travancore Raja fearing a simultaneous attack from both directions, had communicated with the Madras Government, and Sir A. Campbell, the Governor, had intimated to Tippu that aggression against Travancore would be viewed as equivalent to a declaration of war against the English. Tippu's plans were not sufficiently matured at the time, and he merely replied that the interposition between him and Travancore of the dependent Cochin State prevented the possibility of a collision.

About the same time, June-September 1788, he further proceeded to moot to the Dutch at Cochin Hyder Ali's old policy of forming an offensive and defensive alliance with them, but his intentions were suspected, and nothing came of it. Nor was he more successful some time later (in 1789) in his offer to buy from the Dutch the fort of Cochin, together with the forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta, which flanked the defence of the Travancore lines.

Instead of selling their possessions to Tippu, the Dutch consulted with Travancore on the best means either of stopping the Mysoreans, or of committing the English as parties in the impending struggle. And as the best means to this end, a sale which had been talked of for the previous two years was carried into effect on the 31st July 1789.

On that date "the Illustrious and Mighty Netherland's East India Company" sold¹ to "the Illustrious and Mighty King of Travancore, Wanjie Walla Martanda Rama Warmer" "the fort of Cranganore and the outpost of Ayacotta with the plantations and fields belonging thereto" also the cannon and "thereto belonging ammunition" and gunpowder, for the sum of Surat silver Rs. 50,000 ready money and a further sum of Rs. 2,50,000 to be adjusted afterwards or three lakhs of rupees in all. The chief exceptions made in the conveyance of all the Dutch possessions in that quarter were in respect to "the Lepers' house at Palliport with its adjoining buildings, gardens, and other grounds belonging thereto," which were to remain in the "company's full and free possessions," and in respect to "the Roman churches at Cranganore and Ayacotta," the Christians of which were "to remain vassals of the company" and were "not to be burthened with any new taxes."

On November 13th, 1789, Lord Cornwallis issued clear and explicit instructions to the Madras Government in regard to the attitude to be assumed in regard to the above transaction, as soon as it became known that Tippu had put forward a claim of sovereignty on behalf of his Vassal Cochin to the places thus sold by the Dutch. If they had belonged to the Raja of Cochin subsequently to his becoming tributary to Mysore, the Raja of Travancore was to be compelled to restore them to their former possessor. If not, then the Travancore possession of the places was to be supported. If Tippu had actually taken possession of the places he was not to be forcibly dispossessed of them without the sanction of the Supreme Government, unless he had also attacked the other territories of Travancore; but if such attack had occurred, then the Madras Government was positively ordered to deem it as an act of hostility to be followed up vigorously by war.

These instructions, instead of being obeyed by the Government of Mr. Holland, were animadverted on and disregarded to such an extent that Lord Cornwallis accused them subsequently of "a most criminal disobedience of the clear and explicit orders of this Government, dated the 29th of August and 13th of November, by not considering themselves to be at war with Tippu, from the moment that they heard of his attack" on the Travancore lines.

It was not till October 1789 that Tippu left his monsoon quarters at Coimbatore; and the first intelligence of his being on the move reached the Tellicherry factors on the 6th November from Mr. Powney, the Honourable Company's Resident in Travancore. He reported that Tippu, with his army,² had reached Palghat, that it was supposed that he meant first to take Tellicherry, and then proceed against the south; but the Resident himself anticipated that the south, that is, Travancore, would be his first object

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. CLVII.

Regular infantry	20,000	Horse	5,000
Spearmen and match-lock men.	10,000	Field guns	20

of attack. Some design was certainly on foot as provisions, ammunition, etc., were being sent about the country.

The factors' first care on receipt of this news was to prosecute vigorously the construction of their inner line of defence, cutting off the Morakkunnu, Chirakkalkandi, Tiruvengad temple, and Mailan redoubts for the purpose of enabling the garrison to concentrate, if necessary, in the Tellicherry fort itself, and in the comparatively short line of defence extending from the end of the main bazaar to the Koduvalli river along the line of paddy fields, and thence along the river bank to its mouth. This scheme of Captain Paul Daser, Engineer, had received the sanction of Lord Cornwallis, and the importance of the Tellicherry settlement as affording a secure point of attack against the Mysorean dominions was at this time fully recognised, and as the sequel will show its advantages were fully utilized in the operations which followed.

Tippu, it seems, was still inclined not to appear as a principal in the attack on Travancore. During the monsoon months, before setting his army in motion, he had sent a message to his tributary, the Cochin Raja, to proceed to his camp at Coimbatore. It is understood that Tippu really wished to avail himself of the Cochin Raja's name and services in his attack of Travancore. The Raja, however, having the fear of forcible conversion to Islam before his eyes, replied that he paid his tribute regularly, and that he had already paid¹ a visit to his suzerain. Tippu on receiving this message temporised, and sent an envoy to the Raja accepting his apology for not complying with the request, desiring that the Raja's son or a minister might be sent, and he would not detain him two days, and stating that he wished the Raja to arrange for him with the Dutch for the purchase of their Cochin fort. A second refusal on the part of the Raja roused Tippu's wrath, and he is reported to have said that "if they did not attend his summons, he would come and fetch them by force."

The Travancore lines were constructed originally, as has been already stated, on the territory conquered for the Travancore State by the enterprising Flemish General D'Lanoy. In the negotiations² which succeeded the conquest, the Cochin Raja was left in possession of the territory immediately surrounding and attached to his two palaces of Tiruppunattara and Mattancheri both in the immediate neighbourhood of Cochin. But between this territory and the Raja's other dominions *not* conquered by D'Lanoy, there extended, and there still extends, to the east of the backwater a wide belt of Travancore territory, near the northern limit of which the famous Travancore lines were constructed with their left resting on the backwater opposite Cranganore, and their right extending right up into the jungly hills, a distance of close upon 20 miles.

Tippu's tributary Cochin State, therefore, lay partly to the north and partly to the south of the lines, and it was with no small show

¹ This was on May 26th, 1788, at Palghat.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. CXXIV, CXXV.

of reason that Tippu now demanded a passage through the lines to his own tributary territory lying round the Dutch town of Cochin.

On the 30th December, the Tellicherry factors were at last apprised, as a certainty, that Tippu's armament was not in the first instance to be launched at them. Mr. Powney's letter of the 20th reached them on that date and conveyed the news that Tippu had formally demanded of the Travancore Raja.

That his troops holding the recently acquired fort of Cranganore should be withdrawn.

That the Malabar Rajas, Tippu's "friends and allies" of the Mangalore treaty, should be surrendered.

And that the Travancore lines should be demolished.

And it was formally intimated that, if these demands were not complied with, Tippu's force would come against Travancore.

To these demands the Travancore Raja made answer that he acted under English advice, and that he would be guided by that advice in this case. As regards the lines, he further asserted, what was the fact, that they had been in existence long before Cochin became tributary to Mysore.

In reply to this, Tippu, on the 24th December, sent another embassy with two caparisoned elephants, ostensibly meant for the conveyance to his presence of the two Rajas, Cochin and Travancore. The latter viewed this as a gross insult, but Tippu's rocket-men and scouts, who came up to within musket-shot of the walls for the purpose of inviting an attack, were nevertheless unmolested. The main body of the force was then some 10 miles distant, but the vanguard was camped within 2 or 3 miles of the lines.

On the 5th January 1790, Mr. Powney followed up the above intelligence with the exciting news that the lines had been attacked and that the attack had been repulsed. His account, written from Parour, on the 1st, ran as follows:—

"Tippu has met with a repulse from the Raja's troops. He breached¹ a weak part of the lines and filled the ditch with bales of cotton² and earth for his cavalry to enter. He made the attack with 7,000 men. They carried it and possessed the lines for 3 miles in extent, but reinforcements of the Raja's troops coming from the right and left, the enemy were hemmed in between two fires, and were drove out with great slaughter. Near a thousand were left dead within the lines, some horses and prisoners were taken. Zemaul Beg, commander of a cussoom, was killed, likewise another person of consequence; it is said to be a son of the late Meer Saib. The enemy, as soon as he fell, cut off his head and carried it with them. About 200 of the Raja's people were killed and wounded.

¹ The attack was made on a part of the lines close to the hills, and a thick jungle running close to it allowed him to bring his men to the attack almost as soon as they were discovered. The battery was soon carried. From a subsequent letter, dated the 6th January.

² The use of bales of cotton for this purpose is contradicted by other accounts,

By all accounts they behaved very gallantly. A Brahman of some consequence is among the prisoners; he says that Tippu¹ was at the attack, and had a horse shot under him. We apprehend he is meditating some grand attack. Report says he has crossed the Chitwa river and is advancing along the sea-side with the intentions of attacking Cranganore and Ayacotta. I think we shall be prepared for him at these places. He has certainly drawn off his army from the lines."

Tippu had counted on securing an easy victory, and had made his preparations accordingly, and the above result made him determine that his preparations should be adequate on the next occasion. He sent to Seringapatam and Bangalore for battering guns and recalled a detachment from Coorg and the troops employed in Malabar in hunting down the Hindus and making forcible converts of them. He withdrew his force to a distance of only 4 miles from the lines and there awaited his reinforcements.

The news of this attack decided Lord Cornwallis to prosecute the war with vigour and on the 4th March the Tellicherry factors heard that the Nizam and the Mahrattas were to join the English in their onslaught on Mysore, and that Lord Cornwallis was coming in person to conduct the operations.

Mr. Robert Taylor had, on 25th December 1789, relieved Mr. Lewis, as Chief of the Tellicherry factory, and on the 9th of the following month of March instructions came from Bombay that he and the other members of the Tellicherry factory were to take an oath of secrecy for the conduct of the warlike operations then imminent. And among the first affairs, to which after taking this oath they were directed to turn their attention, was the holding out of hopes to Tippu's "friends and allies" the Malabar Rajas, that they would not be deserted in the event of the Honourable Company coming to an open rupture with Tippu. Accordingly, on the 20th of the same month, "general assurances of protection" were issued by the factors. On the 24th Mr. Powney was requested secretly to send up from Travancore, where he had taken refuge, the Raja of Kadattanad, and an armed vessel was despatched thither for his conveyance. On the 28th, the ministers of the Kottayam and Chirakkal Rajas received hints that they might expect protection. On April 6th, Lord Cornwallis' despatch, promising to confirm any "reasonable promises" the Chief might make to the Rajas, was received. And on April 9th, the factors finally received intelligence from the Madras Government, through Mr. Powney, that "the sword was drawn" and that the chief was at liberty to hold out hopes to the country powers that they would in any future treaty with Tippu be "rendered independent" of their "friend and ally." Accordingly on the 25th April, on the occasion of a force under Major Dow proceeding from Tellicherry to clear the neighbourhood

¹ Another account says that in the confusion of re-crossing the ditch in front of the lines 16 feet wide and 20 feet deep, the Sultan escaped with great difficulty and chiefly by the exertions of some Chelas, and the injuries he received on this occasion made him lame for life.

of Tippu's garrisons and patrols, which had for so long put the settlement in a state of virtual siege on the landward side, Mr. Taylor issued a proclamation¹ to all the inhabitants guaranteeing to all who joined the Honourable Company's forces that they would be protected and included "as allies of the Honourable Company in any future treaty they may enter into with the Nabob," and warning those who would not join that they would be considered "as enemies of the Honourable Company and acted against accordingly." The Hindu chieftains very readily accepted the terms, and on the 4th of May Mr. Taylor under his hand and the seal of the Honourable Company assured² the Chirakkal Raja, who is styled as "Revivarma, king of the house of Palliculam of the kingdom of Colastri," that if he entered heartily into the war against Tippu and fulfilled his contracts for supplies granted to him, he would in any future treaty with that prince "be included and considered as an ally of the Honourable Company." And the same terms were offered to, and accepted shortly after this by, both the Kottayam and Kadattanad Rajas. On the 9th of May Lord Cornwallis' second despatch of 8th April was received, promising on similar conditions as above that the Honourable Company would do their utmost "to render them (Malabar chieftains) in future entirely independent of Tippu, and at the conclusion of a peace to retain them upon reasonable terms under the protection of the company." Again on the 1st of June Lord Cornwallis wrote that, subject to the same conditions, "we will do our utmost to force that prince (Tippu) to relinquish his claim of sovereignty over them at the conclusion of a peace." And finally in a letter written by Lord Cornwallis to the Bombay Government, on the 31st May, he promised on the same conditions "to force that prince (Tippu) to relinquish all future claims upon their (Malabar chiefs') allegiance, and to agree to their becoming the subjects and dependents of the Honourable Company. To which we shall add that, in order to secure a willing obedience from the Malabar chiefs, we should be contented with their paying a very moderate tribute, provided they will give the company advantageous privileges for carrying on a commerce in the valuable possession of their country."

It is necessary to be thus particular in regard to the terms offered and accepted, for the intentions of the Honourable Company in coming to the above agreements with the North Malabar chiefs were afterwards much discussed.

Meanwhile in the south matters had gradually been coming to a crisis. On the 2nd and 8th March, Mr. Powney reported a skirmish having taken place in front of the lines, and that Tippu after opening fire from his batteries with only a few guns had discontinued the cannonade—for what reason it was impossible to say or even to guess. On March 14th, the Madras troops (two battalions) marched into the lines to help the defenders. On the 22nd March the factors heard from Mr. Powney that Tippu's approaches were within 100 yards of

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. CLVIII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. XCV.

the ditch in front of the lines, but still the assault was delayed ; and on the 25th that the approaches were 50 yards closer ; and that assaulting batteries then ready covered a distance of from 1 to 1½ miles in extent. On April 2nd he again wrote that the enemy had made regular approaches within a few yards of the counterscarp of the ditches and added " I am afraid the lines must be carried." A week later the approaches were reported to be within a few feet of the ditch, and on the 18th Mr. Powney wrote that the approaches were then through the ditch, and probably under the wall, twenty feet of which had been knocked down by the batteries and had been rapidly filled up again by the defenders.

The first overt act of the war by the Honourable Company on the west coast was the taking, on the 28th March, by Captain Byron of H.M.'s frigate *Phœnix*¹ of an armed grab with Tippu's " commodore of the fighting craft " on board. The grab mistook its adversary ; she was found with her guns loaded with canister and shot, matches burning, and each sepoy with 30 rounds of ball in his pouch. " I am persuaded," Captain Byron wrote, " they intended to take me, so I thought it proper to take him."

On the 31st March, Tellicherry received a reinforcement of another battalion of sepoys, besides 60 Europeans and 10 gunners for its defence during the approaching monsoon.

But a few days later news came that a larger force consisting of H.M.'s 75th Regiment, two battalions of sepoys, and one company of artillery was on its way down the coast under command of Colonel Hartley, with orders to co-operate with Travancore against the enemy.

It was extremely doubtful if they could arrive in time to be of service in defending the Travancore lines, for the approaches had already been reported as within a few feet of the ditch. And Mr. Powney, who had been informed of its coming, was very desirous that it should arrive before Tippu's force had crossed the Cranganore river. He requested that it should be ordered to proceed to Alikkotta (Ayacotta on Vypeen Island) as rapidly as possible. On the 20th April it reached Tellicherry, and on the 22nd it again sailed southwards.

¹ Later on in the war this frigate took part in a curious episode, which is fully described by Major Dirom. While Commodore Cornwallis was anchored with his fleet at Tellicherry at a time when Tippu was known to be expecting supplies from France, a French frigate of 36 guns, *La Résolu*, came out of the Maha roads with two merchantmen in convoy. The commodore thereupon despatched the *Phœnix* and *Perseverance* frigates, each mounting 36 guns and commanded by Captains Sir Richard Strachan and Smith to chase and bring to the merchantmen and overhaul their cargoes. A gun was fired to bring to the merchantmen, and an officer from the *Phœnix* was sent on board *La Résolu* to acquaint the French captain with the commodore's orders. As the officer was returning, *La Résolu* poured two broadsides into the *Phœnix*. Sir Richard thereupon manoeuvred his ship and raked the Frenchman. The *Perseverance* joined in and in half an hour the French vessel struck her colors. The *Phœnix* lost 7 men and *La Résolu* 21 killed and 44 wounded, including her captain, who said he acted under the orders of his commodore, who had sworn he would fight the English commodore wherever he met him. The merchantmen did not after all contain any goods contraband of war, and the French and English nations were at peace at the time !

It arrived too late, however, to be of service in saving the lines, for off Beypore Colonel Hartley was met by news from Mr. Powney that the long-impending stroke had fallen and that the lines had been taken by the enemy. Writing from Alikkotta on the 15th Mr. Powney reported: "The enemy all last night kept up a heavy cannonade, and this morning at daybreak stormed. It is said that 6,000 of Tippu's dismounted horsemen made the assault. Some of the Raja's troops withstood them for some time, but some Poligars giving way caused a general flight. In short the enemy are in possession of the lines; the Company's battalions this day have been covering the retreat of the Raja's troops across the Cranganore river, after which they are to take post at Ayacotta" (Alikkotta). The Travancore commander had arranged that the Raja's force should re-assemble upon the Vypeen Island, but the extreme consternation caused by the loss of their vaunted lines had upset this arrangement, and the whole of the force had dispersed for refuge into the jungles or had retreated to the south. "We are in that confusion that I scarce know what to recommend respecting the detachment" (Colonel Hartley's force). The consternation of the Raja's people was so great that they could not be trusted to procure supplies. The whole of the inhabitants, including the boat people, had gone off with their boats which had been collected for conveyance of Colonel Hartley's detachment, so that the principal means of transport were also wanting.

Colonel Hartley nevertheless determined to push on and take post at Alikkotta. The news of his force being on its way had greatly quieted the inhabitants, and "the consternation which had seized all ranks of the people" had considerably abated when Mr. Powney again wrote on the 20th and 22nd of April urging strongly that Colonel Hartley should push on to Alikkotta with his force to restore confidence. The Raja's forces encouraged by these hopes of assistance were beginning to return, and Mr. Powney had been able to lay in a large stock of grain.

Colonel Hartley duly arrived and joined Mr. Powney at Alikkotta, and after this junction had been effected, the Travancore troops were on May 8th withdrawn by Colonel Hartley's orders from the Cranganore fort, which was no longer of use when the Travancore lines had been forced. It was, however, dismantled before being thus thrown open to Tippu.

With the combined Bombay and Madras troops, consisting of one European and four native battalions placed at Alikkotta in such an advantageous position on his flank, it was clear that Tippu could not dare to make any considerable forward movement into Travancore territory.

He accordingly busied himself in demolishing the famous lines. "The whole army" off duty was regularly paraded without arms, and marched in divisions to the appointed stations; the Sultan, placed on an eminence, set the example of striking the first stroke

¹ Wilks' "*Historical Sketches*," II, p. 154.

with a pickaxe ; the ceremony was repeated by the courtiers and chiefs, the followers of every description, bankers, money-changers, shopkeepers, and the mixed crowd of followers were all ordered to assist the soldiers." And some considerable breaches were made in the wall.

After this exploit, and without penetrating farther to the south than Verapoly, the headquarters of the Carmelite mission, Tippu, on the 24th May 1790, turned again towards the north with a view to avoid the monsoon and to re-equip his army for the storm already gathering in his rear. General Medows, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras, assumed command of the army at Tiruchirappalli on that same day and made his first march northwards from Tiruchirappalli on May 26th.

It was thus that Tippu left Malabar, destined never to enter it again.

Fra Bartolomæo,¹ who was on the coast for some time before Tippu thus left it, gives a graphic account of his doings. In all his expeditions Tippu thus arranged his force—First, a corps of "30,000 barbarians," who butchered everybody "who came in their way;" next, Lally with the guns; then, Tippu himself riding on an elephant, and finally another corps of 30,000 men. His treatment of the people was brutal in the extreme. At Calicut he hanged the mothers, "and then suspended the children from their necks." Naked Christians and Hindus were dragged to pieces tied to the feet of elephants. All churches and temples were destroyed. Christian and pagan women were forcibly married to Muhammadans. His information was obtained from Christian and heathen refugees fleeing before the face of the "merciless tyrant," and while being helped by the author to cross the Verapoly river—Verapoly itself (the farthest point to the southward reached by Tippu's force)—was visited by a "few marauders" from the Mysorean army shortly after Fra Bartolomæo left it. They "converted our church, our seminary, and our convent into real dens of thieves. They plundered and destroyed whatever they could lay their hands on, for it had been almost impossible for us to remove anything out of the way."

The Tellicherry factors had meanwhile bestirred themselves to clear the country about that settlement of Tippu's posts and patrols, by which they had been placed in a state of siege for many months previously. Ten days after the Travancore lines had been forced in the manner above narrated, and before the news of that event had reached the factory, Major Alexander Dow, the Officer Commanding the Tellicherry garrison, moved out of his entrenchments on the 25th of April with a force consisting of 3 battalions of sepoy, 3 companies of Europeans, and 4 field pieces with their complement of gunners. As auxiliary forces he had also with him 1,500 Kottayam Nayers under "one of the princes" of Kottayam, and 1,300 Chirakkal Nayers under "one of the Chirakkal family." With this

¹ "*Voyage to E. Indies*"—Forster's Translation, London, 1800, pp. 141-42.

force he attacked a stockaded encampment of the enemy at Katirur, some four miles from Tellicherry. His force took the encampment easily but a stockaded house, probably the Kottayam Raja's palace at that place, held out against his assaults. His guns were not heavy enough to force an entrance, and he had to send back an officer to bring up an 18-pounder gun from Tellicherry. Before, however, this gun was despatched, the enemy had on the 26th surrendered their position.

While Major Dow was thus engaged on the east, Captain Murray, with some parties of the 6th battalion of sepoy, cleared the Kuran-goth country and some small forts on the south of the settlement.

In these operations, 500 prisoners were taken including 8 killadars, and the British loss was "two sepoy killed, a very few wounded, and Lieutenant Lamb slightly in the shoulders." Two guns were also captured.

The Kadattanad Raja arrived from Travancore in the *Shark* gallivat, which brought the news of the fall of the Travancore lines, and setting out for his country he was able, in this same month of April, to clear it of the enemy who appear to have evacuated all their forts and retreated southwards. Kottayam too was busy, and in May he took the Kuttiyadi fort, mounting 4 guns, and some other places later on.

The east and south of the Tellicherry settlement being thus in a fair way of being cleared of the enemy, attention was next directed to the north, and in particular to the Honourable Company's mortgaged district of Randattara. On the 28th of April, Major Dow with his force endeavoured to cut off Tipu's garrison in a fort erected at Agaar. But some Cannanore Mappillas gave information of his movements to the garrison who evacuated their post and retreated before Major Dow's force into the shelter of the posts defending the Bibi's town of Cannanore. On coming within range of the Carley fort, the guns opened fire on the British troops, and Major Dow in consequence drew off his force.

The Bibi's attitude at this time to the British was very unsatisfactory and enigmatical. Ever since Tipu's visit to Cannanore in the preceding year, she had ostensibly lent to an alliance with the British, but had in reality secretly worked against them. The proclamation warning the country powers that those, who did not join the British, would be treated as enemies was in great measure disregarded. The factors now thought it high time to act, so on the 27th April one of the Bibi's vessels was seized, but still she hung back. The bearer of a letter to her from Mr. Taylor was turned back. Major Dow's force was fired upon, as already stated, on the 28th, and on the 3rd of May the *Drake*, an armed vessel of the company's, stood in towards Cannanore to test the depth of water for a naval attack and drew on herself the fire of the fort on the south-east of the bay; one shot struck her and carried away a main topmast backstay.

But the force at the settlement was not strong enough to deal effectually with her. The safety of the Tellicherry settlement had been very strongly impressed on the factors, both by the Bengal and Bombay Governments, as a matter of supreme importance at the then juncture in affairs, and Major Dew's instructions were not to proceed beyond 24 hours' distance of the place. The factors accordingly ordered him back to head-quarters as soon as it was seen that the Bibi meant to resist, and the posts captured by him were made over to the country powers to protect.

But Chirakkal could not proceed to his dominions, as 8,000, it was said, of Tippu's troops were still in and about Cannanore. The factors had to give him leave to remain with 200 of his men in Tellicherry during the monsoon, for, he said, it would be a disgrace to him if he were to return to his districts and remain in hiding in the jungles as he had done before. Moreover he could not now count on maintaining himself in the jungles in the manner he had done before, namely "by plundering and making occasional depredations."

It was also now becoming ovident to the factors that causes of discord between Hindu and Mappilla were likely to cause the latter to favour Tippu rather than the British, because they were afraid of letting the "Malabars" have "authority over them" after what had happened, and particularly after the forcible conversion to Islam of so many Hindus, and after the fearful retribution which had been wreaked by the Hindus in many places on their oppressors, when the tide of victory turned in favour of the English. On the 28th of June, the Chief reported to Bombay that the Bibi was still holding aloof from an alliance with the Company, and that the reduction of Cannanore was necessary.

Meanwhile, however, events to the east of the ghauts had shown that the British were likely to carry matters all their own way. On July 24th, news of the taking of Karur by General Medows on the 15th June arrived, and with it also came information of the triple alliance between the Mahrattas, the Nizam and the English having been ratified. And on August 6th, a letter from General Medows arrived stating that he was at Coimbatore, that nearly all the south of Tippu's dominions was in his hands almost without the loss of a man, and that the enemy had retired up the ghauts into Mysore.

It was now high time for the Bibi to declare herself, and two days later (8th August), she accordingly signed "the preliminaries" to a future treaty of firm alliance and friendship¹ with the Honourable Company. It was done, however, under the strictest secrecy; two officers (Lieutenants Lewis and Munro) proceeded to Cannanore by sea at night, landed secretly there and obtained the Bibi's signature to it. The terms were that she was "whenever called upon" to admit the company's troops to garrison the fortress of Cannanore and to give as hostages for such performance the

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XCVI.

husband of her eldest daughter, and one of her ministers. On these and other conditions, which it is unnecessary to detail, as they were never carried out, the Bibi was to be considered as an ally of the Honourable Company "in the same manner as the other Malabar princes, their allies."

Ten days later Mr. Powney reported that the Raja of Cochin had thrown off allegiance to Tippu, and had joined¹ the British.

And on 27th September 1790, General Medows, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras, entered at Coimbatore into an agreement² with "Kishen, Zamorin Raja of Calicut," investing him with the sole management of all the countries heretofore included in the province of Calicut, which are or may be conquered by the British troops." Palghaut fort and district and certain adjacent districts had just then been taken after a short siege of this fort by the same officer, Colonel Stuart, who, on proceeding with an advanced force of General Medow's army to invest and summon the place in the July preceding, had been driven back by the violence of the south-west monsoon. Wikls³ gives the following account of his second and successful attempt to take the place :—

"After retracing his steps to Coimbatore, this officer was, without joining head-quarters, ordered, with augmented means, to proceed to Palghaut. Officers who had served in the siege of 1783 spoke in high terms of the strength of the works, as being composed of long blocks of granite, so built as to present the end instead of the side to the shot, and thus resisting the ordinary means of effecting a breach; the ordnance was therefore prepared on a respectable scale and placed under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Moorhouse, an officer of distinguished reputation. The preparations were made with corresponding care, and at daylight, on the 21st September, two batteries opened at distances under 500 yards, one for enfilade and the other for breaching; the latter, consisting of eight 18-pounders, dismounted at their first discharge six of the guns opposed to them. In less than two hours the fort was silenced and before night a practicable breach was effected. The opinion above stated appears to have arisen from attempting a breach in a circular tower, and the reflection of shot from indirect incidence was ascribed to direct resistance. In the present instance, the breach was made in the curtain, and the error was practically discovered. Among the recent improvements was the completion of the ditch across that causeway which led the assailants of 1783 to the gate; but although the covered way had been improved, it was still without palisades, and in a considerable extent immediately opposite to the breach, the glacis was so imperfectly finished

¹ The formal treaty with this Raja was not, however, signed for some months, 6th January 1791—See *Treaties, etc.*, i. Cl. But he had previously to this entered into an agreement with Mr. Powney for the lease of the Island of Chetwai, which was cleared of the onomy by Colonel Hartley in the September preceding—See *Treaties, etc.*, i. XCIX etc.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. XCVII.—This "Kishen Raja" was in reality not the Zamorin at all, but only the second of the house.

³ *Historical Sketches*, II, pp. 163-64.

as to leave cover immediately under its crest : of these defects the proper advantage was taken the same night. On reconnoitring the covered way, it was found that the besieged retired every night into the body of the place, drawing after them a rude wooden bridge, which was replaced every morning. The defective spot was immediately seized : a circular place of arms, in a salient angle of the covered way, was next occupied, and its defences reversed ; the musketry from the crest of the glacis opposed that of the fort, the gate of the sortie was converted into a battery for two 18-pounders, light mortars were brought up to the position first seized and were served with decisive effect ; the ditch, however, was still to be filled : the advanced position must on the ensuing day have remained insulated until it could be connected in the usual manner with the trenches ; but all these labours were rendered unnecessary by the impression produced on the garrison, who before daylight called out that they desired to capitulate. The terms were soon adjusted in conversation across the ditch, and soon after daylight the rude bridge was launched, which enabled the besiegers to occupy the place, which was found to mount sixty guns of various calibres. The chief condition of surrender was effective protection against the Nayars, who had joined Colonel Stuart and were employed in the blockade ; but on the fire of the place being silenced, crowded the trenches and batteries, anxious for sanguinary retaliation, which it required very exact arrangements to prevent.

"Colonel Stuart arrived before Palghaut, with two day's provisions, and without a shilling in his military chest ; the sympathy which he evinced for the sufferings of the Nayars and the rigid enforcement of a protecting discipline had caused his bazaar to assume the appearance of a provincial granary : the fort was ill-stored, but after depositing six months' provisions for the garrison appointed for its defence, he carried back to his Commander-in-Chief one month's grain for his whole army : the confidence which his conduct inspired in this short intercourse having enabled him to pay for these supplies with written acknowledgments convertible into cash at the conclusion of the war."

✓ All the Malabar Chieftains¹ had thus declared for the British.

Colonel Hartley had, in September, moved up the coast from Alikkotta, and after clearing the Island of Chetwai² of the enemy, he took, on 26th September, the enemy's fortified post at Chavakkad mounting 15 guns, and fifty prisoners were captured at the same time. Proceeding onwards to Ponnani, he then turned his face eastwards clearing all the country to the south of the Ponnani river, and by the 9th October he had reached Palghaut already

¹ The Coorg Raja too joined the confederacy on 26th October 1790—*Treaties, etc.*, i. XCVIII.—An easy and safe passage through friendly territory was thus secured for an army advancing from Tellicherry as the base through Kottayam and Coorg against Seringapatam. This treaty with Coorg completed Mr. Taylor's able political preparations for the struggle just commencing.

² Leased by Mr. Powney to the Cochin Raja for one year on 26th November 1790 for an annual payment of Rs. 40,000.

taken by Colonel Stuart. And there he remained till about the 20th November.

Meanwhile affairs to the east of the ghauts had not been prospering with General Medows. Colonel Floyd's detachment sent out to forage at the foot of the Hassanur hills beat a hasty retreat in September before a large force brought down the Gajalbatti pass by Tippu in person, and it narrowly escaped annihilation before effecting a junction with General Medow's own force. The Mysorean army was better equipped and General Medows never succeeded in coming up with it. Tippu threatened Coimbatore, which was opportunely strengthened by Colonel Hartley, who despatched three Madras battalions to defend it. Tippu, however, managed to take Darapuram from the weak garrison left there by General Medows.

In August the Bombay Government had despatched Major Auchmuty to Tellicherry with a commission to act in concert with Colonel Hartley and Mr. Taylor, and with orders to keep ready at Tellicherry for field service a force consisting of one company of artillery and lascars, three companies of the Bombay European regiment, and the 2nd, 3rd and 10th battalions of sepoy, all under the command of Major Dow for co-operation with Colonel Hartley.

This force was kept in readiness to move at a moment's notice, but in the meantime the Cannanore Bibi's attitude again excited suspicion.

In August the Chief had reason to think she was really endeavouring to get rid of Tippu's force which still lay at Cannanore, and to facilitate her endeavours and give her confidence a small party of men from Tellicherry was sent, under protest from the French at Mahe, to guard the passage across the Mahe river so as to prevent Tippu's force in the south from communicating with that lying in and about Cannanore.

On September 24th, Mr. Taylor found it necessary to take another step, for the misunderstanding between Hindu and Mappilla was becoming very apparent, and the Chief to quiet the fears of the latter, had to issue a proclamation that he would secure both parties on their ancient footing.

About October 14th, the Bibi complied so far with the terms of her engagement that she sent away Tippu's troops from the place, and Randattara accordingly once more passed into the hands of the Company. No further progress, however, was made in carrying out the agreement, and in order to force her to declare herself, Mr. Taylor on 17th October despatched a battalion to take possession of the Cannanore fort. Admission was refused and the battalion thereupon took post at Agarr in order to protect Randattara. On the 19th an evasive reply was received from the Bibi, and on the 21st Mr. Taylor heard that Tippu's force of about 8,000 men, which had gone only a short distance north, had again returned to Cannanore.

There was now no uncertainty about the fact that the Bibi meant to side with Tippu and oppose the Honourable Company. Mr. Taylor accordingly wrote to Bombay to ask for sanction to besiege Cannanore, and, on the 22nd October, the *Princess Royal* ketch belonging to the Honourable Company was sent to blockade the place by sea. Finally on the 5th November the Bombay Government "justly incensed at her (the Bibi's) prevaricating if not treacherous, conduct" determined to prosecute the siege with vigour.

The interest in the narrative at this point next centres on the movements of Colonel Hartley's force in South Malabar. Having heard from Tellicherry that Major Dow, with the force above detailed, was held in readiness to join him, Colonel Hartley, on 13th November, wrote from Palghaut, desiring that Major Dow might be sent down the coast to Ponnani to take post on the south of the river at that place and to await further orders. But the Bibi's hostile attitude made it impossible for Mr. Taylor to comply with this request, and as soon as Tellicherry had been reinforced, Major Dow was sent out to take post at Agarr with three battalions in order to watch the movements of Tippu's force at Cannanore and to protect Randattara.

Colonel Hartley, after despatching the above requisition, next set his force in motion from Palghaut towards the west about the middle of November. On the 22nd, he was at "Ometore" on the south bank of the Ponnani river, three miles east of the famous Tirunavayi temple. His object was to keep open the communications between General Medow's force and the west coast *via* Palghaut. Martab Khan with 5,000 of Tippu's troops had pushed southwards across the river and had busied themselves in devastating the country as far as Chavakkad. On hearing of the approach of Colonel Hartley, this force retired northwards and was generally supposed to have concentrated on Venkatakotta, a few miles north of Tirunavayi. On December 1st Hartley reached Ponnani and remained there four days. On the 5th he set out in pursuit of Martab Khan, and on the 7th captured Venkatakotta with 3 guns and 20 prisoners.

Pushing on from there, Colonel Hartley with only one European regiment and two battalions of sepoys with their usual field artillery came up with the enemy on the 10th and won a brilliant victory which is thus described in the records. "He encountered two of Tippu's commanders, Martab Khan and Hussain Ali Khan, at the head of 9,000 Tippu's men and 4,000 Mappillas on the plains of Tervannengurry"¹ (evidently Tirurangadi in Ernad taluk) "on the morning of the 10th instant. After a smart action the colonel routed Martab Khan with the right wing of the enemy and put them to total flight. The retreat of Hussain Ali being cut off by the

¹ In Major Dirom's "*Narrative of the Campaign, etc.*," London, 2nd edition, 1794, p. 263, the place is called "Tricalore" which is evidently Tirukkallur, the Hindu name of the neighbouring temple and fort. The locality is probably identical with that where Humberstone won his victory over Hyder Ali's general, Mukhdum Ali in 1782.

Highland or 75th Regiment, he, with the remaining troops, was obliged to fly towards the fort of Tervannengurry, but the 7th battalion coming up with him before he could effectually enter the fort put 400 of his men to the sword in the covert way. Being then surrounded on all sides by the English, Hussain Ali loudly called out for quarter, which being granted, he surrendered himself with two sirdars and 900 men prisoners of war. The loss on our side during this action is very trifling. No officers killed—among the wounded are Captains Lauman and Blackford, Lieutenants Stuart and Powell—none dangerously, but the latter, it is supposed, will lose his arm. The loss on the side of the enemy, independent of the captured, is estimated at about 1,000 killed and wounded.

“Colonel Hartley finding that Martab Khan had retreated to Ferokia, or new Calicut, a place lately strengthened and considerably improved by Tippu, pursued him thither without a moment's loss of time. On the night previous to the arrival of the detachment Martab Khan again fled from them, and carried with him from thence, on elephants, all the treasure of the place. It is supposed that he is gone towards the Tambercherry pass. The remainder of this garrison, consisting of 1,500 men, laid down their arms on the colonel's appearance, who consequently, took possession of the fort, guns, etc., without further opposition. Beypore also surrendered to him immediately with a considerable number of vessels and boats laying in the river.”

Major Dirom, who was Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, put the enemy's losses in these three affairs at

		Guns.	Men killed, wounded and missing, or prisoners.
December 10th, Tricalore	.. ..	3	2,000
„ 12th, Ferokabad	.. ..	50	1,300
„ „ Beypore	.. ..	20	Evacuated.

The effect of these operations of Colonel Hartley's was to clear the whole of South Malabar of the enemy. It only remained to effect the same purpose in North Malabar.

After determining, on 5th November, as already stated, to besiege Cannanore, the Bombay Government of General Abercromby vigorously set about their preparations for this end. On 25th November the factors heard that they were despatching to Telli-cherry a regiment of Europeans, a company of artillery, two of lascars, and the 12th battalion of native infantry, and that the Governor himself was coming to conduct the operations. Major Dow was despatched with three battalions to take post at Agarr, as already stated, on the 27th and four companies of the Bombay European regiment were held in readiness on Darmapattanam Island to support him. On the 4th, 5th and 6th December the troops from Bombay, including H.M.'s 77th Regiment (nine companies strong), and General Abercromby himself arrived. H.M.'s ship *Phoenix* (Captain Byron) was appointed the flagship in the naval

operations against Cannanore. On the 13th December, General Abercromby with his force of 3,000 to 4,000 men and the ships invested the place.

On the 14th the siege was opened, the two important out works, Forts Avary and Carlee, were captured on the 16th, and on the 17th the besieging force having mastered all the heights and commanding situations round the fort and town, the Bibi wisely submitted to her fate and agreed to an unconditional surrender.¹ The Bibi and inhabitants generally were, however, assured by General Abercromby of protection for themselves and for their personal property and household furniture. All military and naval stores, vessels, grain, etc., were confiscated. Future relations were to be left for adjustment afterwards, and meanwhile the Bibi was to continue "to exercise justice to the inhabitants agreeable to their customs in all cases where the commandant of the fort and town does not interfere."

The Bibi's husband, who it seems had always headed the opposition to the English, died during the early part of the siege, and her minister and heir apparent were therefore sent as hostages to the English camp. Five thousand of Tippu's troops found in the town laid down their arms and colours, and formal possession of the place was taken by Captain Wiseman, who marched into Fort St. Angelo and occupied it with the two flank companies of his battalion. The British flag was hoisted under a salute from the batteries, and the enemy lost 68 guns by the capture.

Thus Cannanore, the first place in India to welcome² Europeans to Indian shores, was the last of the important places in Malabar to pass into the conquering hands of the British.

There was, after this and after Colonel Hartley's brilliant exploits in the south, but little left to do for the establishment in Malabar of *British supremacy*.

Major Dow with a detachment moved against Valarpattanam and captured there five more guns; but the Mappillas and some remains of Tippu's force had seized Vadakkara and part of Kadattanad, and it was necessary to dispossess them. This was done without difficulty by a detachment commanded by Captain Oakes, who secured twelve guns and 400 prisoners at Vadakkara and Kuttippuram, the Kadattanad Raja's headquarters.

All Malabar was in fact now in the hands of the British, and it only remained for the administrators to set to work. And it is notable in this connection and in the light of subsequent, and (some of them) very recent, event that the following occurs among the first

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. CLIX.—The assurances referred to in the text were afterwards supplemented by others executed respectively by General Abercromby (*Treaties, etc.*, i. CII), on 14th February 1791, and by the Bibi (i. C. LX), in March 1791, guaranteeing that the Bibi and her family should not be handed over to Tippu by the British on the one hand, and that the Bibi should do all in her power to conciliate and attach the Mappilas to the English interest, and to assist in the war against Tippu on the other.

² *Conf.* p. 300.

sentences in the records after describing the above affairs :—" From the repeated treachery and notorious infidelity of the whole Mappilla race, rigid and terrifying measures are become indispensably necessary to draw from them the execution of their promises and stipulations. Lenity has been found ineffectual." General Abercromby, therefore, wisely determined to take away their arms and prohibit them the possession of any weapons.

The narrative of the succeeding events may be related in a few words, as the scene of active operations in the war lay to the east of the ghauts. On December 12th, 1790, Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General arrived at Madras to take the management of affairs into his own hands. General Medows was at this time following Tippu, who, with his superior equipments, was leading him a merry dance, and who was now, after leaving the neighbourhood of Turchirappalli, plundering, burning and carrying ruin into the very heart of Coromandel. On December 30th, General Medows received orders to return to Madras with his army as it was clear his plan of operations could never have brought the war to a successful close. On January 29th, 1791, Lord Cornwallis assumed command of the Army at Vellout, 18 miles from Madras, and determined to strike in the first instance at Bangalore, the place second in importance in Tippu's dominions, and afterwards at Seringapatam itself. On February 5th the army began its march, and on the 11th it concentrated near Vellore. Bangalore was taken by assault on March 21st, and on May 15th Tippu was defeated at Arikera, close to Seringapatam. But a week later (May 22nd) Lord Cornwallis had to abandon his scheme of carrying Seringapatam itself, his transport having failed him, and he destroyed his battering train under the very walls of the fort against which he had designed to use it. General Abercromby, with his force, had ascended through friendly territory from Cannanore *via* Irukkur and Coorg to the Mysore frontier and was ready to co-operate with the main army, but on receipt of intelligence of what had happened he effected a safe retreat to the coast in spite of a large force sent by Tippu to intercept him.

In November 1791, General Abercromby returned once more to the coast from Bombay either bringing with him or receiving from Palghat all the means of a good equipment. Again ascending the ghauts he made his first march from the head of the pass towards Seringapatam with an effective force of 8,400 men on January 22nd, 1792. On the 25th of that same month, Lord Cornwallis, with 16,721 infantry and cavalry, 44 field guns, and a battering train of 42 pieces, effected a junction with the Nizam's army and some Mahrattas under Hari Punt at Savendrug, and commenced his second march on Seringapatam. On February 16th, the two armies effected a junction under the walls of Seringapatam, and on the 22nd Tippu was¹ forced to yield to the allies " one-half of the

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii I.

dominions which were in his possession at the commencement of the present war" and to pay "three crores and thirty lakhs of sicea rupces." All prisoners were to be released, and "two of the three eldest sons of Tippu Sultan" were to be given as hostages.

This treaty was, as contemplated by article V, only preliminary to "a definitive treaty of perpetual friendship." It took some weeks to adjust the exact terms of this further "definitive" treaty, which was signed by Lord Cornwallis on 18th March 1792, and from that date "Calicut, 63 taluks," valued at "C. Pagodas 8,48,765-5-4½" and "Palghautcherry," with an estimated revenue of "C. Pagodas 88,000," passed finally under the dominion of the Honourable East India Company.

Section (G).

THE BRITISH SUPREMACY.

1792 TO DATE.

At the cession of Malabar, in the manner above related, to the British by the Treaties of Seringapatam,² dated 22nd February and 18th March 1792, the country was found to be split into a number of kingdoms and principalities, a prey to the bigotry of its late Muhammadan conquerors, abandoned by its principal landholders, and distracted by the depredation and rapacity of the Mappilla banditti.

The Joint Commissioners, whose proceedings will be stated in some detail shortly, thus described the territory which fell to the share of the British by the above treaties:—

"Malabar, exclusive of the two merely tributary districts of Corga and Cochin (situated at either of its extremities), may be considered as consisting of two grand divisions, the northern and southern, separated by the Toorshairoo (Turasseri) or Cotta (Kotta) river.

"That to the northward comprehending the ancient Colastrian (Kolattiri) raug (raj) or kingdom, now dismembered and partitioned out into the several principalities or districts of—

"1st—Chericul (Chirakkal) or Colastry (Kolattiri) proper ;

"2ndly—Cottattu or Cotiote (Kottayam or *inflected* Kottayattu), annexed to which was, or is, Wynad above the ghats (the former peculiarly noted for the production of pepper, and the latter for cardamoms) ;

"3rdly—The district of Cartinaad (Kadattanad), the woods in which contain abundance of neglected cassia or wild cinnamon ; and

"4thly—The petty township and contiguous districts of Cannanore (held by a Mappilla family possessing also the greater part of the Laccadive Islands, and which is much respected by all the others of the same tribe throughout Malabar) ; and

¹Treaties, etc., ii II.

²Treaties, etc., ii I and II.

"5thly, 6thly and 7thly—The small taluks of Irvenaad (Iruvalinad), Corengotte (Kurangot) and Randaterra (Randattara), which last-mentioned place had become subordinate to the settlement of Tellicherry in the manner that will be hereafter pointed out

"The districts to the south of the Toorshairoo (Turasseri) river contain—

"1st—Coorinnaad (Kurumbranad), a distinct and independent rajaship; and

"2ndly—Those districts that formed the dominions of the Samoori or Zamorin, such as Pynaar (Payyanad), with Warcumbra (Vadakkampuram) and Curcumbra (Kilakkampuram) to the north and east of Calicut;

"and to the southward of that city and district, the countries of Ernaad (Ernad), Shernaad (Cheranad), Venkillycotta (Venkattakkotta), Malapuram (Malapuram), Capool (Kappul), Weenarcar (Mannarakkad), Cunumpoor (Kar mpula), Nerenganaad (Nedunganad), and Poonany (Ponnani).

"Besides which, the Samoori claimed to be, with a more or less influence, the paramount sovereign over—

"The Nayarships of Pyoormulla (Payyormala) and Poorwe (Pulavayi) to the north and east of Calicut;

"and to the southward of the Rajaships of Boypoor (Beypore), Perepnaar (Parappanad), Bettut or Vettutnaar (Vettattunad), and Tallapellie (Talapalli), called also Soukar and Chowghaut (Chavakkad), including the Nayarship of Coulpara (Kavalappara)

"And he had also possessed himself of the more full and immediate sovereignty over the three Nayarships of Colemgoor (Kollankodu), Codovoura or Koorwe (Kotuvayyur) and Mungary (Mangara), originally a part of the Palghaut (Palghat) country

"So that, exclusive of the residuo of this last-mentioned district, and of the three lesser Nayarships of Congad (Kongad), Manoor (Mannur) and Yerterra (Edattara), and of the district of Coorinnaad (Kurumbranad) and of that of Velatra or Velnatera (Vellatiri) in the southern division of Malabar, the family of the Zamorin had, by a continued service of warfare and contest, thus reduced (before the period of their own expulsion by Hyder Ali Khan) to a greater or less degree of subordination and dread of their power, all the Raja's chiefs and land-holders of the countries lying between the Toorshairoo (Turasseri) river [which is above stated to have been the boundary of the ancient Colastrian (Kolattiri) kingdom] and that of Cochin."

To complete the list of British possessions on the coast at this time, it will be gathered from the foregoing narrative that the following had already, for longer or shorter periods and more or less uninterruptedly, been in the possession of the British:—

(a) Tellicherry, with its dependencies, namely, the Island of Dharmmapattanam with Grove Island lying off it, the district of Randattara (also mentioned by the Commissioners), and the fort and district of Mount Deli.

(b) The Island of Chetwai, retaken from the Mysoreans by Colonel Hartley in 1790, and rented to the Cochin Raja at Rs. 40,000 per annum. And

(c) The fort and territory at Anjengo.

The localities of most of the above bits of territory are indicated in the sketch map given at paragraph 11 of Chapter IV, Section (b), and further details of the precise limits of each little bit of territory will be found in that section itself.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, instructed General R. Abercromby, Governor of Bombay, under date the 23rd March 1792, to enquire into the present state of the country and to establish a system for its future government, but to lose no time in coming to an agreement with all the chiefs for some specific revenue to be paid for the ensuing year. Such of the friendly Rajas whose territories were not included in the cession were to be allowed the option of returning to them under the protection of the 8th article of the Treaty, or of remaining within the limits of the Company's territories; and Lord Cornwallis promised, in conclusion to depute two Civil Servants from Bengal to act in concert with the gentlemen to be appointed from Bombay.

In pursuance of these orders the General arrived at Cannanore and appointed Mr. Farmer, a Senior Merchant, and Major Dow, the Military Commandant of Tellicherry, as Commissioners, and issued instructions to them under date the 20th April 1792, to preserve the peace of the country, and after settling the amount of tribute to be paid by the native princes and chiefs, to direct their attention to collecting materials to form a report on the most eligible system of establishing the Company's authority on the coast. The states of Coorg in the north-east and Cochin in the south, which were included in the cession, were made tributaries and included in the object of the commission.

Before proceeding to state in detail the measures adopted by the Commissioners for carrying out the above instructions, it will be as well to explain that the only plan on which this can be done with a view to giving an adequate idea of the labours of the Commissioners, will be to adhere strictly to the chronological method. The narrative will necessarily appear disjointed, but, having regard to the vast number of bits of independent territory which came under settlement, this cannot be helped.

The Bombay Commissioners began at Tellicherry to effect settlements with the three northern Rajas of Chirakkal, Kottayam and Kadattanad, whose relations with the English from a remote period have already been dealt with in the foregoing pages.

The engagements or covenants entered into in 1790 with these chieftains, the terms of which have already¹ been fully described were now found to be "not so comprehensive as could be wished, since they provided for the emancipation of the Malabar Rajas from

¹ Pages 468-469.

Tippu, but did not clearly express their dependence on the Company," for the instructions of the Governor-General issued on 8th April and 31st May 1790, and already fully described, were received only after the execution of the cowls. These instructions contained clear directions as to the terms of dependence on which the chieftains were to remain under the Honourable Company, but they did not appear to have been communicated to those chiefly concerned.

It must also be here explained that with regard to the Chirakkal cowl it was granted to Unni Amma, a younger member of the family, who assumed the name of Ravi Varma, and was the only one on the spot, the real head of the house having fled with his mother to Travancore; and that the Kottayam cowl was likewise granted to a junior member of the family, afterwards known as the rebel Pazhassi (Pychy) Raja, the senior Raja having also taken refuge in Travancore.

Owing to the terms of the cowls they held, the three northern Rajas did not immediately acquiesce in the Company's sovereignty over them, but after some hesitation they soon found the necessity of relaxing their pretensions, and the Kadattanad Raja was the first to agree to a settlement¹ on 25th April 1792, stipulating as follows:—

1st—The Raja to remain in the exercise of all his rights and authority subject only to the control of the Company in case of oppressing the inhabitants.

2ndly—A Resident or Dowan to reside with him to enquire into any complaints of oppression.

3rdly—Two persons on the part of the Company and two on that of the Raja to make a valuation of the revenues of each district.

4thly—Amount of revenue payable by each subject to be ascertained.

5thly—The Raja's tribute to be settled in October according to the appearance of the crop².

6thly—The Government share of pepper to be delivered to the Company at a price to be fixed in December.

7thly—The remaining pepper to be purchased exclusively by merchants appointed by the Company, and

8thly—Lessor points which might arise from time to time to be left with Mr. Taylor, the Chief of Tellicherry, to adjust, and the whole was to be considered as temporary and subject to the confirmation of General Abercromby on his return to the coast.

Similar³ terms were next accepted by the Kottayam and Chirakkal Rajas, and measures were adopted for obtaining a valuation of these districts.

With a view to check the illicit trade in pepper, etc., carried on by the French at Mahe, the small district of Iruvalinad, of which frequent mention has already been made in the foregoing

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. IV.

² Of pepper presumblay.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. V and VI.

narrative, was retained under the direct management of a covenanted servant subordinate to the Tellicherry Factory, and the same system was likewise extended to the district of Randattara, already so often mentioned as a bone of contention between the Company and the Chirakkal Raja.

The Bombay Commissioners next turned their attention to Cannanore, another of the Malayali chieftainships, whose relations with the English from a remote period have already been detailed in the preceding pages. It will be noted that this chieftainess was not on a footing similar to that of the rest of the Malabar chiefs, for she had basely thrown over the English alliance instead of assisting the Honourable Company's officers, and had been compelled by force of arms to withdraw from her alliance with Tippu.

The chief source of revenue in Cannanore being the commerce carried on by the Bibi with Arabia, etc., and the produce of the Laccadive Islands, she was called upon for a statement of the produce and value of her country preparatory to a settlement.

The Commissioners then proceeded to settle the case of the five friendly northern Rajas whose territories lying contiguous to Kolattiri proper or Chirakkal on the north of the Kavvayi river, were not included in the cession, although they were, prior to Hyder Ali's conquest, under the suzerainty of the Kolattiri family. Hyder Ali attached their territories to his Kacheri of Bednur. They were the Rajas of Nilesvaram, Kumbla, Vitul Hegra or Beigada, Bungor and Chowtwara. The Nilesvaram Raja, although he was granted cowl by the factors in 1790, obtained permission from Tippu to return to his country. The Kumbla and Vitul Hegra Rajas were each granted¹ a pension of Rs. 200 by the Company, with permission to reside at Tellicherry. As to the Bunga or Bungor and Chowtwara Rajas, they having made the offer of their services very late in the war, it was not deemed necessary to extend to them any indulgence of the kind. They had to return to their country, and were, it is said, imprisoned by Tippu.

Having put matters in train for a settlement in the north, the Bombay Commissioners next repaired to Calicut to negotiate with the Zamorin, who, however, delayed to attend on the Board. The Commissioners accordingly made a settlement of the Kurumbranad district with Vira Varma Raja, who had been a member of the Kottayam family and had been adopted as heir by the senior Kurumbranad Raja. The latter was absent in Travancore. They leased² to him on the 27th May 1792, for the sum of Rs. 1,40,000 for one year, not only the two districts of Kurumbranad and Kola-kkad, which appertained to his adopted family, but Payyanad, Payormala, Kilakkampuram, Vadakkampuram and Pulavayi, which were then understood to belong to the Zamorin, but classed in Tippu's schedule under the taluk of Kurumbranad. This Raja had received no cowl from the Tellicherry factors, so as a preliminary condition to the grant of the above agreement he had to

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. III and IX.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. VII and VIII.

acknowledge that the Honourable Company "alone are the rightful sovereigns" of his districts, and he was in turn appointed the Honourable Company's "manager" to "collect the revenues, administer justice, and preserve the peace" of his districts, and the Zamorin's agents were required to settle with him for sums collected by them.

The Bombay Commissioners next learnt that General Medows, the Governor of Madras, in the course of the war operations on the other side of the peninsula, had allowed the Travancore Raja a controlling power over the Malabar Rajas; and that on this plea the Travancore Dewan Keshu Pillay had collected, in the name of the Company and on the plea of contribution towards the expenses of the war, various sums of money from the revenues of the country for the years 1790 and 1791. The question as to whether he should be made to account for these collections occupied some of the Commissioner's time, and was eventually left for disposal by the Governor-General.

The feud between Nayar and Mappilla in consequence of the complete subversion of the ancient friendly relations subsisting between these classes broke out afresh about this time, and Major Dow was deputed to the Mappilla districts, and a cowl¹ of protection was issued in favour of the Kundotti section of the Mappilla class, who had been oppressed by the Nayar landholders.

The next settlement was made for the Palghat district with Itta Punga Achchan, a younger member of the family, who, according to custom, exercised sovereign authority as regent in place of a superannuated senior Raja. On his acknowledging the sole sovereignty of the Honourable Company over his district it was, on 12th July 1792, leased² to him for one year for the net sum of Rs. 80,000 after allowing for charges of collection. The Zamorin had driven a wedge³ through and had acquired, as already described, a large part of the ancient Palghat territory. In this agreement with Itta Punga Achchan this claim of the Zamorin to the Nativattam was carefully ignored. And on the same⁴ day the Kavalappara Nayar acknowledged the Honourable Company's sovereignty and was installed in his territory for one year his payments being fixed at Rs. 15,000. As, however, the Cochin Raja had advanced a claim to sovereignty over the Nayar's territory (Treaties, etc., i. Cl. Article III), the Nayar was further bound to abide by the decision of the Honourable Company in this matter. It may be added that the Nayar shortly afterwards proved to the satisfaction of the Commissioners that he was really independent of the Cochin Raja, and a decision was accordingly given in his favour on this point.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. X.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XI.

³ The Nativattam (Central circle), see map at paragraph 11 of Section (b), Chap. IV.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, ii, XII.

It was at first resolved to place the Nayers of Kongad, Mannur and Edattara under the Palghat Achehan, but as they had formerly taken the protection of the Vellatiri Raja, they were ordered to pay their revenue through that Raja, viz. :—

	RS.	HOONS.
Kongad	1,454	8
Mannur	1,344	2½
Edattara	1,505	8

A dispute soon however arose between the Raja's family and these Nayers, and they were thereupon permitted¹ to pay revenues direct to the Company.

Their territories were in this way first included among those for which the Vellatiri Raja next, on 30th July 1792, undertook to pay a sum of Rs. 38,410½. The Vellatiri or Valluvakon Rajas were, as the foregoing pages sufficiently indicate, the hereditary enemies of the Zamorins. The reigning chief had endeavoured, by favouring the Mappillas, to counterbalance the influence gained by the Zamorin through his Muhammadan subjects. Mappillas consequently abounded in this chief's territory, but as Muhammadan immigrants were few in his inland tracts he had perforce to recruit his Mappilla retainers from the lowest classes of all—the slaves of the soil or Cherumar. Having tasted the sweets of liberty under the Mysorean rule, these Mappillas did not readily yield submission to the ancient order of things when the Mysoreans were driven out. Although, therefore, the Vellatiri Raja's districts were restored² to the Raja for management, it was soon discovered that he was powerless to repress the disturbance which speedily arose between Nayar and Mappilla, and it was in consequence of this that so early as May 1793 the Joint Commissioners had to resume his districts and manage them directly. Another reason for direct intervention was that this chief and his family had all fled to Travancore, and that they had afforded the Honourable Company no help whatever in the war with Tippu.

In settling with the minister of the Vellatiri Raja the Commissioners learnt that it had been the practice with Tippu and his farmers to exact 10 per cent, on the jama or annual demand for the charges of collection in the southern districts. They therefore took this extra charge to account and increased the amount of the Vellatiri lease from Rs. 38,410½ to Rs. 41,594½.

The Parappanad district was next, on 11th August 1792, farmed³ out for the not sum of Rs. 14,000 to one of its Rajas, Vira Varma, one of the few members of the family who had escaped forcible conversion at the hands of Tippu's myrmidons.

The Vettattanad district was next leased on 14th August 1792, on behalf of the Raja, by his minister for Rs. 34,807½. But this Raja did not long survive; he died on 24th May 1793, leaving

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii, XXI.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii, XIV.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii, XIII.

no heirs natural or adoptive to succeed him, and his estates were declared to have passed to the Honourable Company.

The settlement with the Zamorin, which had been all the while under consideration, presented various difficulties. During the religious persecutions of Tippu, a younger member of the family, Ravi Varma, belonging to that branch of the family styled Padi-nhare Kovilakam (western palace), having proved himself a champion of the Hindus, obtained from General Medows at Coimbatore, on 27th September 1790, a cowl¹ in the name of Kishnen Raja, heir apparent of the Zamorin, who had fled to Travancore, authorising the latter to administer the revenue of the country during the war and providing for the payment of an equitable poishcash to the Company at its termination. Under the provisions of this cowl an agreement² was, on the 18th August 1792, concluded with the fourth Raja of the Kizhakke Kovilakam (eastern palace), on behalf of, and as surety for the Zamorin for Rs. 4,16,366½. It contained sixteen articles, which constituted the basis of all subsequent proceedings with this Raja.

The districts leased were—

- in Calicut—the cusba and Ramnad.
- in Kurumbranad—Vadakkampuram and Kizhakkampuram, which the Kurumbranad Raja agreed to give up to the Zamorin.
- in Vettattanad—Ponnani, Chorana and Venkatta'skotta.
- in Chavakkad—Chavakkad, Nedunganad and Karimpuzha,
- in Ernad—Ernad and Malapuram, and
- in Palghat—Kollangod, Koduvayyur, and Mankara,

and the duties on land and sea customs were also likewise leased.

As a mark of respect and superiority, the Rajas of Beypore, Parappanad and Vettattanad were required to pay their revenues through the Zamorin, who was also temporarily vested, “as in the ancient times”, with power to administer justice “over all these petty Rajas.”

The last separate district settled by the Commissioners was with the Beypore Raja for Rs. 10,000.

After this the Commission separated for a time, Major Dow proceeding to Cochin and Travancore with a view to secure³ the pepper produce and to obtain as much information as possible before the arrival of the Bengal Commissioners.

Mr. Farmer remained behind and entered into an arrangement for the mint with the Zamorin, to whom it was leased for Rs. 15,000. He also appointed Mr. Agnew the Calicut Resident, as Collector-General of the southern districts, and Mr. Sunkheet as Collector of Palghat. He then proceeded to the north to arrange definitely with the northern Rajas. There he was joined by Mr. W. Page, appointed as third member of the Bombay Commission.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i, XCVII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii, XVI.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii, XVII.

The Chirakkal Raja's revenue¹ was fixed at Rs. 50,000, the Kadattanad¹ Raja's at Rs. 30,000, and the Kottayam¹ Raja's at Rs. 25,000 and all three Rajas now acknowledged the full sovereignty of the Honourable Company over their respective districts.

The articles were similar to those made with the Zamorin, with modifications to suit the circumstances of the districts, particularly in the mode of purchasing pepper.

In regard to the Bibi of Cannanore nothing was arranged. She claimed the restoration of the jaghire given to her by Tippu in lieu² of four of her islands taken by him and attached to Canara, and which jaghire had been resumed by the Chirakkal Raja. She represented also that she had been obliged to mortgage the coir of her remaining islands to Chovakkara Mussa on account of the expense of former wars.

The Chief (Mr. Robert Taylor) and Factors of Tellicherry were on 31st October 1792 appointed Collectors-General of the northern districts.

The Padinyaru Kovilakam branch of the Zamorin's family, already noticed, possessing great influence in the country, was entrusted with the collection of the district of Nedunganad by the Eralpad Raja, the managing heir apparent of the Zamorin. On the strength of this the Padinyaru K. Raja attempted to render himself independent of the Zamorin. The dispute was carried on to such lengths that Captain Burchall was obliged to seize his person at Cherupullasserri. He died there a day or two afterwards, and at the instance of the Zamorin his brother and nephew were put under restraint, and released only upon the Kilakka Kovilakam Raja standing security for their good behaviour and payment of arrears of revenue amounting to one lakh of rupees.

Such was the general state of progress made by the Bombay Commissioners when the Governor, Sir Robert Abercromby, again arrived in Malabar, followed on 12th December 1792 by Messrs. Jonathan Duncan and Charles Boddam, the Commissioners despatched from Bengal by Lord Cornwallis to co-operate with those from Bombay. The following extract contains Lord Cornwallis' instructions to Messrs. Duncan and Boddam and explains the scope of the Joint Commission.

Extract from the Governor-General's instructions to the Commissioners deputed to the Malabar Coast.—“Third.—It is our intention that, in conjunction with the Commissioners on the part of Bombay, you shall enter into full investigation with a view to ascertain with as much accuracy as possible the general and particular situation of this Ceded country, in respect as well to its former as its late and present Governments, as far as may be requisite to enable you to point out in what manner justice has heretofore been and may in

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii, XVIII, XIX and XX.

² Conf. p. 453, foot note.

future be more advantageously administered to all classes of the natives, the nature of whose several tenures and more especially those of the Zamorin of Calicut and of the principal Rajas and Nayars and Mappillas throughout that and the other parts of the country are to be specified, accompanied with Estimates and statements, formed on the best materials you may be able to procure, of the amount of Revenue which these several Districts are capable of paying and may be equitably assessed at ; together with the particulars of their interior and foreign trade, on which subject you will form and report your opinion as to the best means of improving both, in such manner as shall have the greatest tendency to conciliate the Commercial Interests of the Company with those of the natives, and best promote the internal prosperity of the Country at large.

Fourth.—From the several Copies of Papers (consisting of the Correspondence that has hitherto passed on this subject) which the Secretary will furnish you with, you will learn what progress has hitherto been made by Mr. Farmer and Major Dow, with whom Mr. Page has since been joined in the Commission, consisting of certain articles agreed upon between them and the Rajahs of Cartinaad (Kadattanad) and others in the northern division of the Ceded country, by one of which the amount of the revenue payable the first year was to be ascertained from the appearance of the crop in October last. The result of this intended inspection you will no doubt learn on your arrival at Tellicherry ; and besides this the Commissioners from Bombay appear to have since concluded a money settlement for one year with the Zamorin and some other Chiefs of the Southern Districts, as you will find detailed in the latest advices received from Mr. Farmer.

Fifth.—Although these advices show that the general assessment of the Ceded countries in the coast of Malabar is likely to fall considerably short (for the first year at least) of their estimated Revenue Produce as contained in the schedule of Jamabandi furnished at the Peace by Tippu Sultan, we think it nevertheless probable that your and the other Commissioners' further enquiries may ascertain the revenue capacity of the country to be at least much nearer the standard at which it was ceded to us than the amount of the Temporary settlements hitherto made seems to indicate ; but although it is certainly our object to fix on a fair and equitable Jama as payable to Government (and we rely on your best exertions and those of the gentlemen from Bombay to ascertain the real ability of the country in that respect), yet we are at the same time willing to admit and act upon the expediency of a principle of a suggestion which you will find urged to the Commissioner from Bombay in a representation made to them on the part of the Zamorin, viz. :—that with a view to conciliate the native Rajas, Landholders and cultivators to the Company's Government, and encourage them to improve their respective Districts and increase their productiveness, more especially by replanting the pepper vines wherever they have of late years been destroyed,

their Burthens, that is, the revenue assessed on them, should in the beginning at least, be in general lighter than that exacted from them by Tippu, —in which view we think it may be very advisable for you and the other Commissioners to propose to the several Parties a settlement, either for their respective lives or for such a term of years as may be most agreeable to them, with a moderate increase (in such places as you think will bear one) on the reduced Jama that it may now be necessary to stipulate for; so that the just advantages of Government may in some degree keep pace with the progressive improvement of the country under that system of good government which your researches and proceedings will, we trust, enable us to establish in it. And as the settlement for the first one year ending as we understand, in September 1793, will probably be everywhere concluded before your arrival on the Malabar Coast, your principal attention will, of course, be directed to the permanent adjustment of the public Revenue to take place from that period, for the first year of which series (or up to September 1794) we shall with a view of preventing interruption to the current business of the country or obstruction to the progress of its improvement, confirm as a matter of course the Jama which you and the other Commissioners may stipulate for each district; but the settlement for the remaining years of each lease you and they are only to recommend and (as far as you may find satisfactory grounds) conclude with the several parties, subject by an express clause to our ultimate approbation or alteration, which shall be signified as soon after your report as possible.

“*Sixth.*—The establishment of a Plan for the administration of Justice in the several Districts being a point the effectual attainment of which we have above all others at heart, we rely with confidence on your experience acquired on this side of India for your being able to determine in a satisfactory manner on the number and constitution of the several Courts of Justice that will be necessary to ensure to the utmost possible degree (as far as the state of society there will permit) the dispensation of equal Justice to all classes of the society; and if, from General Abercromby's presence on the spot or in the neighbourhood of the place at which your proceedings are held, he shall concur with you in opinion on these subjects, or in those plans that relate to the collection of the Revenues, or to the management of the trade of the country, we shall have no objection to find either one or all of them begun to be carried into execution (subject to our ultimate approbation) by the country being divided provisionally (even before your final Report to us) into such Revenue Divisions or Collectorships, and Judicial Jurisdictions, Civil and Criminal, and commercial agencies, as you shall intend ultimately to propose for our Confirmation.

“*Seventh.*—The pepper produced on the Coast of Malabar constituting (as already intimated) a very material Branch of Commerce to the Honourable Company, it is our wish that a Provision on terms of perfect fairness to the natives may be effected in all the settlements for the Revenue payable to Government, so that

as far as possible it may be made good in the natural pepper produce, taken at a fair market valuation instead of money payments, leaving whatever proportion cannot be secured in this way to be purchased by the Company's commercial Agents on the spot on the footing (as nearly as may be) that their purchases of Investments are provided by the Regulations (with which you are acquainted) established for the Commercial Department in Bengal; for we are aware that on the footing of any positively exclusive privilege the Company must lose in their Revenues and in the prosperity of the country more than they could gain by rigidly enforcing a right to monopoly or purchase in any other mode than that which we have thus pointed out.

"*Eighth.*—You are also, in the same spirit of moderation and liberal attention to the rights of the native, to include in your Report the information you may be able to obtain in respect to the General state of the trade of the country in the other articles besides pepper, comprehending (as far as your opportunities may admit) that carried on in the Districts of the Raja of Travancore, and reporting thereon whatever means may occur to you for securing, on equitable principles, such share of it to the Company as former engagements (which Mr. Powney, the Resident with the Raja, will be directed to make you acquainted with), and more especially the late and recent exertions in favour of that country so fully entitle them to expect."

The Governor-General did not fail at the same time to notice (despatch of 18th November 1792) with "much satisfaction" the "laborious and persevering attention" which had been already devoted to the objects of the Commission by the Bombay members of it.

One of the first measures of the United or Joint Commission was to proclaim¹ on 20th December 1792 the general freedom of trade in all articles except pepper which was held as a monopoly, and the institution of "two separate courts of Equity and Justice" at Calicut on 1st January 1793, the first court to be presided over by the members in rotation, in which revenue and litigated landed claims were to be investigated, and the second to take notice "of all other subjects of claim and litigation not relating to the revenue or landed property."

They further, on 9th January 1793, sent round a circular² to all the chieftains charged with the collection of the Revenue of their Districts, forbidding the collection, on any pretence whatever, of any presents or cesses such as had been customarily prevalent before the Mysore Government imposed the land cess, which alone they were authorized to collect.

About this time a hill tribe called Malasars (*Mala*=hill, and *arasar*=lords) in Palghat having inopportunately disturbed a Brahman festival by intruding into the circle for the relics of the feast, the Palghat Achchan caused the headman of the tribe to be decapitated.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XXIII, XXIV, XXVII. ² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XXV.

On this account the Commissioners soon afterwards insisted on the Achchan not only satisfying the family of the deceased Malasar, but entering before Mr. Lockhart into a written agreement¹ not to exercise in future any criminal jurisdiction affecting the life or limb of any person without obtaining the sanction of Government.

Messrs. Page and Boddam were next deputed to Cochin and Palghat respectively to ascertain the identity of the taluks referred to in the Cochin Treaty of 1790 and Tippu's schedule of 1792, to enquire into the boundary dispute between the Cochin Raja and the Zamorin as well as that relative to three taluks between the former and the Travancore Raja, to adjust with the Dewan of the latter large sum of money said to have been unduly collected by him, and lastly, to settle the Cochin Raja's claims on Kavalappara, which point was, as already stated, decided in favour of the Nayar.

While these Commissioners were engaged with the above-mentioned enquiries, the remaining members issued a proclamation of general amnesty for acts of homicide, maiming, robbery or theft committed prior to 1st February 1793 as a means of inducing the lawless among the population to resort to honest courses.

The Commissioners likewise prohibited the slave trade carried on extensively in children by Mappilla merchants with the French and
✓ Dutch ports of Mahe and Cochin respectively.

It was becoming very apparent that the breach between the Mappillas and the Nayars, particularly in the Vellatiri district, was very wide. The Raja was found to be powerless to prevent outrages of all kinds by Mappillas, or to punish them when the culprits were known. Moreover, on the outskirts of this lawless tract of country there dwelt a tribe of what were in those days called "jungle" Mappillas, who were banded together under chiefs and who subsisted on the depredations committed on their neighbours. The best known chief of these banditti was styled Elampulasseri Unni Mutta (Mussa) Muppan, who had a loopholed and fortified house in the jungles at the foot of the ghats at a place called "Tercangnanor" in the records, and who kept a retinue of a hundred armed men. He declined to submit to the Honourable Company's protection when asked to do so by one of the Company's military officers, unless he were granted a pension, because he said his followers had no means of subsistence *beyond what they could get by robbing their neighbours*.

But in addition to professional robbers like this, the Vellatiri district swarmed with Mappillas driven to desperation by the exactions of the Raja's Hindu agents employed in collecting the revenue, who resorted, much to the disgust of the British officers quartered in those districts in command of troops, to the most cunning devices for procuring military aid to support their extortionate demands on the inhabitants. The latter were in constant dread of being deprived of their lands by the Nayars, and of their being thus deprived of their only means of support.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XXVI.

The Commissioners had meanwhile also been busy with a plan for the general government of the ceded countries, and this having been sanctioned by the Governor, Sir Robert Abercromby, it was duly proclaimed in the Governor's presence at Calicut on the 18th March 1793. The following extract from Mr. Farmer's Diary describes briefly the ceremony which took place on the occasion.

The Diary entry runs as follows :—

“ CALICUT, 18th March 1793.

“ *Diary of the Proceedings of William Gamull Farmer, Esquire, Suprvisor and Chief Magistrate of the Province of Malabar.*

“ This day, by appointment of the Honorable Major-General Robert Abercromby, President and Governor of Bombay, the gentlemen of the Civil Service present at Calicut were summoned to attend at the Government House, late the English Factory, where the Commandant of the troops likewise attended with a numerous assemblage of officers and other gentlemen.

“ The Battalion of grenadiers, forming two lines, was drawn up on the road leading from the General's encampment to the Government House ; the General was saluted with nineteen guns from six field-pieces in passing through the lines.

“ Being arrived at the Government House, Major-General Abercromby read before all the persons assembled the following letter of instructions, which was then delivered to the Suprvisor :—

“ ‘ TO WILLIAMS GAMULL FARMER, ESQ.

“ ‘ SIR,

“ ‘ You are apprised of the reasons that have induced me to form a temporary Government for the ceded country, and the motives that have actuated me in the choice of a Chief Magistrate.

“ ‘ The sovereignty acquired in these Provinces by the Honorable Company imposes serious duties on their representatives ; it is their duty to protect the persons and property of all ranks of subjects to administer unbiassed justice according to ancient laws and customs, but meliorated by the influence of our milder institutions, to respect religious opinions and established customs, to provide for the exigencies of Government by a fair and equal assessment, to diffuse the blessings of free intercourse and commerce, to preserve the rights of the superior class of subjects as far as is consistent with the general good, in fine to introduce good order and government where anarchy, oppression, and distress have long prevailed.

“ ‘ These, Sir, are the duties imposed on the Honorable Company's representatives ; a knowledge of these duties actuated the Commissioners in recommending a system of government, and these must actuate you in the execution of it.

“ ‘ The general rules by which you will be guided are clearly defined, and particular instructions will be framed for the several Departments under your control. In addition to those instructions, I have to request you will remember that abuses are more easily prevented than remedied. The principle of the present Government is not to seek emolument or create places for persons, but to grant moderate salaries, and hold out to the hopes and ambition of the younger servants the honorable and liberal situations that superior stations admit of. You will also recollect and impress it on the minds of the gentlemen under you that it is an arduous task, and requires zeal and exertion to fill with propriety newly established officers under a Government recently formed. This zeal is expected from you ; without it every effort to establish will but weaken our influence, and where merit is so indispensably required, it will be properly noticed and rewarded.

“ ‘ To enable you to enter on the execution of your office, I have only to add that by authority of powers vested in me, I hereby appoint you to assume the temporary management of the ceded countries under the name and title of Supravisor and Chief Magistrate of the countries henceforth to be denominated the Province of Malabar.

“ ‘ You will be subject to such orders and directions as you may receive from Government, or the Commissioners may think proper to give you, and at the termination of the Commission you will assume the same powers over the Chiefship of Tellicherry as are now held by them.

“ ‘ Wishing you success in the execution of your duty,

“ ‘ I have, etc.,

“ ‘ (Signed) ROBERT ABERCROMBY.’

“ After the delivery of this letter the Government thus established was saluted by twenty-one guns from the field-pieces placed in front of the Government House.

“ The following oaths were then taken by the Supravisor ;—

“ *Revenue oath.*

“ I, William Gamull Farmer, do promise and swear that I will, to the utmost of my endeavours, well and faithfully execute and discharge the duties of an officer of revenue reposed in and committed to me by the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, and that I will not demand, take or accept, directly or indirectly, by myself or by any other person for my use, or on my behalf, of or from any Raja, Zemindar, Talukdar, Poligar, Renter, Ryot, or other person paying or liable to pay any tribute, rent, or tax to, or for the use of, the said United Company, any sum of

money or other valuable thing by way of gift, present or otherwise, over and above, or besides and except the actual tribute, rent, or tax authorized to be taken by and for the use of the said United Company, and that I will justly and truly account and answer for the same to the said United Company.

" So help me God !

" (Signed) W. G. FARMER.

" CALICUT, }
" 18th March 1793. }

" Sworn to before me.

" (Signed) ROBERT ABERCROMBY.

" *Phouzdarry oath.*

" I, William Gamull Farmer, Supravisor of the Province of Malabar and entrusted as the Chief Magistrate with Phouzdarry jurisdiction, do solemnly promise and swear that I will exert my best abilities for the preservation of the peace of the District over which my authority extends, and will act with impartiality and integrity, neither exacting or receiving, directly or indirectly, any fee or reward in the execution of the duties of my office other than such as the orders of Government do or may authorize me to receive.

" So help me God !

" (Signed) W. G. FARMER.

" CALIOUT, }
" 18th March 1793. }

" Sworn to before me.

" (Signed) ROBERT ABERCROMBY.

" *Sadar Adalat oath.*

" I, William Gamull Farmer, Supravisor and Chief Magistrate of the Province of Malabar, do swear that I will administer justice to the best of my ability, knowledge and judgment, without fear, favor, promise or hope of reward, and that I will not receive, directly or indirectly, any present or nuzzer, either in money or in effects of any kind, from any party in any cause, or from any person whatsoever, on account of any suit to be instituted, or which may be depending, or have been decided in the Court of Sadar Adalat under my jurisdiction, nor will I knowingly permit any person or persons under my authority, or in my immediate service, to receive, directly or indirectly, any present or nuzzer, either in money or in effects of any kind, from any party in any cause, or from any person whatsoever, on account of any suit to be instituted, or which may be

depending, or have been decided in the Court of Sadar Adalat under my jurisdiction, and that I will render a true and faithful account of all sums received for deposits on causes, and fees of court, and of all expenditures.

“ So help me God !

“ (Signed) W. G. FARMAR.

“ CALICUT, }
“ 18th *March* 1793. }

“ Sworn to before me.

“ (Signed) ROBERT ABERCROMBY.

“ James Stevens, Esquire, next took the necessary oaths as Superintendent of the southern Districts. Mr. Augustus William Handley, Senior Assistant to the Supravisor, and, as such, Judge of the Court of Adalat at Calicut, then also took the oaths appointed.

“ After this Major-General Abercromby withdrew with the same ceremony he entered, the field-pieces saluting him with nineteen guns.

“ The principal natives paid their respects. It was remarked as a propitious omen that the day of fixing a government for the Malabar Coast was the anniversary of the day on which it was ceded by Tippu in consequence of the treaty concluded with Earl Cornwallis at Seringapatam on the 18th March 1792.”

✓ The Governor, before his departure from the coast, further issued a circular¹ to all the Rajas and Chiefs explaining the purport and object of the measure which had thus taken effect. Agreeably to the plan, the ceded country was called the “ PROVINCE OF MALABAR ” and divided into two superintendencies, with a middle division directly under a Supravisor, as he was called, with superior political, revenue, and judicial powers and full control over the two Superintendents. His seat was fixed at Calicut. The Superintendents had revenue and magisterial powers. The headquarters of the Northern Superintendent were fixed at Tellicherry, with the districts from Chirakkal to Kurumbranad and Coorg under his control. The Southern Superintendent was stationed at Cherappullasserri, in charge of the districts from Parappanad to Chetwai together with the Cochin tribute. The military force stationed on the coast was subject to the sole requisition of the Supravisor, except in cases of “ serious emergency.” The Supravisor and Superintendents had also a number of assistants under them, and the Senior Assistant was Judge and Magistrate at Calicut. There was to be only one mint for the whole country, under the control of the Supravisor at Calicut. All interior customs were to be abolished and duties on foreign exports and imports were to be collected

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii, XXXII.

by Government. The Senior Commissioner, Mr. Farmer, was made the first Supravisor, and he thereupon vacated his seat on the Commission. Messrs. Galley and Stevens were appointed Northern and Southern Superintendents respectively and Mr. Handley as Senior Assistant. The remaining members of the Joint Commission then continued their labours with Mr. Jonathan Duncan as President.

The Coorg tribute was next settled¹ at Rs. 24,000 per annum. But disputes early commenced between this Raja and Tippu relative to their respective boundaries, and the latter's vakils complained also of the Kottayam Raja taking Wynad, which district the Commissioners were then of opinion was not ceded by the treaty. Two of them, Mr. Duncan and Major Dow, next proceeded to Cannanore to enquire into the alleged mortgage of the Laccadive Islands to Chovakkara Mussa and the land taken from the Bibi by the Chirakkal Raja. There they were joined by Mr. Page from Palghat, and engagements² were taken on the 11th and 13th April 1793 from the Bibi, binding her to pay up arrears and to pay a "moiety of whatever is the produce of my country according to the funds thereof, and out of the Rs. 20,000 annual profit which I reap from my trade with the Laccadives, I am also to pay the half to Government." And further stipulations provided for the future revision of the estimate of income, and for the sequestration, if need be, of the whole of the produce of the islands and of the islands themselves.

The pepper monopoly³ was next abolished in the south, while in the north it was limited to one-half of the produce to be taken in kind. Owing to some clashing between the authority exercised by the Joint Commission and by the Supravisor respectively, a uniform system of dealing with the pepper produce throughout the province was not introduced.

The Commissioners next turned their attention to the affairs of the Honourable Company's mortgaged district of Randattara, and an agreement⁴ was on 26th April 1793 entered into with the Achchanmar or Chiefs of that district, that on condition of the revenue of their estates being estimated at 20 per cent on garden produce and 15 per cent on rice lands, the rates which had prevailed since 1741, when the province was first mortgaged⁵ to the Company, and with an exemption in favor of temple lands and of their own houses, they renounced all future right to manage the district after the native fashion, with its fines and mulcts and presents and succession duties.

The waste lands of this district having been thus placed at the disposal of Government, a number of Native Christians who had fled from Canara and Mysore in consequence of Tippu's persecutions

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XXXIII.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XXXVI, XXXVII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XXXIV, XXXV.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XXXIX.

⁵ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XLIV.

were allowed to settle with their families on the waste lands in Randattara, and were granted advances of money to carry on cultivation.

Iruvalinad, the district of the Nambiaris,¹ which was a most important tract of country to the Honourable Company in the early days of the Tellicherry Factory, was next taken in hand by the Commissioners. The district had been in a disturbed state owing to the mutual animosities and jealousies of the Nambiaris themselves and to the confused method in which they conducted the administration. It was very necessary to protect the lower classes of the people from the exactions of the Nambiaris, who now, freed by the strong arm of the Company *from dependence on those beneath them*, would have taken the opportunity, if it had been afforded them, of enriching themselves at the expense of their poorer neighbours and subjects. The Commissioners accordingly, on the 14th May 1793, took from them an agreement² to protect the poorer class of landholders and to put an end to the exaction of the feudal fines and mulcts and duties and presents which had formerly been customary, and further arranged that the Nambiaris were to conclude a detailed settlement³ with Mr. Galley, the Northern Superintendent at Tellicherry. An allowance of 10 per cent "on the Government's moiety of Revenue was granted to the Nambiaris for their support and comfort."

It may be noted in passing that the Honourable Company's officers had had for many years previously exceptional opportunities of studying the organisation of this petty district, and the care displayed by the Commissioners in protecting the rights of the lower orders of landholders in this district should have been extended widely throughout the Province; but in place of viewing the *janmam* right over land in its true aspect as a mere right to exercise *authority over the persons* of those who resided thereon, the Commissioners accepted the view that *janmam* right was *a right to the soil*, the *plenum dominium* of Latin jurists, and as such they proceeded shortly afterwards, as will be presently seen, to set forth, and to direct the Courts to act upon, *that EUROPEAN IDEA*.

The Commissioners, after some unsatisfactory negotiations with the northern rajas, returned to Calicut, where they on 18th May 1793 accepted the (as it appeared to them at the time) agreeable proposal⁴ of the Kurumbranad Raja to appoint a person on the part of the Company to assist in his collections for the ensuing year, on the result of which a permanent lease might be granted to him not only for the district of Kurumbranad, but also for Kottayam and Parappanad, which were in the possession of his two nephews of the Kottayam family, over whom it was alleged he possessed entire ascendancy. The latter district had fallen to the family by adoption and by the recent death of the old Parappanad Raja. As after events fully proved, however, the Kottayam

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XV, XVI, XL and LXVI.
² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LXIII, LXIV.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XLI.
⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XLII.

nephew of Kurumbranad—the famous Palassi (Pychy) Raja—was not amenable to control by his uncle, and the uncle was powerless to execute his own orders in the Palassi country. He further agreed subsequently to relinquish the districts of Payyanad, Puluvey and Payyormala, which had been included in the first agreement entered into by him.

At this juncture the Mappillas of the south began to give trouble. Major Dow was deputed a second time to settle with the robber chiefs Haidros and Unni Mutta Muppan, but as they were refractory, Captain Burchall marched against Unni Mutta and surrounded his fortified house. The robber chief, however, made a desperate sally and escaped. But some of his noted followers were captured and his lands sequestered.

Meanwhile, encouraged by their success with the Kurumbranad Raja, the Commissioners proceeded to negotiate the same sort of agreement with the Zamorin, whose chief Minister, Shammath, they had engaged to assist in the work and further to institute a canongoe establishment throughout the country to bring into and keep in order the accounts of each district, and to act as local assistants, guides and intelligencers to the servants of Government in the discharge of their duties, and to serve as checks upon undue exactions on the part of the Rajas. To these two points the Zamorin was induced on 29th June 1793 to give his assent¹ on condition of an adequate provision being made for his family. He further agreed to give up his right to customs and transport duties, he being allowed to keep accounts of the receipts in the Company's custom houses. In regard to the mint a compromise was agreed to by the Commissioners that the general direction should remain exclusively under the Company, but that the Raja's people should assist in the details of the business, and that he should be allowed half the profits.

Similar terms² were accepted shortly afterwards by the Rajas of Kadattanad and Kurumbranad, the latter making separate similar engagements also for Kottayam and Parappanad. Shortly after these arrangements had been made, Mr. Boddam rejoined the Commission from Palghat. Itta Punga Achchan, who had settled with the Bombay Commissioners for the first year's lease, had shot himself and had been succeeded by his nephew Itta Kombi Achchan. The latter had imprisoned a rival claimant to the raj, by name Kunji Achchan, but on the arrival at Palghat of the deputed Commissioner, the latter was set free.

Similar terms³ to those arranged with the aforesaid Rajas had been made on 21st June 1793 with the managing Achchan, but with an additional clause restricting him from the exercise of any judicial authority in consequence of the beheading of the Malasar already alluded to.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LXIV.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XLV, XLVII.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XLVI.

Similar terms ¹ to those made with the Achchan were likewise arranged with the Nayars of Kavalappara, Kongad, Mannur and Edattara, and for the benefit of the subjects of the Achchan and of the three last-named Nayars the Commissioners agreed ² to the establishment at Palghat of an inferior Court subordinate to the Southern Superintendent for the trial of small suits and of "inconsiderable quarrels, brawls and affrays."

The Chirakkal Raja also at length, on 5th July 1793, acceded ³ to the terms, and the Beypore Raja likewise executed an engagement ⁴ similar to that entered into by the Palghat Achchan.

The deeds were all forwarded to the Supravisor with directions to appoint Tahsildars or Collectors in the several districts with subordinate Parbutties and Menons, exclusive of Canongoes, who were separately furnished with instructions so as to ensure "such a control over the collections as would enable the Company's servants to ascertain at the end of the year the nature and constituent parts and amount of the public revenue."

In regard to the remaining districts there were disputed claims, which, previous to a settlement, it was necessary to adjust. The districts of Chirakkal and Parappanad were also in dispute, and it will be proper here to notice the conflicting claims.

The competitor for Chirakkal was a young Raja of the family, as already noticed, who had never left Travancore. His claims were set aside in favour of the Raja, with whom the settlement was first made from his having been in possession from the earlier period, but the claimant was allowed to make good his right, if so advised, by suit in the Adalat Court.

Parappanad was subject to two claims, one from a person claiming as nephew of the late Raja, who had adopted a member of the Kottayam family of which the Kurumbranad Raja, as already mentioned, was the head. This claim was left open for investigation. The other was advanced by the Zamorin, but he was not able to substantiate it. The Kurumbranad Raja, who had made the settlement for his nephew, was therefore held responsible for the revenues.

The Zamorin's claims to Vettattanad, on the ground that he had been levying some dues from the Mappillas of this district, were rejected as untenable, as also was the one advanced by him to Kavalappara.

His pretensions to Chetwai Island were next enquired into and decided against him. It had been taken from him by the Dutch in 1717, and from the latter by Hyder Ali in 1776, and the English in 1790 took it from Tippu Sultan and leased it to the Cochin Raja for Rs. 40,000 per annum.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XLVIII to LI.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LV.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LII and LIII.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LIV.

The Zamorin next preferred a claim to Payyanad, and as the four chiefs acknowledged him as their lord paramount, his claim was accordingly admitted.

His demand for the restoration of Pulavayi was left in suspense to be settled by the Supravisor as its Nayar chiefs were openly resisting the attempts of the Zamorin to interfere in the concerns of their country.

His claim on Payyormala he himself renounced, and this district was placed directly under the Company.

Finally, the Zamorin and the Talapalli or Punattur Raja both claimed the Chavakkad district, which had, the latter alleged, been at one time in the exclusive possession of his ancestors, but the Zamorins had been gradually usurping the district from them. It was arranged that both parties should enter into a written engagement binding themselves to abide by the Supravisor's decision, and in the meantime a proper allowance for his support was granted to the claimant by the Zamorin.

Marco Antonio Rodrigues, a descendant of the former Linguists of the Tellicherry Factory, next laid claim to the petty district of Kallai in Chirakkal under a deed of conveyance¹ to his grandfather by the Chirakkal Raja in 1758, and which the present Raja had quietly resumed. The claim was submitted for the decision of the Governor-General, and meanwhile the district was sequestered by the Company. How the matter was finally settled cannot be traced in the records.

Hyat Sahib, a converted Hindu of the Nambiar caste of Chirakkal, whose interesting biography has already² been related at some length, advanced his claims on a similar deed³ granted by the Chirakkal Raja in 1783 to the three taras or villages of Chalat, Talapil and Kumattur, which were the identical places claimed by the Bibi of Cannanore as her jaghire, obtained⁴ from Tippu at the time of her daughter's marriage to Tippu's son. The grant to Hyat Sahib was pronounced invalid by the Commissioners as having been obtained by fraud and the claim was rejected.

On the representation of Said Ali, the Quilandy Tangal or Muhammadan high priest, that a jaghire had been conferred on him by Tippu, a grant exempting his house and property from taxation during his lifetime was given him.

The French claim to the petty district of Kurangot as a dependency of their settlement at Mahe early led to much discussion, and was in itself very much involved, but France was just then in the throes of the Reign of Terror. King Louis XVI died on the scaffold on the 21st January 1793. On the 1st of February war was declared by the French Republic against England and Holland, and for the

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. LXXI.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XCI.

² *Conf.* p. 431 foot-note.

⁴ *Conf.* p. 453.

third time in its history the French settlement at Mahe had to open¹ its gates to a hostile English force under Colonel Hartley on the 16th July 1793. The garrison, after surrendering, was allowed to march out with all the honours of war. The settlement was placed under Mr. G. Parry as Superintendent of Police.

It was at this time that Mr. Murdoch Brown, who had been in French employ and whose name is intimately connected with the early administration of the country, joined the Company's service. He was at first made Deputy Superintendent of Police, which appointment being disapproved by Government he resigned it. But he was afterwards re-entertained as Superintendent of Police, and was subsequently made overseer of the Company's plantation in Rاندattara, of which he eventually became the possessor² by purchase on a ninety-nine years' lease. His descendants still hold this estate under the original grant.

Having concluded the general mode of arrangement for the ensuing year, the Commissioners next proceeded to draw up general regulations for the administration of the revenue, founded entirely on the Bengal Code, modified so as to adapt it to the circumstances of the country. These were followed by Regulations for the civil and criminal administration of justice to take effect from 1st July 1793, with some supplementary articles in both departments. In the Revenue Department, Dewans were appointed to help the Supravisor and Superintendents, and bound by muchilkas or penal obligations for good behaviour and integrity. In the Judicial Department seven local Darogas or native Judges were appointed, subordinate to the Provincial Courts of the Superintendents, viz., at Cannanore, Quilandy, Tirurangadi, Ponnani, Palghat, Tanur and Chetwai. The Roman Catholic padre of Calicut, however objected to the "infidel tribunal" of the Darogas, and claimed the ancient privilege of the Portuguese Factory of jurisdiction over Christians. This claim being incompatible with the principles of British rule was rejected, but the padre was allowed to attend the Fouzdarry Court to explain the law at the trial of Christians.

The Commissioners further laid down regulations³ relative to the *janmis*. This subject is fully discussed in section (a) of Chapter IV. The Joint Commissioners viewed the status of a *janmi* as being equivalent in all respects to that of a Roman *dominus*. The matter was very insufficiently investigated by the Commissioners. The *janmi* was simply a man exercising authority within a certain defined area, and entitled as such to a well-defined share of the produce—the *pattam* or ancient land revenue assessment—of the land lying within that area. But by the Commissioners' action the *janmi* was constituted the lord of the soil, and it is not to be wondered at that in time the *janmis* began, with the help of the courts of justice, to show very small respect for the rights of the tillers of the soil—the ryots in fact. The ryots, on the other hand, viewed the

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LVII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCLXIX.

³ Published subsequently by the authority of the Supravisor, Mr. Farmer.—*Treaties, etc.*, ii. LXVIII.

Government as the inheritors in succession to Tippu and Hyder Ali of the *pattam* or land revenue assessment, and this was explicitly stated to the Commissioners by a deputation of influential Mappillas whom the Commissioners called together to consult on the subject. If the Commissioners had followed out the rule laid down in the fourth paragraph of the agreement with the Iruvalinad Nambiars, which has already been commented on, the status of the ryots of Malabar would have been very different at the present day.

But the erroneous idea thus authoritatively promulgated was accepted without question in all further proceedings both in the Administrative Department and in that of Civil Justice, and the question as to whether the Commissioners' action was correct or not was not raised until so recently as 1881.

They also framed regulations¹ for the custom house collections, prohibited the export slave trade and dealing in gunpowder, warlike weapons and stores. They declared the trade in timber to be free, abolished the levy of profits on black pepper, coconuts, etc., as impolitic, and instructed the Supravisor to levy a modern tax in the shape of licence on the retail tobacco trade.

They granted one per cent of the land collection of the Zamorin's districts to Shammath, a Palghat Brahman and the *Sarvvadi Karyak-karan* or chief minister of the Zamorin, for services rendered by him to the Company. An attempt was made by two of the Rajas of the Padinyaru Kovilakam (western palace) of the Zamorin's house to assassinate² him because he failed to procure them their restoration to Nedunganad. These Rajas then proceeded to the southward to raise disturbances, and were joined by Unni Mutta Muppan, the Mappilla bandit chief, and some Gowndan Poligar chiefs from Coimbatore who had rebelled against Tippu. Subsequently, too, they were joined by Kunhi Achchan of the Palghat family, who fled to them after having murdered a Nayar. This Kunhi Achchan's claims to the management of the Palghat District had been rejected by the Joint Commissioners.

The Padinyaru Kovilakam Rajas, for whose capture the Supravisor offered Rs. 5,000 reward, were hotly pursued by Captain Burchall as far as the Anamala Mountains, whence they escaped into Travancore.

The Coorg Raja next renewed his complaints about the boundary in dispute with Tippu, and Captain Murray was in consequence deputed to his country and appointed Resident at his court.

Major Dow next proceeded to the Court of the Travancore Raja on a separate commission from the Bombay Government to organise the military defence of the country. Mr. Boddam was compelled by illness to proceed to the Carnatic, and the two remaining members went to the south to Alikkotta and Cochin, where the Cochin Raja's

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LXII.

² Though severely wounded, he recovered under the treatment of Surgeon Wye.

revived claims to Kavalappara, and the important question whether the district of Cranganore formed part of the Company's island of Chetwai or not, engaged their attention.

The deputed Commissioners, to whom among other subjects the first point had been committed for enquiry, had at a very early stage given their opinion that the Kavalappara district ought not to be granted to the Raja, as his claim was based solely on its having been inserted in the Cochin Treaty of 1790—a judgment in which the other members concurred, and to which the Commissioners now adhered in the renewed discussion. As to the second point, after a lengthy correspondence with the Raja, and with Herr Van Anglebeck, the Dutch Governor of Cochin, determined to let Cranganore remain with the Raja until the pleasure of Government should be known.

They likewise agreed to the renewal of the lease to the Cochin Raja of the island of Chetwai.

Meanwhile a storm was brewing in the district of Kottayam in the north. The Kurumbranad Raja had agreed with the Joint Commissioners, as has already been stated, to manage that district, and it has also been observed that that agreement was a mistake inasmuch as the Kurumbranad Raja had no power or influence in the district, which was completely under the control of Kerala Varma Raja of the Padinyaru Kovilakam (western palace) of Kottayam, the head-quarters of which were located at Palassi, whence Kerala Varma was usually styled the Palassi (Pychy) Raja. It will be convenient in the rest of this narrative to give him this abbreviated title.

The Palassi (Pychy) Raja had already, in April 1793, been guilty of the exercise of one act of arbitrary authority in pulling down a Mappilla mosque erected in the bazaar of Kottayam. The Joint Commissioners took no notice of the act, although it was in direct opposition to the conditions of the engagement made with the Kurumbranad Raja for the Kottayam district.

Again, in September 1793, the Mappillas of Kodolli applied to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja for leave to build or to rebuild a mosque, and were told in reply to give a present. They began to build without making the preliminary gift to the Raja, so he sent Calliadan Eman with five armed men to bring the Mappilla headman (Talib Kutti Ali) before him. The headman delayed; the escort attempted to seize him; whereupon Kutti Ali drew his sword and killed Calliadan Eman, and was in turn killed by the others. On receipt of news of this affair the Raja sent an armed party with orders to slay all the Mappillas in Kodoli. The party went and slew six Mappillas with a loss to themselves of two killed and four wounded.

The Supervisor and Commissioners, probably from various reasons, and more especially the danger of throwing the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, with Wynad at his back, into the arms of Tippu, and the danger of losing the pepper crop of the district, took no

steps to deal summarily with him, as they had already done with the Achchan of Palghat for the execution of the Malasta. They contented themselves with a mild remonstrance addressed to the Kurumbranad Raja and with the despatch of troops to Kodolli and Palassi. The Palassi detachment was accompanied by a European Assistant. The Raja, alarmed at the movement of troops, designed as he thought to make a prisoner of him, refused to come to Tellicherry to explain matters to the Northern Superintendent, and ironically referred the Supravisor for explanation to his "elder brother" of Kurumbranad. He further in his reply expressed surprise at his not being "allowed to follow and be guided by our ancient customs" in the slaughter of erring Mappillas.

With disturbances thus brewing both in the north and in the south, the Joint Commission was brought to a not unsuccessful close, for the bulk of the country continued to be in a fairly peaceable state and to pay a fair revenue. Among the last acts of the Joint Commissioners were the inauguration of a postal establishment and the institution of enquiries regarding the manufacture of salt and regarding other industries, which subjects were left at present in abeyance by order of Government.

On the 11th October 1793 the Commission dissolved itself. The members forwarded to the Governor-General a most elaborate and very valuable report on the province, framed from materials which they had with untiring industry collected.

Just before the Joint Commission was dissolved, the Supravisor made a grant exempting the lands of the Kundotti Tangal (a high priest of one section of the Mappillas) from payment of the revenue, as had been the custom in Tipu's time, on the condition that the Tangal and his people would prove loyal to the Honourable Company—a promise which they have ever since very faithfully fulfilled.

The Supravisor (Mr. Farmer) was now in uncontrolled charge of the province, and among his first acts after issuing the *janmi* proclamation already alluded to, was to settle the long pending dispute between the Zamorin and Punattur Rajas by inducing¹ the former to allow the latter 20,000 fanams or Rs. 5,700 annually for his support.

To encourage people in catching elephants he next gave² up the Government royalty in them and proclaimed that the Company would be satisfied with one-third of the value of any elephant caught.

The system of joint collection and of canongoe inspection of the real revenue funds of the country did not from various causes turn out satisfactorily.

The first difficulties were experienced in the northern division, where the Rajas generally complained that the country could not bear the assessment which they had engaged to pay, and they evinced a spirit of dissatisfaction. The Supravisor was advised

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LX, LXI, and LXIX.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LXX.

by one of the Commissioners, Mr. Duncan, that "no consideration of temporary pecuniary advantage to the Honorable Company ought to induce him to enter into, or very much risk the contingency of being led into a state of warfare with any of the Rajas, especially with those who hold cOWls from the chiefs of Tellicherry." Therefore in Mr. Farmer's conference with the Kadattanad Raja, he in December 1793 made certain concessions¹ to him by altering the demand from half the produce in kind to half the *pattam*, and by other measures which it is needless to specify in detail as the Government of India afterwards rescinded them.

✓ The Palassi (Pychy) Raja appears to have been the most discontented of all, and up to November 1793 no collections of revenue had been made in Kottayam. Moreover, the Palassi (Pychy) Raja had threatened to cut down all the pepper vines if the Company's officers persisted in counting them. In short he conducted himself in a way that fully justified the Joint Commissioners in styling him "the most untractable and unreasonable of all the Rajas." On the deputation of one of the Company's Linguists, Mr. Lafrenais, to enquire into his grievances, it was discovered that his uncle, the Kurumbranad Raja, from views of personal advantage, had secretly instigated him to resist the execution of those very terms of settlement with the Commissioners which he had himself concluded with the Company on behalf of his nephew. He thus hoped to involve the Company in active hostilities with the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, who now, convinced of his machinations, entered on 20th December 1793 into an agreement² direct with Mr. Farmer for the districts of Katirur, Palassi, Kuttiyadi and Tamarasseri on the same liberal lines as those accorded to Kadattanad.

But over and above these concessions to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, Mr. Farmer further agreed³ for one year, until orders could be obtained, not to collect the assessment on temple lands, and to remit further one-fifth of the revenues for the maintenance of the Raja, and for the support of the temples one-fifth more in consideration of the assistance given against Tippu and of the Raja's ancient friendship with the Company.

The same liberal terms accorded to Kadattanad were also granted⁴ to the Chirakkal Raja on 7th January 1794.

There is every reason to believe that these concessions, all of which were subsequently rescinded by the Governor-General, secured (for a time at least) the tranquillity of the northern division of the province.

The Bengal Commissioners submitted on the 2nd February 1794 a supplementary report dwelling on the subject of the troubles excited by the Padinyaru Kovilakam Rajas of the Zamorin's house and Unni Mutta Muppan, the unadjusted boundary concerns with Tippu and regarding the money levied in Malabar by the

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LXXIII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LXXV.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LXXIV.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LXXVI.

Travancore Dewan, which last transaction had on enquiry been denied by the Dewan. The Commissioners were now of opinion that the sums exhibited were not justly recoverable.

Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, in a lengthy letter to the Bombay Governor, the Honourable G. Dick, dated 27th March 1794, conveyed the Supreme Government's general approbation and confirmation of the several institutions and regulations framed by the Joint Commissioners—of the agreements concluded by them with the Rajas—and of the decisions arrived at by them in the cases of disputed claims. Respecting other points it passed the following orders :—

To treat Randattara as a part of the Company's domain, but to relinquish all demands on the Chirakkal Raja for debts due by him and his predecessors on former accounts, inclusive of his suretyship for the debts of his kinsman, the Nilesvaram Raja.

To apprehend the Padinyaru Kovilakam Rajas of the Zamorin's house, or allow them the option of retiring to Travancore on an adequate pension.

To allow Cranganore to remain with the Cochin Raja, as well as to renew the Chetwai lease with him for a term of years with the assent of its inhabitants.

To allow the three villages of Perur, Allungur and Kunatnad to remain with Travancore till the decisions of the Court of Directors were received.

And to relinquish the claims on the Travancore Dewan for the collections made by him during the war.

Regarding the Bibi of Cannanore the Supreme Government called for further particulars in respect of the sums brought to the Company's credit by the reduction of Cannanore in 1784 by General Macleod and regarding the mortgage claims to the islands of Chovakkaran Mussa, and directed that an officer in a cruizer should be deputed to report on the state of the Laccadive Islands.

With regard to the boundary disputes the Supreme Government proposed to despatch Captain Doveton to enquire into the subject of the doubtful possession of Wynad and the frontiers in order to bring the whole into an amicable adjustment.

The despatch further authorised the abolition of the Tellicherry Factory.

This measure was at once carried into effect, and the old Tellicherry Factory, which had exercised, as these pages show, such abundant influence for good in the annals of the Malayalis for over a century, and which had existed as an oasis of peace and security and good government during all those troublous times, ceased to exist as such on the 27th July 1794. A temporary Commercial Residency under the Chief, Mr. Taylor, was established in its place at Mahe.

In the beginning of the year 1794 Mr. Farmer left, and was succeeded in the Supravisorship by Mr. J. Stevens, Senior.

The new Supravisor found fault with the engagements recently concluded with the three northern Rajas by his predecessor, and after a lengthy correspondence the agreements were rescinded by the Bengal Government as containing concessions improper and impolitic as well as opposed to the regulations framed by the Governor-General on the Joint Commissioners' reports, and the Supravisor was further directed to conclude engagements for a term of years with all the Rajas and chiefs. But he had to defer for a time the settlement with the northern Rajas and made but low progress with those in the south.

In the interim an agreement ¹ was on 8th May 1794 entered into with the Mappilla bandit chief Umi Mutta Muppan by Major Murray, and with a view, if possible, to secure peace to the country his small district of Elampulasserri was to be restored to him and a money allowance of Rs. 1,000 per annum granted. But he renewed his pretensions to a share of the revenue and began levying blackmail. The Supravisor thereupon revoked the engagement, and in lieu of it offered a reward of Rs. 3,000 for his capture. Captain MacDonald seized and demolished his stronghold on the forest-clad hill of Pandalur near Malapuram, as well as several other fortified houses belonging to him and his followers, and pursued him far into the jungles.

The petty robber chief Haidros was captured by the Ponnani Mappillas, was put on his trial and sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted into one of transportation to Botany Bay.

By October 1794 a beginning was made with the execution of the quinquennial ² agreements by the Rajas and chiefs in the south. These leases, after recapitulating the provisions of the Commissioners' agreements of 1792 and 1793, prohibited the levy of all exactions recently abolished and allowed only the collection of land-revenue and the charges for collection, while deductions were made for bringing waste lands into cultivation. In reality, however, the Devasthanams or temple lands, and cherikkal or private lands of the Rajas and chiefs, were also left out of assessment.

The data for fixing the revenue payable in each instance were as follows :—

The gross revenue realisable was first estimated ; from it 10 per cent. was deducted as charges of collection, 20 per cent, as allowances for the Raja or chief, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for temple lands and the Raja's or chiefs' private property.

A decennial ³ lease of Chetwai island was likewise, in accordance with the Governor-General's orders, granted in November 1794 to the Cochin Raja for the net sum of Rs. 30,000 per annum exclusive

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LXXVIII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LXXX to LXXXII, LXXXIV to LXXXVII.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. LXXXIII.

of the collections of customs, which were to be retained by the Company. The authority of the Company's judicial courts was likewise to be in force throughout the district. The island had produced only Rs. 22,053 when managed by the Company's officers direct in the previous year, but the Raja consented to pay the higher sum in order to keep the island out of the hands of the Zamorin, his hereditary foe.

Upon similar data settlements were next effected with the Rajas in the north. The Kottayam and Parappanad leases were, however, once more executed by the Kurumbranad Raja—a repetition of the old mistake, as events soon proved, made originally by the Joint Commissioners. In this lease were included the district of Tamarasseri and eleven desams of Pulavayi as appendages of Kottayam, while the Pulavayi Nayar chiefs were granted a separate lease.¹

The Danish Governor of Tranquebar, through his Agent Mr. W. Brown of Alleppey, had in 1792 and 1793 advanced claims to the Danish Factory at Calicut. The Danish Governor of Tranquebar (Ans Arnest Bonsark) had in 1752 sent an agent by name Jacob Christovo Suytenan to the Zamorin to effect a settlement in his dominions, and a plot of ground at Calicut called "Valappil Kadute" had been granted to the Danish nation on the same terms as those granted to the French Factory there, viz. : payment of customs on all goods imported and exported, supply of munitions of war, and aid in case of an attack on the Zamorin's territories.

This plot of ground adjoined the grounds of the French Factory. In 1766 the grant was continued by Hyder Ali. But in 1788, when Tippu began his religious persecutions in Malabar, the Danish Factor (Manuel Bernardes) under the orders of Tippu's Fouzdar Arsad Beg Khan precipitately fled from the place, abandoning his trust. The Governor-General, to whom the matter was referred, expressed in 1795 an opinion adverse to the Danish interests, as it was clear that the Danish Factor had voluntarily abandoned the possession in 1788 in Tippu's time. There the matter rested for many years; the buildings were in existence up to 1817 and were then in use as a hospital. The present Calicut hospital appears to occupy the exact site of the Danish Factory. In 1845 the British Government acquired for four lakhs of rupees all Danish claims in India and extinguished this one among others.

As already said, the repetition of the old mistake of entrusting the management of the Kottayam district to a chief who had no power or influence therein, and the passing over of the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's claims to the Government of that district, very soon bore disastrous fruit.

Some time before the lease was concluded, one of the Iruvalinad Nambiaris—Narangoli—had brought himself within reach of the law. One of his people had been killed by a Mappilla, and in

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XCIV.

revenge the Nambiar put to death three of that class, being instigated (as it was alleged, but there was no conclusive proof of it) to that act by the Palassi (Pychy) Raja. However this may have been, the Nambiar fled to the protection of the Raja, and in spite of the Supravisor's remonstrances, that chief protected the refugee. The Supravisor then declared the Nambiar to be a rebel and confiscated his lands and property.

But there was worse to follow, for about 28th June 1795 the Palassi (Pychy) Raja not only stopped the collection of the revenue of Kottayam, but once more took the law into his own hands. Two Mappillas were suspected of having committed a robbery in the house of a Chetti. The Raja explained afterwards that they confessed their crime; they were certainly kept in confinement for some months. Then they were tried according to the ancient usage of the country, it was alleged, and on their own confessions were sentenced to death. Their execution was carried out on or about the above date at Venkad *by impalement alive* according to ancient custom. This barbarous form of execution was known to Malayalis as the *kalu* or eagle, and the impaling stake appears to have been so named from its resemblance to that bird.

The news of this event reached the Supravisor early in July, and shortly afterwards there arrived intelligence of another arbitrary act on the part of the Raja; he, it was said, deliberately shot another Mappilla through the body while retiring from his presence, whither he had gone to present a gift. These arbitrary acts could not be overlooked. The Supreme Government directed that the Raja should be put upon his trial for murder, but it was not easy to bring this about, for the Raja was well guarded by five hundred well armed Nayars from Wynad. In August 1795 the Supravisor stationed detachments of troops at the bazaar of Kottayam itself and at Manattana to protect the Kurumbranad Raja's revenue collectors. These detachments were withdrawn for a time because of troubles with the Mappillas in Ernad and Vellatiri, but they were again posted in November to keep the peace, and as Mr. Rickards expressed it, "From this time forward the conduct of Kerala Varma (Palassi Raja) continued to be distinguished by a contempt for all authority." He delighted to show how powerless Kurumbranad was to carry out his engagement for the Kottayam district.

Meanwhile events in the war already alluded to, begun in Europe by Republican France against England and Holland, were destined to spread their influences to the Malabar coast. The French Republican army entered Holland. The Stadtholder fled to England, and thence in February 1795, after the proclamation of the Batavian Republic in alliance with France, he addressed a circular to all the Dutch Governors and Commandants to admit British troops into all the Dutch "Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies" to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French. Mr. Vanspall was at this time Governor of Cochin. He began laying in provisions with a view to standing a siege, and he

invited the Cochin Raja to help him. On July 23rd Major Petrie, under orders from Colonel Robert Bowles, commanding the troops in Malabar, marched from Calicut to the Dutch frontier with a small force of infantry to obtain a peaceable surrender of the Dutch settlement. But the Governor refused to give up the place, and Major Petrie had then to wait till a siege train could be brought up. The Supervisor (Mr. Stevens) proceeded in person to Cochin in the beginning of September to endeavour to arrange matters with Mr. Vanspall, and a conference ensued, at which it was agreed that the surrender should take place. But next day the Governor changed his mind and the negotiations were suspended.

A force consisting of the remainder of His Majesty's 77th regiment (two companies being already with Major Petrie at Cochin), another battalion (the 5th) of native infantry, and a company of artillery with 6 six-pounder field-pieces, 6 eighteen-pounders, 6 twelve-pounders and 2 eight-inch mortars, was accordingly ordered down the coast to Major Petrie's assistance. The force was safely landed to the south of Cochin, and on the night of 19th October fire was opened. "A shell" was cast with excellent skill into the centre of the Government House, bursting without any disaster: the white flag was at once hoisted, and a suspension of hostilities agreed to during the negotiations for a surrender." Major Petrie's reply to the Dutch proposals was sent off at 11-30 on 19th October; the armistice was to last till 4 A.M., by which hour Mr. Vanspall's acceptance of the term was required. The terms were² accepted, and Cochin passed into British possession at noon on 20th October 1795.

With Cochin there passed also into the hands of the British the Dutch, formerly Portuguese, settlement of Tangasseri on the point of land lying west of Quilon bay, and the various petty places named in paragraph 299 of section (b), Chapter IV, lying to the north and south of Cochin in the territories of the Cochin and Travancore Rajas, which now, with Cochin itself, constitute the British taluk of Cochin.

Cochin and these dependencies were finally ceded to the British Government by the Paris Convention of 1814.

One of the members of the former Joint Commission—the Honourable Jonathan Duncan—having been appointed as Governor of Bombay, visited in November and December 1795 Travancore and Malabar whilst *en route* by sea from Bengal to the Presidency.

During his visit to Travancore Mr. Duncan concluded a temporary commercial engagement and a treaty³ of "future perpetual friendship, alliance and subsidy" with the Travancore Raja on the 17th November 1795. The taluks of Perur, Alungad and Kunnatnad had been ceded by Tippu to the British in 1792. The question as to whether these districts should be occupied by the Honourable Company or left on the former footing as part of the Raja's territory was now decided

¹ "British and Native Cochin," by C. A. L.: Cochin, 1860, p. 15.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XCVI.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XCVII to XCIX.

in favour of the latter. The Raja had at a comparatively recent date¹ acquired these districts by conquest from the Raja of Cochin and his feudatories, and it was on this account, and because Tippu's troops had in 1790, after the taking of the Travancore lines, overrun this part of the country, that the Sultan had claimed them as his own possessions.

The Governor also held conferences with the subordinate Rajas of the Padinyaru Kovilakam (western palace) of the Zamorin's family, and finally settled, with a view to the preservation of peace, an allowance² of Rs. 10,000 for their maintenance payable by the Zamorin.

In his minute of 17th December 1795, written on board the "*Panther*" on his way to Bombay, Mr. Duncan considered at great length another question of importance which forced itself upon his notice.

Out of a total revenue of something more than fourteen lakhs of rupees due for the year ending September 1795, no less a balance than upwards of six lakhs of rupees remained uncollected on the 31st October 1795. Prior to Mr. Duncan's arrival at Calicut on 21st November the Supravisor had, however, collected Rs. 1,67,704 of the arrears, but a balance of nearly four and a half lakhs of rupees remained unadjusted.

Mr. Duncan under these circumstances procured agreements³ or insisted on the deposit of good securities⁴ by the principal indebted chieftains. And he further insisted on their signing agreements⁴ binding themselves to regularity in the future payments of their dues, and in default of the regular discharge of their obligations he insisted on their agreeing to pay interest on all arrears at the following rates :—

For the first	8 days after due date	12 per cent per annum.
Do. next	20 do. do.	24 do. do.
Do. do.	30 do. do.	36 do. do.

and so on, 1 per cent. *per mensem* being added to the rate of interest for each additional month on which the arrears remained unpaid. And on failure to pay arrears within twenty-eight days, the Honourable Company were to be at liberty to enter into possession and collect the revenue direct from the ryots until ample security was given "for the future punctuality of the payments."

There can be no manner of doubt that the system of settlement adopted by the Joint Commission, of which Mr. Duncan was President during the greater portion of its existence, was very unsuited to the circumstances of the country.

¹ *Conf.* p. 403.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. C, CI, CIII, CIV, CV.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXII.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CVI to CX.

The Zamorin had in a very characteristic letter, as he himself put it, "opened his heart" to the Joint Commissioners, and at an early period in 1792 had assured them that "By the ancient customs of Malabar the Nayars held their lands free; they paid no revenue to any one, but were obliged to attend their Rajas when called on to war." And his experience in endeavouring, as required by the Commissioners, to levy the general assessment imposed by the Mysoreans was thus graphically described: "*As for me, when my people ask for revenue (from the Mappillas), they shake their swords at them.*" And as to the Nayars: "They think that my government is returned, and they hope to be relieved of all the oppressions of Tippu. To this I am obliged to reply that the country and the government is with the Company, whose armies must protect it; that, unless they willingly contribute to the expense of maintaining them according to what is just, the country may go back to Tippu, and instead of living in peace under the shadow of the Company, all our troubles and vexations may return and we may be driven back into the Travancore country."

"This I tell them; but after all, you know they are not like the people of other countries, who live collected in cities where the hand of government can reach them and the tax-gatherer has an easy task. *They live in woods and in hills, with every house separate, and that house defensible.*"

Had the Joint Commissioners, instead of accepting as conclusive the statement that the Nayars paid "no revenue to any one," pursued their investigations a little farther than they did, and sought reasons for the assertion that Malabar was an exception to all other territories in India in having no land revenue system, they would undoubtedly have been convinced in the end that the Zamorin's statement was not strictly accurate. The fact was that, as stated more at large in section (a) of Chapter IV, Malabar was no exception to the rule, and that *pattam*, which the Joint Commissioners viewed simply as *rent* in the European sense, was in reality a land revenue assessment imposed on every cultivated acre of land, as indeed the very name itself indicates, for *pattam* is simply the pad (*i.e.*, authority's) varam (share of the produce).

The Nayars who paid "no revenue to any one" were simply fragments of a government which had at one time levied this *pattam* throughout the province. The subdivision and re-subdivision of the authority of government were perfectly marvellous and probably unparalleled in the history of any country in the world. The great families—the Zamorin, Kolattiri, Walluvanad, Palghat, Kottayam, Kadattanad, Kurumbranad, etc.—were petty suzerains, each with numbers of vassals, more or less independent, and more or less fluctuating in numbers, who again were suzerains to still pettier chiefs, also more or less independent and more or less fluctuating in numbers. The subdivisions of authority did not cease till the lowest stratum of agricultural society was reached.

The society thus constituted was on a thoroughly sound basis, for the strongest men had opportunities of coming to the front (so to speak). The great bulk of the payers of the *pattam* were themselves Nayars, the "eyes," the "hands," and the givers of "orders" as the Keralolpatti pithily expresses their state functions. These Nayars naturally attached themselves to the strongest individuals of their community, taking with them of course the *pattam* or authority share of the produce, which formed a substantial object of ambition to the pushing men of the community.

In this way numberless petty chieftains arose, and the great families waxed or waned just according as they were able to attract to their following larger or fewer numbers of these petty chieftains. "No revenue" was in one sense levied from the petty chiefs who thus flocked round the standards of the great families, for the petty chiefs themselves enjoyed the ancient land revenue assessment.

But in another sense land revenue was paid on every cultivated acre; the difficulty was to see and realise that this revenue was really what, in every other Indian province, has constituted the basis of the revenues of the province.

But what the Joint Commissioners failed to see was no mystery to the people themselves. The influential Mappillas in particular told Mr. Jonathan Duncan that the Mysorean Government had "taken or absorbed" the customary payments formerly made by them to the *janmis*, i.e., the *pads* or men in authority. This view was in every sense most natural; the ancient government of divided authorities had been superseded by the organised rule first of the Mysoreans, and afterwards of the Honourable Company, and what else could be expected than that the ancient government share of produce should go *along with the authority*?

The Joint Commissioners in express terms withdrew from the great families to whom they committed the revenue management of their ancient territories all authority except that of levying the land revenue, but the "authority" and the land revenue collection had never before been so divorced from each other, for in Mysorean times even the land revenue was collected direct from the cultivators by Mysorean officials. The result, of course, was that the petty chieftains, accustomed to independence, shook their swords or barred the doors of their defensible houses when the tax-gatherer came, and large balances of course accrued.

And again, such pressure as Mr. Duncan here brought to bear on the great families with a view to getting in their arrears of revenue was better calculated than anything else could have been to aggravate the very evil of which the Joint Commissioners had complained in their report¹ to Government that "They (the Rajas) have, (stimulated perhaps in some degree by the uncertainty as to their future situations), acted, in their avidity to amass wealth, more as

¹ Paragraph 261.

the scourges and plunderers than as the protectors of their respective little states." Freed by the presence of British troops from the restraints of having to consult the interests and feelings and prejudices of the petty chieftains who had formerly been their mainstays, the Rajas naturally enough perhaps, sought their own aggrandisement at the expense of their former subjects. About the only thing that can be said in favour of Mr. Duncan's drastic measures for getting in the land revenue is, and possibly this was intended by him, that it paved the way for speedily undoing the very work which he, as a Joint Commissioner, had laboriously elaborated.

Towards the middle of December 1795 Mr. Stevens, Senior, resigned the Supravisorship and was succeeded by Mr. Handley, and at the same time charges of corruption and bribery were brought before the Governor, Mr. Duncan, by the Zamorin against Messrs. Stevens, Senior,¹ J. Agnew,¹ and Dewan Ayan Aya, a Palghat Brahman, for extorting one lakh of rupees. The Bombay Government, in January 1796, accordingly appointed a commission for special enquiry into these charges and some other minor matters. The commission consisted of three members, Messrs. Wilkinson, Simpson and Fell.

Owing to this untoward state of affairs, added to disturbances in Chirakkal, Kottayam, etc., which will be presently related, and also to prevent the clashing of authority, the office of Supravisor was incorporated with the special commission, to which were appointed², on 18th May 1796, Lieutenant-Colonel Dow and Mr. Rickards in lieu of Messrs. Simpson and Fell. Mr. Handley, the Supravisor, also became for a short time a member of the commission.

The possessions taken from the Dutch were about the same time placed under a separate Commissioner, Mr. Hutchinson, the Anjongo Resident, who was soon after succeeded by Mr. Oliphant, and the Dutch inhabitants were allowed³ "for the present" the privilege of retaining the "exercise and operations of their laws, customs and usages."

¹ These officers were prosecuted by His Majesty's Attorney-General before the Court of King's Bench in London on charges of bribery and extortion. The trial began in 1801. They were found jointly guilty by a jury of having taken Rupees 85,000 from the Zamorin, and of having demanded larger sums. And on 18th June 1804 they were brought up before the Court for sentence. They were jointly condemned to the forfeiture of Rs. 85,000, the sum received from the Zamorin. Mr. Stevens was fined £5,000 over and above the said amount and sentenced to two years imprisonment "from that time and until he shall have discharged the fine." In consideration of Mr. Agnew's impoverished condition no fine was imposed on him, "but he was sentenced to a further imprisonment of two years from that time."—Court of Directors' despatch of 31st August 1804, paras. 71-74. The Principal Collector, on 18th May 1805, communicated the result of the trial to the Zamorin, and in accordance with the orders received, thus addressed him: "You will have it perused to you with attention, and I have no doubt be fully satisfied that the principles upon which the English wish to govern their subjects in India are founded upon truth and justice, and are particularly sensitive of the comforts and happiness of the natives of India."

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXV.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXIV.

Shortly afterwards fresh accusations were brought against other public officials by the Kavalappara Nayar, the Palghat Achchan, and the Kurumbranad Raja—against an officer (subsequently acquitted) and against the late Supravisor, Mr. Handley, and Dewans Ayan Aya, Chicken Aya, Purbu Pandurang and Ram Row of bribery and extortion of Rs. 62,000. Just about this time, too, a native cashkeeper, Kasinath Balajoe Prabhu, robbed the Government treasury of Rs. 27,000, and some defalcations in the military chest likewise came to notice.

The troubles in Chirakkal, to which allusion has already been made, arose from the Raja making a demand on the Chulali Nambiar for an excessive sum (Rs. 16,000 per annum) for the district which this chieftain held in the wildest part of the Chirakkal country. The Nambiar was one of those semi-independent chiefs who had formerly acknowledged a merely nominal suzerainty to the Kolattiri family. Reference¹ has already been made to the traditional origin of this family, and it is certain that from a very remote period it had enjoyed a position of semi-independence, if not complete independence. When the Chirakkal Raja obtained a lease of the whole of the Kolattiri dominions, the opportunity was too good to be lost to bring this hitherto free district into subjection so the Raja made demands which he knew could not be complied with, and when asked to settle the balance due by him, he assigned as his reason that the Nambiar was in arrears with the sum due from his district. Major Murray was ordered to visit the district, and in his report of 28th December 1795 after seeing the chief, he gave it as his opinion that the district was too highly assessed, that the Nambiar with his neighbours could raise among them 1,000 men armed with English firelocks, and that the country was too wild—he described it, as indeed it still is at the present day, “the strongest imaginable” for the purposes of guerilla warfare—to hold out any hopes of an easy subjection. He wound up by stating that the Raja on his part must concede, and that the Nambiar on the other should listen to reason.

The Raja, however, persisted in his assertion that the district was fairly assessed, and as the Nambiar had meanwhile allied himself with certain of the young Rajas of the Kolattiri family who were inclined to question the right of the Raja to the position he had acquired from the English, the Supravisor, after taking the orders of the Bombay Government, finally decided on 10th May 1796 to despatch a body of troops into the district under Major Murray to enforce the Raja's demands. The troops succeeded in driving the chieftain and his followers into the jungles, and Major Murray further succeeded in detaching from their alliance with the Nambiar the junior Rajas of the Kolattiri family who had taken refuge there.

The Nambiar on the 18th August then forwarded to the Commissioners a full statement of his claims, and particularly insisted on

¹ Conf. p. 234.

the excessiveness of the demand made against him by the Raja, and on the motives which had induced the Raja to misrepresent his actions to the Honourable Company with a view to acquiring the district for himself.

After some further negotiations the Northern Superintendent (Mr. Christopher Poile) finally adjusted the matters in dispute between them. The Raja was obliged to admit that his demand of Rs. 16,000 for the district was nearly Rs. 5,000 in excess of what it ought to have been, and on this basis the Superintendent on the 27th October effected a reconciliation between them and an adjustment of their accounts.

Unhappily for the peace of the province, matters were not so easily adjusted with the Palassi (Pychy) Raja. In November 1795 his conduct, as already stated, seemed to Mr. Rickards to be "distinguished by a contempt for all authority." He completely set aside the authority of his uncle of Kurumbranad, who had, at Mr. Stevens' request, signed the quinquennial lease for the Kottayam districts. Again and again requests were made to the Supravisor for troops to bring the Palassi (Pychy) Raja into subjection, but for a time those requests were disregarded. Meanwhile, however, the revenue was more and more falling into arrears, until at last in April-May 1796 orders came from Bombay to get in the arrears; and with this view to seize the person of the Raja and to bring him to trial for the murder of the three Mappillas.

The bulk of the troops were at this time absent at Colombo, but were daily expected back. Colonel Bowles, the Officer commanding the Province, formed on April 11th a plan for seizing the Raja. The Supravisor acquiesced in the plan, and on April 19th an attempt was made to put it into execution. In the early morning of that day 300 men of the 3rd battalion of native infantry, under Lieutenant James Gordon, marched from Tellicherry and surrounded the Raja's fortified house at Palassi at daybreak. An entrance was forced, but the affair had been mismanaged and the Raja had four days previously gone to Manattana in the jungles.

A quantity of treasure was found in the house, and a portion¹ of it only, as afterwards appeared, was sent to Tellicherry. The troops remained at the place and a proclamation was issued that they had been sent to protect the inhabitants against the Raja's oppression and violence.

The Raja resented the taking of his house and forwarded to the Supravisor a long list of articles said to have been in it. This list differed very materially from that prepared under Lieutenant Gordon's orders. But it was afterwards proved that it was in some respects at least erroneous.

The Raja after this could not feel himself safe in the low country, so the next news received of him was that, accompanied by his family and principal people, he had in May 1796 "ascended the

¹ 301 gold mohurs, 2,568 Venetians, and 1 gubbor.

mountains and gone to the Ghaut Parayool in the Wynad country." In June he stopped the traffic on the Kuttiyadi Ghat, and the British military force was in like manner directed to stop all communication between the upper and lower country, but not to pursue the Raja into Wynad. The military posts from which these operations were to be carried out were Manattana and Kuttiyadi.

But the force at Colonel Dow's disposal was insufficient for this service, and additional troops were requisitioned.

The change to Wynad, especially during the rains, appears to have been severely felt by the Raja, and in the end of June Colonel Dow, in whom (from old acquaintanceship at the siege of Tellicherry and subsequently) he appears to have placed much confidence, received at "Corote-Angady," in the Wynad, a penitential letter from him alluding to his "evil fate, which had compelled him to remove from his ancient abode to this strange habitation," and proposing to come in if pardoned and his property restored. Colonel Dow on 3rd July acceded to his request and promised him an "act of oblivion." The other Commissioners did not approve of this measure, and very pertinently remarked that Government had proceeded to violent measures with the Raja because lenient ones had been found ineffectual, and "if after going such lengths, we were to reinstate him without reserve merely because he petitions for forgiveness, either what has already been done was oppressive and unjust, or so doing must be the height of weakness and inconsistency." However, as Colonel Dow had made the promise, they felt compelled to confirm it in so far as he felt himself bound, and until the orders of Government could be obtained. But, on the other side it might have been argued that failing to come to terms with him would have thrown him into the arms of Tippu, and the cause of his proceeding to Wynad at all was the secret and unsuccessful attempt to take him in his house at Palassi.

In pursuance of this arrangement the Northern Superintendent returned from Manattana, and the Raja was, under Colonel Dow's orders, conducted to Palassi by Lieutenant Walker, and his property, except the treasure, was restored to him.

For his good behaviour pending the receipt of the orders of Government, Colonel Dow further took security¹ from the Kurumbranad Raja and four of the principal inhabitants of Kottayam, and in return Colonel Dow agreed² to use his efforts to get back the Palassi house, which had been attached, and to have a thorough enquiry made into the alleged plunder of it by the troops, on condition that the Raja explained to the satisfaction of Government his conduct in putting the three Mappillas to death.

In due time the orders³ of the Bombay and Supreme Governments were received (July 25th, August 16th, 23rd and 27th) approving of the Raja's reinstatement "on account of the owl⁴

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXVII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXXII.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXVIII.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, i. XCV.

granted to him by the Chief of Tellicherry," and likewise of Colonel Dow's action in granting a pardon, indemnity and act of oblivion on the terms agreed to by the Colonel, and his "restoration to his district and property" was distinctly ordered.

But these orders of Government were not communicated direct to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja. They were sent through the Raja of Kurumbranad, whose agents omitted both to communicate them to the Raja and to pay over to him the money taken at the sack of his house, which the Government had likewise ordered to be restored to him.

Moreover, the Kurumbranad Raja removed from the management of the Kottayam district an agent whom the Palassi Raja particularly wished to keep there. And this agent (Kaiteri Ambu) betook himself with some followers to Kanoth, where, it was reported, "they meditated tumult and commotion, and, working on the Pychy (Palassi) Raja's leading passions, had enticed him to join them." The Northern Superintendent wished to have an interview with the Raja, but by that time (October 1796) he had "retired to the most impenetrable part of the jungle."

In short, the Raja felt himself deceived (as indeed he had been by his uncle and his agents), and feared that the Commissioners, a majority of whom were determinedly set against him, would make another attempt to secure his person which might not be so unsuccessful as the last. Moreover, the Commissioners ought to have themselves carried out the orders regarding the "restoration to his districts and property" which both the Bombay and Supreme Governments had directed to be done.

Of course the result of his flight to the jungles was that the collections again fell into arrears.

Meanwhile further orders (17th October 1796) of the Supreme Government had likewise been received at Bombay, and were to the effect that the Commissioners were to take possession of Wynad, which both Governments, after the very favourable terms accorded by them to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, probably thought must now be in the Raja's friendly hands.

The orders regarding "restoration to his districts and property" had, however, meanwhile reached the Raja, and in November the Northern Superintendent then for the first time (although the orders were dated so far back as the previous July and August) asked what the "doubtful" phrase meant, and reported that the Raja expected to get back all the property which he alleged had been lost at Palassi and to obtain besides the direct management of the Kottayam district.

The Commissioners also now (24th November 1796) very tardily asked the Government what the "doubtful phrase" meant, and meanwhile took no steps to give effect to that portion of the orders which were clear, namely, to make the Kurumbranad Raja disgorge the intercepted treasure which should have been handed over by him long ago to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja.

Troops had already some time previously been sent to Periah in Wynad to protect the ingathering of the cardamom crop, and in November-December 1796 another detachment was sent for this same purpose. This movement of troops appears to have excited the gravest suspicions in the Raja's mind.

On December 1st, however, he attended a meeting arranged with the Northern Superintendent, and then chiefly dwelt on his being kept out of the management of Kottayam, and particularly in being placed in an intolerable position of subjection under the Kurumbranad Raja's agent, one Palaya Vittil Chandu, who had faithlessly deserted from his own service. He came to this meeting attended by 1,200 to 1,500 armed men.

A week was spent by the Superintendent in endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between the rival Rajas, but these well-meant efforts came to nothing owing to "duplicity" on the one side and "intolerable insolence" on the other.

After this, matters rapidly went from bad to worse. News came that the Palassi (Pychy) Raja was in treaty with Tippu's officers. The pepper revenue of Kottayam, a most important item in the accounts, was in jeopardy owing to bands of armed men moving about the country. Troops were despatched to protect the Wynad passes and to act offensively if necessary. Dindimal was occupied as a central place for defending the Kottiyur and Nolladi passes, and the Periah Ghat detachment was also strengthened. But the country was wild and covered with impenetrable forests and more troops were wanted for the service.

On December 16th, the Northern Superintendent came to the conclusion that the differences between the rival Rajas were irreconcilable, and suggested the issue of a proclamation to the people forbidding them to assemble to assist the Palassi (Pychy) Raja.

The Commissioners adopted this idea, and on 18th December drafted but did not at once publish a warning proclamation¹ that "previous to proceeding to extremities" against the Raja they gave the people an opportunity of returning to their allegiance, and if they did not seize it within fifteen days they were to be considered as "irreconcilable enemies of the Company's Government, their lands and property will be immediately confiscated, never again to be restored, and the Raja and his friends² pursued to their utter extirpation from the Company's dominions." And they wrote to the Raja direct, telling him in a phrase which he ironically commented on afterwards when the fulfilment of the threat had miscarried, that "not a sepoy shall rest in this province till you and all your adherents are utterly extirpated."

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXXXI.

² (1) Parappanad Raja, (2) Kannavatt Shekaran Nambiar, (3) Kaitori Ambu, (4) Kaitori Kamaran, (5) Kaitori, Eman, (6) Elumpullian Kunyan, (7) Puttamvittil Rairu, (8) Monon Kuran, (9) Shekara Variyar, (10) Puttulal Nayar, (11) Melodam Kanachan Nambiar holding Rs. 41,000 of janmam property and having in train 481 men.

The Commissioners evidently lost their temper over this proclamation, and the chief moving cause appears to have been that the pepper crop and the revenue dependent thereon were in danger of being lost through the disturbances created by the rebels.

Moved by these threats, the Palassi (Pychy) Raja then openly visited Tippu's Killidar at Karkankotta.

But as a last resource another meeting was arranged at Nittur between him and the President of the Commissioners and Northern Superintendent on 30th December. The Raja demanded the direct management of his district, and was again refused as the Kurumbranad Raja would not agree.

After this nothing remained but to proceed to overawe the district by a show of force, so the Superintendent was directed to act on the proclamation of 18th December to break up the bands of armed men, to reduce the number of ghats leading to Wynad, and to efficiently protect those remaining.

On January 4th, 1797, the Coorg Raja reported that either the Palassi (Pychy) Raja himself or one of his family had had an interview with Tippu at "Hegadideva" in Mysore, whither Tippu had proceeded ostensibly to see a white elephant.

The pepper crop was by this time just about ready for gathering, and to their chagrin the Commissioners now found even the Kurumbranad Raja's adherents passing over to the rebel side, and that the Raja himself showed great lukewarmness in the British cause.

Matters came to a crisis on January 7th, 1797. On that date a detachment of 80 men of Captain Lawrence's battalion was proceeding with a poon of the Superintendent's to a place called in the records "Manandery," where they were to be stationed and where the Commissioners' proclamation was to be read. A band of men under Kaiteri Ambu waylaid them, mortally wounded the commanding officer Captain Bowman, wounded several other officers, and killed many of the men. The detachment appears to have been taken by surprise: they had, when fired upon, neither their bayonets fixed nor their muskets loaded.

Flushed with this success, the rebels next on the 8th January attacked the havildar's guard stationed at Palassi, and killed the whole party excepting one man, who escaped to tell the story. And not content with killing the sepoy, great excesses were committed, for the rebels "cause" to be cut up with unrelenting fury the women and children as is said of the same detachment. And a similar fate was intended towards a small guard stationed at Benghaut (Venkad), and the purpose would no doubt have been carried into effect had not timely intelligence reached that quarter so as to enable the party to provide the means of their security."

The weak and scattered detachments in Wynad too were found to be in danger. That at Dindimal had to retreat, under Lieutenant

¹ Mr. Wilkinson, President of Commission, minute of 2nd February 1797.

Inglis, for safety to the Periah post commanded by Lieutenant Gorman. It was savagely attacked *en route* on 14th January 1797 by the rebels, and the defenceless women and followers of the party were massacred. But the detachment made good its "very gallant retreat," as the Bombay Government characterised it at the time, in spite of the overwhelming force of "Nambiars," probably Kanoth Shekaran's party, by which it was opposed, and Lieutenant Inglis won the strong approbation of the Bombay Government. His loss on the march amounted only to 1 jemadar, 1 naigue and 12 sepoy killed or missing.

The united detachments having exhausted their provisions, were permitted unmolested to make their way down the Ellacherrum pass to Kuttiyadi.

All the remote military posts in the country below the ghats were likewise placed in a state of comparative siege, and convoys of provisions sent to them were attacked. On 27th January a convoy proceeding to Major Anderson at Mananderi was attacked and 3 sepoy were killed, and a jemadar and 19 sepoy were wounded, in addition to which the coolies ran away and the stores, ammunition, etc., were lost.

The measures proposed by the Commissioners to counteract these savage successes were—more troops to be stationed in Wynad, fortified military posts to be constructed at Venkad, Palassi, Kodoli, and Kottayam bazaar, and another post in Truvalinad was proposed to overawe the Nambiars, one of whom (Kampuratt) was connected by marriage with the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's chief adherent, Kanoth Shekaran Nambiar.

In February accordingly, the Bombay Government sent down a considerable reinforcement of troops, consisting of one battalion of sepoy, 200 Europeans, and a detachment of artillery, together with Major-General Bowles (who was ordered to resume the military command of the province) and several other officers.

Wynad had always been considered an "equivocal possession" as it was not specifically mentioned in the Seringapatam treaty; indeed, the only ground for considering that it had been ceded by Tipu that had occurred to the Joint Commissioners was that the revenue of the Kottayam districts would *not* have been rated so high by Tipu if he had *not* intended also to include it in the cession. But in 1796, the Commissioners had made some advances towards annexing it to the other Malabar districts by appointing, on 26th February 1796, a canongoe to work under the Kurumbranad Raja with a view to ascertaining what its revenue resources were. This officer entered on the duty assigned to him on the 27th March following. And the Commissioners followed this up by deputing one of their members, Colonel Dow, to co-operate with the Kurumbranad Raja in arranging a mode for the future collection of the revenue, under restrictions however as to advancing any claims from which it might thereafter be dishonourable to retract, and Colonel Dow was in particular directed to avoid, as far as possible,

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interfering in matters that might occasion, on the part of Tippu, any opposition to the authority of the Honourable Company in that district. Colonel Dow had accordingly, on 27th June 1796, ascended the Tamarasseri pass accompanied by a military force, and had traversed on that occasion the portion of the district lying between the head of the Tamarasseri pass and the passes known respectively as the Periah pass and the Smugglers' pass, descending on Manattana. On the 17th of July he posted at a place variously called "Coonjiste" or "Cotote" or "Cauccote" or "Concesta" bazaar, a detachment of troops commanded by Lieutenant Iliff, as a check on the Palassi (Pychy) Raja rather than to assert the Honourable Company's authority in Wynad. Again, in the beginning of December 1796 the Officer Commanding the Province had, at the request of the Commissioners, stationed a detachment of troops under Lieutenant Gorman at Periah with a view, as already alluded to, to protect the cardamom crop from being carried off by the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's people, and some time afterwards Lieutenant Inglis' party, to whose gallant retreat from Dindimal to Periah reference had already been made, was posted at the former of these places.

Matters were in this state when the Commissioners finally decided to issue their proclamation¹ of 18th December 1796, and the effect on the Palassi (Pychy) Raja was to drive him to seek aid from Tippu. It seems that Tippu agreed to supply him with ammunition, and to station 6,000 "Carnatics" under his Killidar at Karkankotta on the Wynad frontier, to be ready to help the Raja's people in driving the British troops down the ghats out of Wynad.

After the outbreak of hostilities, Colonel Dow was nominated to the command of the troops serving against the rebels, and in pursuance of this object he, in the beginning of March 1797, again ascended the Tamarasseri pass and marched without opposition through the Wynad district from the head of that pass as far as Periah. The plan of operations was for Colonel Dow to concentrate in force at Periah, and, when that post was secured, the force below the ghats was to drive away the rebels from the fortified post in the low country about Kanath and it was hoped that the force above the ghats, by cutting off the rebels' retreat, would effectually break them up.

But two companies of sopoys under command of Lieutenant Mealey, who had ascended into Wynaad by way of the Karkur pass and were bringing up the rear of Colonel Dow's force, did not succeed in overtaking the main body, and during three successive days—9th, 10th and 11th March—this detachment had to fight its way, being opposed by "some thousands" of Nayers and Kurchiars "between Devote Angady and Cunjote Angady," and was finally forced to retreat from Wynaad *via* the "Ellacherrum"²

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXXXI.

² This is apparently the pass between the existing Kuttiyadi and Periah ghat roads, leading directly under in the north of Naduvaram peak to the Government cardamom forests. The pass is still used by foot-passengers to and from Kuttiyadi.

(Cardamom mountain) pass with "considerable loss," viz., one subadar, 2 havildars, 2 naigues, 1 waterman and 32 sepoy killed or missing, and 67 wounded including an English officer (Lieutenant Millinchamp). About half the force were either killed, missing or wounded.

Colonel Dow himself was completely hampered in carrying out the plan of operations by lack of commissariat supplies. He had started from the head of the Tamarasseri pass with only a few days' rations, and when his force reached Periah he had but five days' supplies of rice left for his men. He had written several urgent letters to the Commissioners, telling them of the straits he was in for food, and they had requested Major-General Bowles to forward supplies for him *via* the Kuttiyadi pass the foot of which was held by the rebels. Major Anderson, entrusted with the duty of conveying the supplies and effecting a junction with Colonel Dow, was unable to fulfil that service as the Mappillas detailed to act as guides to his detachment failed to put in an appearance, and thus much valuable time was lost, and the failure of supplies to reach in time paved the way for the disasters which immediately followed.

Shortly after reaching Periah, Colonel Dow received at the hands of six armed men letters from Tipu's officer at Karkankotta, remonstrating against his marching with a force through Wynad which he claimed as a portion of the Sultan's territory. This circumstance seemed to Colonel Dow to render it absolutely necessary that a fresh plan of operations should be decided on, as it was clearly, he thought, impracticable, with the resources at command, to maintain the position above the ghats in the face of an active opposition of the combined forces of the Palassi (Pyehy) Raja and Tipu.

Colonel Dow, under these circumstances, decided to descend the ghats with a view to consulting his colleagues in the Commission. On his way from Periah to the Ellacherrum pass above referred to, his detachment was attacked by bands of rebels among whom he could easily distinguish men in the dress of Tipu's sepoy, but he made good his retreat to the pass although only accompanied by a small party of sepoy and he descended into the low country on the 17th March, with the loss, however, of all his baggage, papers, etc.

On the night of the following day, 18th March, Major Cameron, left in command of 1,100 men at Periah by Colonel Dow, was forced by want of provisions to quit that post and to attempt a similar retreat by the same pass. But the enemy had by this time completed their arrangements and instead of attacking the party on the comparatively level ground above, they waited until the force had entered the pass. Both sides of it were lined by the rebels, who had likewise stockaded it, and a melancholy loss occurred. Major Cameron and three other officers (Lieutenant Nugent and Ensigns Madge and Rudderman) were killed, two other officers

were wounded and of the detachment "some Europeans of artillery, with a considerable number of native officers and privates," were either killed or missing. In addition to this loss of life, the detachment lost its guns, baggage, ammunition and cattle and the union colour of the battalion of sepoys.

Major Anderson with his convoy of supplies, which Colonel Dow had expected to meet at or near the head of the pass on the 16th, arrived on the ghat on the 19th, just in time to help to carry off the wounded, of whom there were "great numbers."

Amongst the secret papers found in Seringapatam after the final fall of Tippu, there occurs the following significant passage relating to these events in a letter dated "*Le primidi de la 1^{re} decade de Floreal l'an 5^e de la Republique francaise*,"¹ from Tippu Sultan to Citoyen General Mangalon. Referring to English affairs in India, he wrote: "*A Calicute ils ont ete attaque par le Rajas Congis Ramme Ramme Chef de Contengris (Kottayam), qui leurs a tue en trois sorties mille Europeens et trois milles Sipais; par toute la cote ils sont attaque; tous sont revoltes contre eux, par rapors au vexations et au impots qu'ils ont mis.*"

On receipt of intelligence of the above events, the Bombay Government quickly decided that the presence of the Governor (Mr. Jonathan Duncan) and of the Commander-in-chief (Lieutenant-General Stuart) was necessary in Malabar, so on 10th April 1797, by orders² of the Governor in Council, those officers were deputed to form a Committee of the Government in Malabar where they arrived in the middle of the month. Pending their arrival the Commissioners were directed to suspend hostilities.

Before proceeding to relate the measures adopted by the Committee of Government to bring affairs into a more satisfactory state, it will be necessary to revert to other matters which had meanwhile occupied the attention of the Commissioners.

With regard to the affairs of the Bibi of Cannanore, orders were received from Government that the jaghire granted to her by Tippu should not be restored as it was only a temporary alienation from the Chirakkal Raja. She then executed an agreement³, dated 28th October 1796, to pay Rs. 15,000 annually, "being the jumma (*jama*—demand) on the houses, purrams, etc., situated at or near Cannanore on my trade to the Laccadive Islands, and on my jelm (*janmam*) property on the said islands." The right of Government to sequester⁴ the islands and the whole of their produce was to remain in force. She also agreed to pay customs duties on all articles except island coir yarn, and she gave up all pretensions to the one-fifth share of the collections granted to other Malayali chieftains, and finally renounced all claims to the jaghire. This agreement is

¹ "The first day (?) of the first ten days of the month of flowers (20th April to 19th May), in the fifth year of the French Republic," i.e., 20th April 1797.

² Treaties, etc., ii. CXXXIV.

³ Treaties, etc., ii. CXXXVI.

⁴ Treaties, etc., ii. XXXV.

still in force, and is that under which the Cannanore Laccadive Islands are administered down to the present day.

The Zamorin had in the meanwhile failed¹ to pay in the revenues of his districts with punctuality, and the Commissioners, acting on the stringent orders issued by the Governor, took over on 5th July 1796 the direct management of them. It would appear that the Mappillas of Ernad and Malapuram had given great trouble to the Zamorin's collectors, and he had some time previously renounced the direct management of those districts, which had in consequence been made over to Manjeri Attan Gurikkal for management under the Raja. For those and the remaining districts the Zamorin was able eventually to settle the accounts, and the districts were accordingly returned to him for management on the 24th August 1796.

The direct management by the Company's officers of the Kavalappara and Palghat districts was shortly afterwards taken² over for the same reasons, and it does not appear that they were ever afterwards returned for management to their respective chiefs.

In short, the beginning of the final resumption of all districts held under the quinquennial leases had commenced.

The two Rajas belonging to the Padinyaru Kovilakam (western palace) of the Zamorin's family, who from the time of the murderous assault on Shamnath, the Zamorin's minister, had been living in a state of chronic semi-rebellion latterly in their residence in the jungly country at Kalladikod in the Walluvanad taluk, were at last brought to accept terms. The Commissioners agreed³ on 6th January 1797 to their receiving an annual allowance of Rs. 10,000, and they on their part agreed to reside peaceably thereafter at Calicut.

This was fortunately arranged just before the troubles with the Palassi (Pychy) Raja came to a head, for had the rebellion in the north been supplemented by a similar rising in the south, the Commissioners would have been sore pressed to make head against so formidable a combination, and the task undertaken by the Committee of Government, even with all the resources of the state to back them, would have become more difficult than it actually was.

In the middle of April the Governor, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, and Lieutenant-General Stuart, the Commandar-in-Chief, arrived to investigate the affairs of the country. Acting mainly on the advice of Shamnath, the Zamorin's minister, the Commissioners had, just before the arrival of the Committee of Government, begun to raise a levy of irregular troops to harass the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, a measure which appears to have been attended with the best possible effect.

After the arrival of the Committee, one of their first measures was to resume⁴ from the charge of the so-called Kurumbranad Raja

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXIII, CXVI, CXIX., CXX, CXXI.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXXIII, CXXV. ³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXXX.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXXXVI, CXXXVII.

of the Kottayam family, the direct revenue management of the Palassi (Pychy) districts, which ought never to have been entrusted to his care, as his authority and that of the Palassi (Pychy) Raja had been in continual conflict, and the latter had repeatedly put this forward as his main grievance.

A way was thus opened up for bringing the matters in dispute to a peaceful issue, but for a time there seemed to be no hope of a settlement. After several ineffectual attempts of the Chirakkal Raja and Mr. Peile, the Northern Superintendent, had been made to induce the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, under the most unqualified assurance of safe conduct, to meet the Committee at Tellicherry, active measures were resumed against him, full authority being given to Colonel Dow, who was well known to the inhabitants. An amnesty² was at the same time proclaimed to the inhabitants who should return to their allegiance. Colonels Dow and Dunlop then marched in two columns from Kottayam bazaar, and joining forces at Manattana, they there met with some opposition, and their force suffered some casualties in officers and men. But the united force pushed onward in spite of some opposition and took possession of Tadikulam, the Raja's headquarters and demolished the contiguous fortified house of the Kanoth Nambiar, with the loss of Brigade-Major Captain Batchelor killed and one or two Europeans and sepoys wounded. After these exploits they returned to their encamping ground.

In spite, however, of this success, the Committee became aware of the difficulties which lay in the way of bringing this guerilla warfare to a speedy conclusion on account of the mountainous and thickly wooded nature of the country. For these reasons, and for others of a wider character, namely, the war with France in Europe and the danger of intrigues on the part of Tippu and the French, the Committee determined, if possible, to bring about a speedy peace.

The Chirakkal Raja was accordingly permitted to re-open negotiations on behalf of the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, in which Devas Bhandari, a Konkana and one of the Company's pepper merchants, and the adopted Parappanad Raja (of the Kottayam family) took prominent parts and succeeded² on 23rd July 1797 in bringing matters to a satisfactory termination.

The Palassi (Pychy) Raja and his chief adherents, the Kanoth Nambiar and others, agreed to respect an agreement to be made by the Senior Raja of the Kottayam family, hitherto resident in Travancore, for the revenue management of the Kottayam districts, including Tamarasseri, in place of the superseded Kurumbranad Raja, and this arrangement³ was shortly afterwards (27th September 1797) carried into effect, and the detachments of troops posted in different parts of the low country were then concentrated in a contonment at Kuttuparamba, about eight miles east of Tellicherry on the high road to Coorg and Wynad.

¹ *Trentiess, etc.*, ii. CXXXVIII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXL, CXLI, CXLII.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXLV, CXLVI.

A meeting having then been arranged with the late rebellious Raja, the Committee ascertained from him that through some intrigue or other the pardon of the Governor-General, conveyed to him through the Kurumbranad Raja, had not reached him before he had begun to make collections on his own account. Moreover the plundered property, which had been committed to the same Raja for restoration to him, had never been received. It was only on receipt direct from the Northern Superintendent of a copy of the Supreme Government's orders in his case that he came to understand how it had been settled, and it so happened that the Malayalam translations of those orders construed the expression¹ "his restoration to his district and property" in the largest sense, viz., *that his country and property should be given back to him*.

The Committee were not quite satisfied that the adoption of the superseded Raja into the real Kurumbranad family operated as a forfeiture of all his rights in the family of his birth, namely, Kottayam, and they therefore could not attach much importance to that point, which was also pressed on their notice by the Palassi (Pyhy) Raja. But therein they were doubtless wrong.

The Palassi (Pyhy) Raja was granted² a pension of Rs. 8,000 per annum and the plunder of his Palassi house was made good to him. He was further granted a pardon "for all that had been done towards the Company."

A pardon was likewise extended to the Narangoli Nambiar of Iruvalinad, who as already related, had, after the slaying of three Mappillas, fled to the Palassi (Pyhy) Raja for protection. The Committee of Government, on reviewing the papers connected with his case, had come to the conclusion that the sequestration of his lands and property was not justified by the regulations. So his outlawry was reversed and the Nambiar was restored³ to his possessions.

In regard to other measures, the Committee of Government strengthened the Commission on 15th September 1797 by adding to the Board the Officer commanding the Province. The militia was next disbanded and two sibandi corps of Nayars and Mappillas were organised, the Nayars being stationed in the southern and the Mappillas in the northern division to secure the peace of the country.

Affairs in Chirakkal next claimed attention. The Raja died and the Government recognised the succession of Ravi Varma, the eldest of the two princes in Travancore. His nomination to the raj was opposed by the Kavinnisseri branch of the family, supported by the senior or Kolattiri Raja. To ensure peace and harmony in the family, the Linguist, M. A. Rodrigues, and the influential Mappilla merchant Chovakkaran Makki, were deputed to Chirakkal. They succeeded in establishing peace. Ravi Varma was confirmed in the raj and Colonel Dow was placed in judicial and magisterial charge of this district in addition to Kottayam.

¹ *Conf. Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXXII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, CL., CLI, CLII.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLIII.

The Ernad district having been relinquished by the Zamorin, an European assistant was appointed to take charge of it and another assistant was sent to administer Parappanad.

Mr. Rivett was succeeded by Mr. Spencer as President of the Commission, while Messrs. Smee and Torrins were appointed in the room of Colonel Dow and Mr. Handley. The posts of native dewans were abolished, and it was resolved to make a radical change in the administration by the appointment of covenanted servants as revenue assistants, to be employed throughout the district, on which account the existing regulations were modified.

Separate decennial leases¹ were for the first time entered into with the Kurangot Nayar and the chief landholder under him, the Payapurat Nayar, for the district known as Koringot Kallai.

The notorious Mappilla bandit chief, Unni Mutta Muppan, was pardoned and restored to his estate of Elampulasseri, while Attan Gurikkal, a relation of his and no less noted for turbulence of character, was appointed from motives of policy as head of a police establishment in Ernad.

The forts of Cannanore, Tellicherry and Palghat were now either improved or repaired.

The minor matters which engaged the attention of the Committee of Government were—

The abolition of the expensive mail boat service and the establishment of a post *via* Cochin and the Travancore gate on the Tinnevely frontier to Tuticorin.

The regulation of ferries.

The freedom of trade to the Laccadive islanders.

The abolition of all frontier duties on horned cattle, provisions, etc., imported from Tippu's territories.

The introduction of a tax on all spirituous liquors, which were to be farmed out as well as the trade in tobacco.

The repair of the gun roads made by Tippu.

And the tracing of a road from Palghat to Palani and Dindigul in order to avoid the adjacent territories of Tippu.

Their attention was also directed to the cultivation of special products such as cinnamon, coffee, pepper, nutmeg, spices, sugar-cane, cotton, etc., Mr. M. Brown was accordingly appointed² Overseer of the Company's plantation opened out at Anjarakandi in the waste lands of Randattara on a salary of Rs. 800 per month. The Vettatnad escheats were surveyed by Captain Moncrief, who as well as Colonel Sartorius surveyed the rivers of the country and Lieutenant Monier Williams drew the first map of Malabar under Captain Moncrief's supervision. Just at the close of the labours of the Committee of Government some treasonable correspondence—said to have been carried on by Tippu with the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, with the Padinyaru Kovilakam Rajas of the Zamorin's

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLIV, CLV.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLIX,

house, and with Unni Mutta Muppan—was discovered, but the Committee having no reliable information to go upon, decided to overlook the matter.

In the very beginning of 1798, after a stay of over eight months in the Province, the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief returned to the Presidency.

In pursuance of the arrangement for the better administration of the country, European assistants were located in all the districts under the Superintendents, and Mr. Smee was entrusted¹ with the very important duty of revising the assessment of the Province *by an inspection of the estate of each ryot.*

In order to prevent confusion in the regular payment of revenue by the six Nambiaris of Iruvalinad, the Commissioners, with the consent of these chieftains, next annulled,² the quinquennial lease and entered into separate engagements³ with each of them for the unexpired portion of two years remaining under the lease. The revised leases followed the precise lines of those already issued to the other chiefs of Malabar.

At their earnest entreaty, agreements were in February-March 1798 *for the first time* also entered into with the Kuttali, Avinyat and Paleri Nayars of Payyormala for the remaining term of the quinquennial lease executed by the Kurumbranad Raja.

The district of Kurumbala, which lay above the ghats in Wynad and which formerly formed part of Payyormala, was not included in the Kuttali and Avinyat Nayars' agreements as the Honourable Company's right to the territory was, like that to the rest of Wynad, considered to be doubtful, but the collections of this small district were to be made⁴ by the Nayars and paid into the northern treasury.

In April some disturbances were created in Chirakkal by a prince of the Chenga Kovilakam of the Kolattiri family, a nephew of the late Raja. He claimed the raj. Colonel Dow went with a force to restore⁵ quiet. The rebellious Raja attempted in the following month of May to take the Puttur temple by storm, but was slain in the attempt by the ruling Raja's Nayars who defended it.

Kottayam affairs once more claimed attention. The senior managing Raja was found to be falling into arrears with his collections, although assisted by British officers. It became apparent that he had not sufficient personal influence or energy to keep things in order, so he was pensioned and permitted to retire to Travancore. The district was then placed under the direct management of the Honourable Company's officers.

The Commissioners' attention was next taken up by the affairs of Palghat. The Achehan in April took the law into his own hands, in spite of the terms of his engagements, by "putting to death Ullateel

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLXXXI.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. XCIII, CLX.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLXI to CLXVI.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLXIX.

⁵ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLXXV, CLXXIX, CLXXX.

Vectul Candan Nayar and taking out the eyes of Parameshuaracooty Brahman." Having thus committed himself, he escaped on 7th July from his house in Kalpatti in Palghat town as soon as it was known that the Commissioners intended to bring him to trial for these offences. A proclamation¹ offering a reward of Rs. 5,000 was issued for his apprehension. The upshot was that he surrendered himself to Major Romney at Palghat and was imprisoned in the Tellicherry fort, where he soon after died.

In sending orders to the Commissioners to assume the direct revenue management of the Palghat district, the Bombay Government wrote approving of this measure, which had been suggested by the Commissioners, and observing further :—

"There exists no anterior general engagement whatever between the Company and the Palghat family, who appeared to have availed themselves of the victories of our army during the last Mysore war to reassume possession without any formal sanction on the part of the English, in which situation are several of the southern chieftains, who have heretofore no sort of claim upon us more than may result from their own good and unexceptionable behaviour, a distinction more than once pointed out for your guidance by this Government."

In September of this same year final orders were at last received in regard to Tippu's claims to Wynad. The Governor-General, Lord Mornington, after full consideration of the matter, came² to the conclusion that "Wynad was not ceded to the Company by the late Treaty of Peace, and that it belongs by right to his said Highness, the Nawaub Tippu Sultan Bahadur," who was to be permitted "consequently to occupy the said district whenever it may suit his pleasure." But the Company's claim to the passes leading up to Wynad were not to be affected in any way by this waiver of right to the district itself.

Nearly all the Rajas were backward in the regular discharge of their kists and were obliged to procure the suretyship of Mappilla merchants for the payment of arrears. Although members of this sect living in the coast towns were active traders and well-behaved, in the interior their fellow religionists were incessantly engaged in marauding expeditions.³ Mannarakad, Tamarasseri, Pulavayi, Vettattnad, Cheranad and Ernad especially suffered from these banditti. The mistaken notions prevalent in regard to ownership in the land appear to have been to a large extent at the bottom of these disturbances, which assumed the aspect of faction fights for supremacy between Hindus and Muhammadans.

The Zamorin having failed to pay his revenue regularly, the direct management of his remaining districts was again assumed⁴ in October 1798 by the Company, and agreements were shortly afterwards entered into with the fifth Raja and other members

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLXXVII, CLXXVIII,

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLXXXII.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLXXXVIII.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLXXXIV.

of the family for the payment of their allowances, provided and only so long as they should remain in good behaviour. Some of them were then allowed to resume their residence at the Kalladikod Kovilakam, which was "situated amidst a strong intricate jungle." Subsequent events did not, however, justify the grant of this relaxation.

Of the events of the last war with Tippu Sultan, ending in the taking of his capital and in his own death, little need here be said. The arrival in a French frigate at Mangalore, on 26th April 1798, of 99 French Civil and Military Officers, sent by the Governor of the Isle of France for service under Tippu, put the English on the alert, and made them commence preparations for war. The above event, followed by the despatch of a further embassy from Tippu to France, which was sent by way of Tranquebar, led directly to the last war with Tippu. On 11th February 1799 General Harris began his march on Seringapatam, and on the 21st of that same month General Stuart, with the Bombay Army of 6,420 fighting men, made his first march out of Cannanore. On the 25th the top of the pass was reached and the column halted. On the 6th March Tippu attacked General Stuart at Sedaseer and was repulsed, and on the 11th he retreated to Seringapatam to oppose General Harris. On April 14th the two armies effected a junction before Seringapatam, and on the 4th of May 1799 Seringapatam fell and Tippu was slain.

Stores were sent from Malabar *via* Irukkur on the Valarpattanam river to Coorg, where a commissariat magazine was established. The Raja of Coorg proved himself again to be a staunch adherent of the English. He aided them most substantially with provisions and bullocks, while at the same time he refused any remuneration, the value of the supplies afforded by him being calculated at not less than four lakhs of rupees. In appreciation of his conduct and valuable services, the Coorg tribute was cancelled, and for it was substituted,¹ as a proof of fealty and devotion, an annual present to the Company of a trained elephant. The affairs of the State were taken out of the hands of the authorities in Malabar and a Resident was stationed at his court.

The pensioned Rajas of Kumbala and Vittul Agra or Higgada did not also fail to harass Tippu's possessions during the war, and on this account the pension of the former was in 1801 increased to Rs. 400. But the latter having after the proclamation of peace plundered the Manasserum temple, he was declared a rebel and death anticipated the orders issued for his seizure.

Strangely enough the Rajas and Chiefs of Malabar, considering the turbulent and discontented disposition of many, were on their best behaviour during this period of disturbance. Several persons hitherto believed to be inimical to the Company's interests proved their loyalty and devotion, notwithstanding that rumours were afloat of the Chirakkal and Palassi (Pychy) Rajas carrying on clandestine correspondence with Tippu and aiding him with men and provision.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCI, CCII.

It is important to mention that with the exception of a detachment at Cannanore, and with the exception of the militia, Malabar was left entirely without military protection during the operations of the armies in the field. But General Stuart's brilliant victory of the 6th March, at the very opening of the campaign against Tippu's force, was viewed at the time by the Governor-General and others as having conduced largely to the tranquillity in Malabar.

On the fall of Seringapatam, Wynad was, under the Partition Treaty¹ and subsidiary treaties, ceded to the Company as part of their share on the Western Coast.

The four islands of the Laccadive group taken by Tippu from the Bibi of Cannanore were leased to Chovakkaran Mussa by Captain Munro, Collector of the newly acquired Province of Canara, although the Bibi did not fail once more to urge her claims to them.

The Payyormala Nayars having failed to pay their revenue, their district was next taken under² the Company's control, and on the expiration of the Chirakkal lease, the management of that district was also undertaken³ by the Company owing to irregularity in the payment of its revenue.

Writing to the Madras Government on 14th August 1800, the Commissioners reported as follows :—

" From a general failure in the fulfilment of their engagements by the Rajas, Government assumed the collection of the revenue at sundry periods before the expiration of the settlements in September 1799. Since which period, except⁴ in the instances of Kadattanad, Kurangoth-Kallayi and Cannanore in the northern, Kavalappara and the three petty Nayar districts of Mannur, Kongad and Eddatara in the southern division, and the island of Chetwai held by the Cochin Raja on a decennial lease commencing 970, the collection of the revenues has proceeded under the sole control of the officers of Government, an arrangement from which the best effects have been produced."

The only lease renewed⁵ was that of the Kadattanad Raja, and that for periods of one year only. He had been uniformly punctual in the payment of his revenue. The superseded chiefs were continued in the enjoyment of the allowance of one-fifth (in some cases) and of one-tenth (in others) of the revenue of their respective districts which had been allotted to them for their maintenance. These allowances continue to be paid to them down to the present day under the designation of *Malikhana*.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXCI, CXCIV, CCXXVIII, CCXLVII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii, CXCIV.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii, CCIII.

⁴ By 18th June 1802 this number had still further diminished, and on that date the Principal Collector reported as follows to the Board of Revenue :—" Except the two Nayars of Kallayi " (i.e., Kurangoth-Kallayi in the text), " who have a Cowl (*Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLIV, CLV) giving them the collections for ten years ending 1807, no other person in the province that participates in the one-fifth share of the revenue has the charge of management."

⁵ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCVII, CCXXIII.

The minor matters which at this time engaged the attention of the Commissioners were—

The introduction of the tobacco monopoly.

The establishment of a rule for the registration¹ of all writings of the transfer of landed property, on whatever tenure held, in order to put a stop to systematic forgeries.

And the change of the postal route from Travancore to Coimbatore, one of the newly acquired districts.

The Putiyangadi Tangal, of an influential Arab family, was in March 1799 continued in an exemption from the payment of the revenue on his property, originally granted² to him by the Second Raja of Calicut in 1791 in order that by his influence he might restrain the lawless habits of his countrymen, the ringleaders of whom were Unni Mutta Muppan, Attan Gurikkal, Chemban Pokar, etc. A formidable combination was formed by these Mappilla headmen, instigated by a spirit of revenge for the punishment inflicted by the regular judicial process on some of their connexions, especially on Adam Khan, a brother-in-law of Gurikkal's, who had been executed for murder. The combination became alarming after an abortive attempt had been made by the Assistant, Mr. Baber, to seize Chemban Pokar, who had escaped from the Palghat fort. Mr. Baber's party was repulsed. This success encouraged Chemban Pokar to make a daring attempt on the life of Mr. G. Waddell, the Southern Superintendent, while he was proceeding from Angadipuram to Oranpuram, in which attempt Chemban Pokar was secretly abetted by Gurikkal, who had been in the Company's service since 1796 as head of police in Ernad.

While these Mappilla disturbances were occurring in the south, the Amildars of the Mysore Commission went to take possession of Wynad as a portion of the Company's cession, and it was then in contemplation to attach it either to Canara or Coimbatore. But the Palassi (Pyehy) Raja laid claim to the district and persisted in keeping possession of it. To uphold his pretensions he raised a large body of men consisting of Nayars, Mappillas and Mussulmans, the last being portions of the disbanded troops of the late Sultan. Orders were therefore issued by the Supreme Government to punish severely his presumptuous conduct. The military control of the province was placed under the Madras Government, which appointed Colonel Arthur Wellesley³ as Commander of the forces in Malabar and Canara as well as in Mysore. It was arranged to assemble forces on both sides of Wynad and to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. But owing to the lateness of the season and the approach of the monsoon, the first military operations were confined to strengthening the military posts in the low country of Kottayam with a view to protect the peaceably disposed inhabitants. Colonel Wellesley on April 4th, 1800, writing from Cannanore, informed the Commissioners that he had ordered two companies of the 8th to

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCV.

² *Treaties, etc.*, i. CIII.

³ Afterwards Duke of Wellington.

Kuttuparamba and put the other six companies under Major Walker's orders for the above purpose.

At the same time other preparations were begun by the construction of military roads into the heart of the country, and of two additional posts, to be provisioned, if possible, before the rains. In any case a large store was to be thrown into Kuttuparamba, and two companies of sepoys were to be sent to guard them.

Colonel Wellesley returned to Seringapatam in the same month, but nothing of much importance occurred beyond numerous secessions to the rebel ranks in Wynad. To stop this, Colonel Wellesley recommended the Commissioners to seize the families and property of those who joined. In June and July he was employed in his pursuit of Dhondia Wahan, who had invited the Malabar chiefs to join his standard, and later on in other operations in the north. During this time the Palassi (Pychy) Raja took advantage of the opportunity, and descending the ghats at Kuttiyadi, he was there joined by the notorious Mappilla bandit chief Unni Mutta Muppan and many of the chief landholders of Iruvalinad, such as the Kampuratt, Peruvayyal and Kannavatt Nambiars.

At the suggestion of Colonel Wellesley and in order to retain possession of the advanced posts of Kannavam and Manatana, Captains Ward and Moncrief dispersed the rebels from Kuttuparamba as far as Kannavam, while Major Holmes, though harassed on the march, succeeded in relieving and provisioning Manatana besieged by the rebels.

It will be convenient here, before proceeding to deal with the further military operations, to notice certain very important changes in the administration, which had a most important bearing on the events which followed.

Mr. Uthoff having been sent on a separate mission to Goa and Colonel Hartley dying, Major Alexander Walker was nominated to a seat on the Commission, and pending his arrival from a tour in Travancore, Lieutenants J. Watson was provisionally appointed in his stead. In April 1800 the posts of the two Superintendents were ordered to be abolished¹ and the province to be partitioned into a number of small circles² of collection, with limited judicial powers vested in the revenue collectors, while the Cochin Commissioner was placed directly under the orders of the Malabar Board.

These instructions were followed up by orders from the Supreme Government of 21st May 1800, directing that the civil administration should be transferred from the Bombay Presidency to that of Madras with effect from the 1st of July. It will be noted that for some time previously the military administration had already been in the hands of the Madras authorities, and the benefit of having undivided authority in the hands of the one presidency or the other, led to the choice³ of Madras, from its nearer vicinity to the province, as the

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXIII.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXIV, CCXV.

presidency to which it, in common with Coorg and Cochin, should be transferred. The Commercial Department in the province was, however, left to the Bombay authorities.

Travancore too was placed under a separate Political Officer and Colonel Macaulay was nominated to the post.

The commission of Bombay officers continued under the orders of Madras to perform their functions for some time longer.

The Malabar Commissioners deputed Major Walker to the southern districts, and upon his report condemning the spirited action of Messrs. Baber and Waddell with reference to the Mappilla banditti, Chemban Pokar was pardoned on his giving security¹ for good behaviour, and Gurikkal was allowed the option of either living on the coast near Calicut, or standing his trial for having caused the late troubles.

For the purpose of collecting the revenue Captain Watson was next entrusted with the organisation of a new corps of armed police, consisting of 500 men, whom he trained and equipped in a fashion much resembling the present constabulary force. The Malabar militia, an irregular force and undisciplined, serving under their own native chiefs, was then (June 10th, 1801) disbanded.

Directly the rains set in (June-July 1800), the rebels had taken possession of the low country of Kottayam, and among other mischief perpetrated, they attacked and destroyed a portion of Mr. Brown's plantation at Anjarakandi, besides beleaguering the small British outposts, especially those at Kodolli and Manatana. Colonel Wellesley when he heard of this raid was busy with Dhondia's fort of Dammal. He took that by escalade on July 26th, and next day wrote to the Commissioners telling them that his success against Dammal might, if published, have some influence in quieting Malabar, and that, in anticipation of trouble, he had already on July 1st directed Colonel Sartorius to bring together at Tellicherry as large a body of troops as possible to relieve the threatened posts and to drive the rebels out of the western portion of Kottayam. A gunboat was also stationed on the Anjarakandi river.

The revenue collections of Kottayam were at a standstill in consequence of these troubles, and in the beginning of October, when the revenue collection ought to have been begun, a proclamation² was under these circumstances issued, directing the people to retain their dues in their own hands until persons duly authorised were sent to receive them.

Sufficient troops were not however yet available for dealing effectually with the rebels as Colonel Wellesley was still engaged in the north with his campaign against Dhondia Wahan. On October 22nd he wrote advising the Commissioners to stop all communications with Wynad with a view to cut off the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's supplies. And a few weeks prior to the receipt of this letter the

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXVI.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXIX.

Commissioners had of their own accord prohibited¹ the traffic, an order which however the troops at command did not enable them adequately to enforce.

About a month later, however (20th November 1800), the campaign against Dhondia Wahan was brought to a close with his defeat and death, and the force under Colonel Wellesley was ordered for service against the rebels, whose ranks had just been reinforced² by Manjeri Attan Gurikkal and his banditti, who had in Ernad attempted to loot some Government property in charge of an escort of sepoys. Colonel Wellesley, on the above date, writing from "Annagee in Mysore," informed the Commissioners of the orders he had received to attack the Palassi (Pychy) Raja simultaneously from Mysore and the coast, and said that he was on his way to Seringapatam, followed by the army destined for the purpose, "now crossing Tumbudra." To Seringapatam accordingly he requested that "Yemen Nayar" should be sent with all expedition, and he wound up with a hope that he would be able to have sufficient force to attack all the rebels at once, including Gurukkal and his band, of whose outbreak he had just heard.

This Yemen³ Nayar, for whom Colonel Wellesley wrote, was an influential Nayar of Wynad, who, at the outbreak of hostilities with Tippu Sultan in 1799, had come to the Malabar Commissioners at Calicut and professed his attachment to the British cause. His professions were believed and assurances⁴ of protection to himself and his adherents were granted to him. He had since that time been admitted to the confidence of the authorities in Malabar, and it was to consult him as to local matters that Colonel Wellesley now sent for him prior to forming his plan of operations against the rebels in Wynad. It was never clearly proved, but it is almost certain, that he was all the time in secret correspondence with his suzerain lord of Palassi (Pychy), advising him of the measures to be taken against him. And his after conduct—for on 6th December 1802 he openly espoused the rebel cause at a time when it was becoming well nigh desperate—gives great colour to the story. The time had not however yet come for him to declare himself in his true colours, and meanwhile he proceeded to Seringapatam to help the "Iron Duke"⁵ to settle the details of his campaign.

On November 30th Colonel Wellesley, then at Seringapatam, again wrote to the Commissioners requesting that one of them would come to Seringapatam for the purpose of accompanying the expedition, which, he was sorry to say, he would not be able to command in person as he had been ordered to the Carnatic; but he commended Colonel Stevenson, the probable commander of the expedition, to

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXXIV—CCXXII.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXXIV.

³ Otherwise called Pallur Eman Nayar of Muppainad.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CXC.

⁵ Had a suspicion of his fidelity been brought home to the mind of the "Iron Duke" one can picture what would have been his fate in that pregnant P.S. to the latter's despatch from Dammal—"P.S.—The killidar fell into our hands, and was hanged."

the Commissioners' notice for his zeal, intelligence and ability, and he promised to submit a plan of operations before leaving Seringapatam.

On December 5th the general plan had been matured and was communicated by Colonel Wellesley to the Commissioners. The force to be employed was—

19th Dragoons,
2nd Cavalry,
3rd do.
Five companies, 12th Foot,
The 77th Foot,
Two battalions, Coast sepoy,
Do. Bombay sepoy,
600 Pioneers,

with 14 guns with Bengal Coast and Bombay artillerymen in proportion, besides the guns with the two cavalry regiments and 4 small mortars with stores.

The plan of operations was as follows:—The military posts in Kottayam below the ghats were to be advanced as far as Peruvayyal¹ (Big paddy flat) as soon as the pressure in Wynad had induced the Palassi (Pychy) Raja to withdraw his people from the low country. Communication *via* the Periah pass was then to be opened up with the Mysore army as soon as practicable.

The 19th Dragoons and 2nd Cavalry were to proceed *via* Coimbatore and Palghat to overawe the Mappillas in the south.

Colonel Wellesley then rejected a plan which had been proposed “by different Nayers² whose opinions have been taken” for a simultaneous attack from five points. And his reasons were that the five columns would really constitute five armies, the provisioning, etc., of which would lead to delays; that the columns would not be able to act in concert with each other; and that, even if troops could be spared from Calicut (which was doubtful), the columns would be weak, and the Raja, by bringing all his strength against one column, might destroy that before the other columns could help it, and there might be a chance of one-third or even of one-half of the army being cut off.

The plan which Colonel Wellesley therefore finally recommended Colonel Stevenson to adopt was: After planting a post at Karkankotta on the Mysore frontier on the north-east of Wynad, to push on with the rest of the troops *via* Eratorah (Editerrahcotta—east of Sultan's Battery) to the Tamarasseri pass with a view to—

Opening communication with Calicut,

Encouraging Yemen (Eman) Nayar and his friends, whose influence was greatest in the country to the south of the great road to Tamarasseri,

¹ Near Kannavam in Kottayam taluk.

² *Query*.—In the light of Pallur Eman Nayar's subsequent conduct, it would be interesting to know if it was his advice to which Colonel Wellesley here alludes.

And impeding communication between the Raja and the Mappillas under Gurikkal in Ernad and his other friends in South Wynad and South Malabar.

After getting possession of this line and securing it by posts, two of which were to be at Eratorah (Editerrahcotta) near the Mysore frontier, and Lacrycotta (Lakkidikotta) at the head of the Tamarasseri pass, Colonel Stevenson was recommended to push forward to the Raja's Colgum (Kovilakam) "in as many divisions as he might think proper," taking care not to break up his force more than was necessary, and not to send out detachments with baggage till well acquainted with the strength of the enemy.

Colonel Stevenson entered the district in January 1801, the rebels were easily dispersed, and by the month of May every post of any importance in Wynad was in the hands of the British.

Colonel Wellesley returned from his special duties in Ceylon on the 28th April, landed at Cannanore, and proceeded to Seringapatam, whence, on May 10th, he once more addressed the Commissioners, informing them of his appointment "to command the troops in Mysore, Malabar and Canara," and of Colonel Stevenson having been appointed to command in Malabar and Canara "under my directions."

With every post both above and below the ghats held by British troops and the whole country disarmed,¹ the Palassi (Pychy) Raja became a wanderer in the jungles, and there can be no doubt that even then, if he had proposed to accept terms from the Government, he would have been accorded favourable conditions because of his former services and of the cowl given to him by the Chief of the Tollicherry factory in 1790, but he appears never to have hesitated in the course he ought to follow. First he fled in March along the ghats into Chirakkal, to "Neddyanji by way of Payanur" (? Payavur), and the Chulali Nambiar, being suspected of aiding him, was arrested and sent under escort to Calicut. Returning to his haunts in Kottayam, the detachments of troops drove him thence into the Kadattanad and thence into the Kurumbranad jungles, the Avinyat Nayar of Payyormala and the Kadattanad Raja both being suspected of aiding him.

In the end of July Colonel Stevenson reported that "the senior Peruvayyal Nambiar" had surrendered himself to his fate, and had been sent to Kannavam to be hanged along with two others at that place and two more at Iliacour (Irukur) in Chirakkal, as an awful warning to the people. The rebellion at this time was "at a very low ebb," he stated, and the people were beginning to show some respect for the Government. If succour could be prevented from reaching the Raja from Kurumbranad and Kadattanad, his surrender might be looked for "as not very distant." His following at this time consisted of but six people and from twenty to twenty-five "musquet people." He had sent back two of his followers (Mappillas), who gave these particulars.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXXVII.

The time seemed to be opportune for granting terms to the peaceably disposed, and the Commissioners accordingly¹ proclaimed on 4th August 1801 "full and unequivocal pardon" and restoration of their property to all rebels who should submit and return to allegiance, excepting, however, the Raja himself, the Kannavatt Nambiar, Chattappan Nambiar, Edachenna Kungan, Chingot Chattu, Pulliyan Shanalu, and Punattil Nambiar, and the direst penalties to all who should disobey. A period of six weeks was named within which time this offer was to remain open for acceptance.

But this measure failed to bring about the end desired; the chief rebel, with a faithful few, still remained at large in spite of troops acting in concert both from above and below the ghats in hunting him up. But some of his principal adherents were captured, and in particular, on November 27th, 1801, Colonel Stevenson reported to Major Macleod, the Principal Collector, that a detachment under Lieutenant Edwards had succeeded in capturing the Kannavatt Nambiar, the primary instigator, as was alleged, of the rebellion, together with his son aged about twenty-four years. These rebels were forthwith marched from Kuttiyadi, where they had been caught, to Kannavam, "to be hanged on the Hill² of Canute (Kannavam), which is near their late residence and the scene of their rebellious oppositions to the Company's authority." Their estates were also declared to be forfeited.

The mention of the name of the Principal Collector makes it necessary to pause for an instant to describe yet another change which had taken place in the administration of the province. The Government of Lord Clive was not satisfied with the system of Government established in Malabar under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency, as it had failed to establish the authority of Government on a respectable foundation. Writing to the Commissioners on 25th December 1800, the Government observed that while the military force, being insufficient to maintain the civil authority, had been one of the main causes of the failure to establish a permanent system of government in Malabar, the Government also thought that the principles on which the civil administration was carried on were not calculated to support a permanent government, and that every branch of the internal arrangements appeared to be overcharged with expensive and unnecessary establishments. The Government consequently called, through the Board of Revenue, for reports from the Commissioners and from the several Collectors regarding the principles and detailed system of the present administration of the revenue in Malabar. On receipt of these reports, the Government resolved³ on 5th September 1801 to abolish the

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXXIX.

² In front of the Travellers' Bungalow at this place, on the opposite side of the main road.

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXXX, followed shortly afterwards (17th October 1801) by the abolition of the Commission for the affairs of Cochin, which with its dependencies, including Chetwai Island, was transferred likewise to the Principal Collector.—(*Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXXXI, CCXXXII).

Commission for the affairs of Malabar, and to subject the Province to the control and superintendence of one Principal Collector with three subordinate Collectors, for the administration of the revenues and of the civil government. Major William Macleod, then Collector of Salem, was selected for the post, and Messrs. Strachey, Hodgson and Keate were appointed his subordinate Collectors in Malabar. To Major Macleod and his assistants the Government committed all power, both civil and criminal, and the military were further authorised to punish, "by summary process, crimes of every description." This state of things was to continue "until the military power of the Company shall have subjugated the refractory people of the Province."

The Commission was accordingly abolished on 30th September 1801, and the first of the Principal Collectors assumed charge on 1st October.

The capture and execution of the Kannavatt Nambiar and his son, which followed shortly on this change in the administration, must have been severely felt by the rebels, and a deceitful calm appears to have spread over the country below the ghats.

Taking advantage of it, Major Macleod, in January 1802, endeavoured¹ to complete the disarmament of the province by getting the people to bring in the "considerable quantities of arms" which it was believed they still kept either openly in their houses or concealed. Death was the penalty threatened to all who opposed the carrying out of these orders.

But he followed this up by other measures which led to disastrous results.

The first of these was in regard to the prevailing rates of exchange. On 31st August 1802 he issued a proclamation² fixing (on erroneous data as was afterwards proved) the exchange rates of the "twenty-three current coins now issued and received in the public treasury as they are now rated and exchanged in the province of Coimbatore." The effect of this may be stated shortly thus. The table so promulgated lowered the value of—

Gold fanams from	..	3½ to 4 ⅞	per rupee.
Silver. do. do.	..	5 to 5½	do.
or—			
Gold fanams from	..	12¼ to 14 ⅞	per star pagoda.
Silver do. do.	..	17½ to 19¼	do.

The revenue at this time was accounted for in star pagodas, which coins were, however, not current in the province. The revenue was mainly collected in fanams, which were the commonest current coins in the province. In the bazaars, again, where agriculturists sold their produce, the rupee was the general standard of exchange.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXXXIV.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXXXVI.

The rates so promulgated therefore "in fact¹ raised the revenue on every individual throughout the country 20 per cent in gold fanams and 10 per cent in silver, while for their commodities in the markots" (where the dealers had naturally enough disregarded the proclamation) "they could only get the old rates of $3\frac{1}{2}$ gold and 5 silver fanams per rupee."

This measure took effect from 15th September 1802, shortly after the commencement, that is, of the revenue year.

But Major Macleod's mistakes did not end here. For, coming fresh from the country east of the ghats, where the ryots had been accustomed for generations to be a down-trodden race, he seems to have mistaken altogether the character of the people with whom he had to deal. The *tara* organisation of the Nayars, albeit crushed by the Mysorean supremacy, was not altogether dead, and it only needed some acts of palpable injustice to rouse the whole community into violent opposition to the new race of rulers.

Major Macleod estimated the Government share of the produce of the rice-fields at as much as 35 to 40 per cent of the gross produce. Mr. Rickards, who followed him in his office as Principal Collector, observed that 40 per cent of the produce might possibly be collected without objection on particular spots, "but if the principles be indiscriminately applied to seed lands in Malabar, I am confident that agriculture would no longer be worth pursuing." Then, again Major Macleod estimated the average produce in nuts so high as—

Per coconut tree	..	..	..	..	48 nuts,
Per arecanut do.	..	..	..	..	200 do.

whereas Special Commissioner Mr. Graeme, who drew up the scheme on which the existing tree assessment is based, accepted as his averages—

Per coconut tree	..	..	..	..	$24\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{2}$ nuts,
Per arecanut do.	..	..	..	..	$150\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{4}$ do.

Starting with these very grave initial errors, Major Macleod endeavoured, by means of the ordinary Parbutty (*Pravritti* = amsam officer) establishment, to make a fresh revenue survey of the province in the short space of forty days. The time allowed for the purpose was triflingly insufficient; the establishments employed were underpaid and notoriously corrupt when such a chance was placed within their reach. The natural results followed as a matter of course. The accounts were fabricated, actual produce was over-assessed, produce was assessed that did not exist, and assessments were imposed on the wrong men.

A rigid exaction of the revenue under these inequalities constituted therefore one grand source of complaint. And when to this was added that the ryots, when they paid into the treasuries their full assessments in *fanams*, were told to their astonishment that,

¹ Principal Collector Rickards to Board of Revenue, 27th April 1803, paragraph 28.

owing to the new rates of exchange, they had not paid enough, the prevalent dissatisfaction very rapidly took shape in organised resistance to the exorbitant demands of Government.

In the early part of 1803, the province rose *en masse*. To allay the storm which he had roused, and which he felt himself powerless to quell, Major Macleod, after an ineffectual attempt to quiet by a proclamation the people of the south, on the 11th of March 1803 summarily resigned his charge into the hands of Mr. Rickards, the Principal Judge of the Court of Fouzdari Adalat, which had been organised¹ at Mahe for the trial of criminal cases in the low-country portions of the province, and Mr. Rickards very wisely, pending the orders² of the Government, issued a proclamation³ which had some effect in quieting the rising storm. He declared his intention to adhere to the demand as fixed by the previously existing revenue survey, and to accept in payment of the demand all the current coins at the previously existing exchange rates.

The dissatisfaction, however, had been gathering head for some months previously, and in spite of the hold which the large body of troops quartered throughout the country had upon it, the insurrection already smouldering very speedily spread.

The first overt act occurred at Panamaram (otherwise called Panamarattakotta, or Panamurtha Cotta, or still shorter Panorta Cota, literally the "palmyra tree fort") in Wynad. Some five days previous to 11th October 1802, one of the proscribed rebel leaders, Edachenna Kungan, chanced to be present at the house of a Kurchiyan, when a belted peon came up and demanded some paddy from the Kurchiyan. Edachenna Kungan replied by killing the peon, and the Kurchiyars (a jungle tribe) in that neighbourhood, considering themselves thus compromised with the authorities, joined Edachenna Kungan under the leadership of one Talakal Chandu. This band, numbering about 150, joined by Edachenna Kungan and his two brothers, then laid their plans for attacking the military post at Panamaram, held by a detachment of 70 men of the 1st battalion of the 4th Bombay Infantry under Captain Dickenson and Lieutenant Maxwell. "They first⁴ seized the sentry's musket and killed him with arrows. Captain Dickenson killed and wounded with his pistols, bayonet and sword, 15 of the Kurchiyars, 5 of whom are dead and 10 wounded." The whole of the detachment was massacred, and the rebels obtained 112 muskets, 6 boxes of ammunition and Rs. 6,000. All the buildings at the post were destroyed.

The headquarters and about 360 men of the battalion which had suffered this loss were at the time in cantonment at another

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXXXVIII.

² The orders of Government confirmed Mr. Rickards' action in taking charge of the province, and approved the terms of the proclamation mentioned in the text.—(*Proclamation of 2nd April 1803*).

³ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXL.

⁴ Account received about three weeks later from two spies sent to ascertain the facts.

fortified place called Poolinjall, a few miles to the west of Panamaram, on the lower slopes of the Balasur mountain peak. But Major Drummond, in command, made no effort to retrieve the disaster; in fact, as Colonel Wellesley scornfully wrote of him on 3rd November, he remained a *kyde*¹ in his own fort until released by a reinforcement of 500² men which was despatched to the affected district.

This supineness of the military on the spot had its natural effect in rousing the country. And Edachenna Kungan, the hero of the exploit, caused orders to be issued from Pulpalli Pagoda calling the inhabitants to arms. About 3,000 men³ assembled, of whom 500 immediately separated and the rest took post at Vallur Kava, the well known Fish Pagoda close to Manantoddy, at "Motinjara" on the Karkankotta road, and at "Eddapaddy". One of Edachenna Kungan's brothers with 100 men stationed themselves at the "Pynoh" (? Periah) pass and parts adjacent. The Kottiyur pass (Smugglers' pass) was blocked with trees and 25 men were set to guard it. And various other posts were occupied, extending from Dindimal to the Fish Pagoda. Some of the rebels were armed with matchlocks and muskets, and the rest with bows and arrows, Nayar knives and swords. The southern portion of the taluk had not up to the beginning of November joined the rebels, but the Kuppatoode Nayar and two others had done so.

Edachenna Kungan had stationed himself on the route from Mysore to Manantoddy *via* Karkankotta, and of the detachments which were hurried up both from the coast and from Mysore, that⁴ coming *via* Karkankotta experienced the greatest opposition. It was on October 27th met "at Sungaloo on the Bhawully Nullah" by a body of Nayars in a stockaded position which was passed on both flanks. But from there all the way to Manantoddy through a thickly wooded country, it experienced opposition next day with, however, trifling loss.⁵ The regiment kept open the communication between the Bhawully river and Manantoddy, but the enemy still hung about the neighbourhood, and about 12th November one of its detachments had a smart skirmish with the enemy, resulting in 9 killed and 18 wounded, at a swamp between these two places. The enemy held an impassable nullah on the road, but a reinforcement arriving from Sungaloo in time, taking the rebel position in rear, discomfited the enemy, of whom many were put to death in the road. The troops on this occasion were considered by Colonel Wellesley to have "behaved remarkably well".

¹ *Kcidi* (Mal.) = *Qaidi* (Arab.) = prisoner.

² 300 sopoys from Calicut, 200 Watson's police.

³ Colonel (now Major-General) Wellesley, in a letter of 27th December 1802, puts the number at 5,000, but the number given in the text is in accordance with local information obtained at the time.

⁴ First battalion 8th Regiment M.N.I., a party of pioneers, and 200 Mysore horses under Captain Gurnell.—(Wilson's *Hist. Madras Army*, Vol. III, pp. 5, 58.)

⁵ Mysore cavalry killed and 17 horses wounded. The cavalry was found to be of no use in such a jungly country, and was sent back.—(*Ibid.*)

Besides the already mentioned reinforcement sent to Major Drummond, other troops were despatched by Colonel Bells from the cantonment at Kuttuparamba to strengthen Manantoddy, Periah and Lakkidikotta, and Colonel Lawrence ascended the ghats with his battalion and pushed on to Manantoddy. Major Howden, with five companies of sepoy and one of Europeans, likewise marched up the Kuttiyadi pass to act in concert with Colonel Lawrence.

The troops now marched about the country, but could nowhere find the enemy, and on November 5th Colonel Wellesley wrote to Major Macleod that he himself should ascend the ghats to help the troops and persuade the people to settle down, and on the following day the Government sent him specific orders to the same effect.

Meanwhile the rush of troops into Wynad produced outward tranquillity there, but the growing discontent with Major Macleod's administration was beginning by December 1802 to make itself felt in the low country. On the 6th of that month the quondam friend and adviser of Colonel Wellesley—Pallur Eman Nayar—finally threw off his disguise and openly joined the party in rebellion, and on the 10th of the month news was reported from Manattana that a baggage and provision escort had been attacked between Kottiyur and the foot of the Smugglers' Pass—in the low country, that is to say. On December 16th Major Macleod reported from Manantoddy that the number of troops employed was insufficient, that the people would not return to their homes, and it may be noticed in passing that only a day or two previously it had been reported to him that the people of the low country would give no information of the rebel movements. Finally, on 7th January 1803, the rebels had openly taken the field in Kurumbranad, and the people of Payyormala were openly sympathising with them.

In the next two months Major Macleod's ill-advised innovations had set the whole of the province in a ferment, and his summary resignation of his office in favor of Mr. Rickards, already described, did no more than partially remedy it.

In April Edachenna Kungan—"that determined and incorrigible rebel"—came down from Wynad to assist the Kottayam marauders in an attack on the Palassi post, but they were "discomfited with considerable loss". In June the rebellion had extended to Chirakkal, and the armed bands were becoming so bold that they burnt a house within two miles of the Kuttuparamba cantonment. In August the rebel emissaries were in Randattara. In September they were strong enough to risk an engagement between Katirur and Anjarakandi in Kottayam. In November the Chirakkal detachments having been withdrawn to help those in Kottayam, the rebels next concentrated in Chirakkal. On December 7th parties of the rebels were busy committing depredations at Cannanore, Makreri, Anjarakandi (Mr. Brown's spice gardens) and at Kodoli, and on December 20th some of them came even as far as Darmapattanam island close to Tellicherry, and did much damage to the property of the peaceably inclined inhabitants.

After this time matters began slowly to improve, for Mr. Rickards, by timely concessions¹ to the influential people of South Malabar in the matter of a fair settlement of the revenue, had in March, and again on 29th June 1803, prevented to a great extent the insurrectionary movement from spreading to South Malabar. And the inhabitants of Randattara had likewise in April been quieted by the judicious selection of Mr. Murdoch Brown, of the Anjarakandi spice plantation, to conduct a fresh and moderate revenue² settlement of that district. The rebels knew that if the people were made contented their cause was lost, and hence the repeated outrages to which this latter district was subjected in the latter part of the year.

But the daring exploits of the rebels in venturing close up to, and committing outrages in the immediate vicinity of, the European settlements on the coast necessitated the withdrawal of troops from the inland parts. Although, therefore, the force³ stationed in the province was large, Colonel Montresor, the officer in command, had to apply in December 1803 for a reinforcement of 5,000 men. The Madras Government was unable to comply with this requisition.

An important change was, however, shortly afterwards made. Service in Malabar, and more especially in the fever-stricken district of Wynad, was very unpopular with the Bombay troops, who were far from their homes and families, and provision for their regular periodical relief, owing to the distance, was also very difficult. Hence the battalions became⁴ weak and inefficient, and Major-General Wellesley, writing on February 14th, 1804, considered that their relief was "absolutely necessary, both to preserve the peace in Malabar, and to secure the existence of the Bombay army as a respectable body". In the course of 1804 Madras troops were therefore gradually sent to relieve them, and by the end of that year "a respectable⁵ body of Madras troops was assembled in Malabar under Lieutenant-Colonel A. Macleod".

Moreover, in addition to the regular troops, Captain Watson had by this time thoroughly organised his famous "Kolkars" or police, a body of 1,200 men, who rendered most conspicuous services in

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXI., CCXLII, CCXLIII, and see Appendix XIV.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCXLI.

³ In May 1803—8,147 men, including 3 European regiments. On October 1804—5,819 men, including 2 European regiments.—(Wilson's *Hist. Madras Army*, Vol. III, p. 146.)

⁴ Wilson's *Hist. Madras Army*, Vol. III, p. 147.

⁵ *Ibid*—The force consisted of—

A detachment of artillery.

First battalion 7th Regiment.

Second do. 6th do.

First do. do.

" do. 13th do.

" do. 14th do.

" do. do.

" do. Pioneers, besides His Majesty's 30th Foot, and the
Second do. 1st Regiment.

dealing with the small parties of rebels who infested the low country and laid waste the property of all peaceably disposed persons.

Mr. Thomas Warden had in the early part of 1804 become Principal Collector in succession to Mr. Rickards, and Mr. Warden's Sub-Collector in charge of North Malabar was Mr. Thomas Harvey Baber, an officer of exceptional energy, to whose personal efforts the final suppression of the rebellion was largely due.

In February 1804 Mr. Baber was busily engaged with the *Kolkars* in suppressing an extensive rising in the eastern and jungly portion of Chirakkal under the Kalliyad Nambiar and the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's followers. He found that the Mappillas of Irukkur, Kallayi and Venkat were supplying the rebels with ammunition in exchange for pepper. The rebels were dispersed by the *Kolkars*, supported by the regular troops under Colonel Montresor.

On April 5th Mr. Baber reported that he had begun a new policy, namely, to hold the people residing in any locality responsible whenever possible, for giving information about, and for withholding succours from, the rebels. And the good effects of this had been proved by sundry rebels having been taken or killed by the people, who had also given up a lot of arms. By June 20th Mr. Baber had succeeded by his personal efforts in dissolving the rebel confederation in Chirakkal; he restored confidence in the most rebellious tracts, and undermined the influence of the rebel leaders by representing them in the worst light as the enemies of society. He further effected a more complete disarmament of the tract and collected 2,715 muskets, 543 Nayar knives and 1,862 swords besides other articles.

The effect of this energetic action was to circumscribe the disturbed area, and to enable the troops to hold it more in subjection.

Following up the line of policy already adopted in Chirakkal, he next turned his attention to Kottayam, in which, on July 8th, he issued¹ a proclamation prohibiting the sale in the bazaars to strangers, without formal sanction, of more than one silver fanam's worth (about 3 annas 2 pies) of rice and of other articles in proportion. The carrying of articles by any other than the public roads was forbidden to every one "on pain of being apprehended and punished as rebels".

The effect of this, coupled with the vigilance of the *Kolkars*, was to drive the rebels from the low country into the woods and fastnesses of Wynad, and on 30th January 1804 Colonel Macleod, in command of a portion² of the Madras force recently imported into the province, proceeded in company with the Principal Collector Mr. Warden, into Wynad, publishing at the same time a proclamation offering—to all but four rebels—a free pardon to all who returned to their homes and peaceably settled down. The troops

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCL.

² His Majesty's 80th Foot, 2nd battalion 1st Regiment, 1st battalion 13th Regiment flank companies of 1st battalion 14th Regiment and a party of Pioneers. — (Wilson's *History Madras Army*, Vol. III. p. 147, footnote.)

marched by way of the Kottiyur (Smugglers') Pass to Panamaram, where and also at "Velland", "Koiladdy" and "Kunyote", fortified posts were constructed. The troops marched into every part of the district and dispersed the rebels, who were put to the greatest straits for the necessary means to prosecute the war. By the end of April all appearance of opposition had died away, and on May 24th Colonel Macleod issued a further proclamation¹ warning those who had previously accepted² the terms offered that they would be treated as rebels if they failed (of which there was already some indication) to give information of rebel movements, and if they furnished the rebel parties with arms, ammunition or provisions. This was, in effect, introducing into Wynad the policy which Mr. Baber had already, with such excellent results, employed in quieting the low country.

Mr. Warden returned to Calicut and Colonel Macleod to Cannanore in May for the rains, leaving 2,152³ non-commissioned rank and file and Captain Watson with 800 of his *Kolkurs* in the district, all under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Innes of the 2nd battalion 1st Regiment.

In addition to these measures, Colonel Macleod finally on 16th June issued a further proclamation¹ offering rewards for the apprehension of twelve persons whose "estates and property" were further "confiscated from this date." The following is a list of the proscribed rebels and of the rewards offered for their seizure:—

	PAGODAS.
1. Kerala Varma, Palassi (Pychy) Raja ..	3,000
2. Vira Varma Raja of the same family ..	1,000
3. Ravi Varma Raja of the same family ..	1,000
4. Pallur Eman (Colonel Wellesley's friend) ..	1,000
5. Pallur Rayrappan (No. 4's elder brother) ..	300
6. Edachenna Kungan (the hero of the Panamaram massacre)	1,000
7. Edachenna Otenan	300
8. Edachenna Komappan	300
9. Edachenna Ammu	300
10. Karverryallay Kannan	300
11. Yogimulla Machan	300
12. Itty Combetta Kelappan Nambiar	833

Directly the Principal Collector and Colonel Macleod quitted Wynad, the rebels, who had held a conference as to their plan of operations, attacked but were beaten off, not, however, without

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii, CCLV.

² The bulk of the inhabitants had accepted the terms.

³ Distributed amongst eleven posts as follows: 2nd battalion 1st Regiment, 1,000, Panamaram, Koiladdy and Kamyote; 1st battalion 13th Regiment, 844, Velland, Attwaye, Comincherry, Darraloor; 1st battalion 12th Regiment, 308, Matalette, Pullingal, Manantoddy, Lackery; and a havildar's guard (to be relieved every third day from Manantoddy) at Sungaloo on the Mysore frontier.—(Wilson's *History Madras Army*, Vol. III, p. 148, foot-note.)

considerable loss,¹ from the post of "Churikunjee", as it is called in the records. The attack was made by Kurumbars, described as a desperate race of men, who were just beginning to waver in their attachment to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, and whom the rebel leaders wished by some outrage to commit entirely to the Raja's side.

On June 11th Mr. Baber reported (with much satisfaction at the good results of his policy) the arrest of three rebel leaders and eight of their followers, by the *Kolkars* and people of Chirakkal *acting in concert*. This was followed up very shortly by other similar arrests. And the Palassi (Pychy) Raja himself narrowly escaped on 6th September from falling into the hands of a party of *Kolkars* despatched from below the ghats by Mr. Warden on receiving authentic information of the Raja having encamped in a pass leading from South Wynad into South Malabar. The *Kolkars* marched all night through the ghats amid rain and leeches, and at 7 a.m. completely surprised the rebel party. They had got within sixty yards of the thatched shed where the Raja was when a Kurumban on guard discovered them, discharged his arrow and gave the alarm. The Raja and others hurried out of the shed and received the fire of the detachment, by which, owing to the quantity of blood afterwards found, it was believed that Pallur Rayrappan had been mortally² wounded. The *Kolkars* had a hollow and a difficult piece of jungle to pass through before reaching the shed, and the delay in passing these obstacles favoured the escape of the rebels. Moreover, another detachment of *Kolkars*, ordered to co-operate with them from the Wynad side, received their orders some hours too late, and were not in the position allotted to them for intercepting the fugitives. Two of the Raja's attendants were taken; and 13 good muskets, 4 swords and a large heap of wearing apparel, besides about 500 pagodas worth of gold and silver valuables were captured by the *Kolkar* party.

But "terrible weather" and "want of cover" had played havoc with the health of the troops and *Kolkars* stationed in Wynad during the monsoon. Lack of provisions and medical aid had also something to do with it. Out of 1,300 *Kolkars* who had been in Wynad only five weeks before, only 170 were on the roll for duty on October 18th, — so reported Sub-Collector Pearson, in charge of Wynad, to Mr. Warden on that date. The rebels were consequently again assembling at the Pulpalli temple, and a considerable number of Kurichiyars and Kurumbars, headed by the Raja and Edachenna Kungan, were assembled in the country stretching from Kurchiat by Pakam to Pulpalli. Mr. Pearson was incapacitated by a fifth attack of fever, and Mr. Baber was consequently asked to exchange duties with him for the present or until further orders.

On November 1st Mr. Baber reported having taken charge of Wynad. He had really joined some days previously, but he had been busy in the interval counteracting a movement of the rebel

¹ Subbadar and 7 sepoy killed, 17 sepoy wounded.

² This was afterwards found to be a mistake.

leaders and their Kurichiyar followers to get the country people who had made their submission, again embroiled. They had required them "to again rise and follow up the injunctions contained in the *Niyogyam* or address from the *Murikan mar* or tutelar deities of Wynad." The troops and *Kolkars* had been constantly on the move in consequence, and two encounters had taken place, with a few casualties on both sides. But an important event had happened, for the "notorious Talakal Chandu," who, under Edachenna Kungan, had led the attack on the Panamaram post on 11th October 1802, was taken prisoner in one of these affairs. His musket had missed fire, and he was seized, but not before he had with his knife wounded one of the cutcherry people.

The next and most important event of all which virtually terminated the rebellion in Wynad on 30th November 1805, must be told in Mr. Baber's own words:—

"To the Chief Secretary to Government,

"Fort St. George.

"SIR,—It is with infinite satisfaction that I report to you, for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council, that this forenoon, after having been out 15 hours, I had the good fortune to come up with the Cotiote Kerula Werma Rajah *alias* the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah and with the assistance of Captain Clapham and 50 sepoy¹ and 100 *Kolkars*, to chastise this rebel chieftain, by destroying him and five of his followers, one of whom was the notorious and proscribed rebel leader of Cotiote (Kottayam), Aralet Cooty Nambiar.

"A separate party of *Kolkars*, whom I despatched with the Sheristadar for the purpose of co-operating with me and intercepting any fugitives, were also successful in having captured three elephants, the property of the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah.

"I trust that this notification of an event of such importance to the future prosperity of Malabar and Wynad, will not be the less acceptable to Government, because not conveyed through the proscribed channel of communication.

"(Signed) T. H. BABER,

"CAMP AT PULPELLE," Sub-Collector, Northern Divn., Malabar.

"30th November 1805."

"To the Principal Collector,

"Malabar Province.

"SIR,—A severe sickness has till now prevented me from making to you my official report of the fall of the Rebel Chieftain Cotiote Kerula Werma Rajah *alias* the Pyche Rajah (Palassi Rajah). I have now the honour of doing this, as well as of detailing some few

¹ Of the 1st battalion of the 4th Regiment.

circumstances, to enable you to judge by what means so fortunate and important an event has been accomplished.

“ My letter to you of the 1st November last, though written at the commencement of my career in Wynad, would have raised your hopes to expect further success. The seizure of Tallakal Chundoo (Talakal Chandu), though a Courchan (Kurchiyan) was an event which excited the greatest consternation amongst those in rebellion, for such was the consequence of this person that Yadaachana Coongan (Edachenna Kungan) is said to have declared (figuratively), that he had lost his right arm. Your injunctions on this occasion were received, and accordingly in the course of a few days the orders were out for a general movement and alteration in the disposition of our military force in Wynad. Having obtained this so essential point, I deemed it advisable during the interval that must unavoidably elapse before those arrangements could be carried into effect, to make a tour of the district, that I might be the better enabled to form some certain judgment of the real disposition of the community, and how far I could rely upon them for that co-operation which as liege subjects it was their duty to have afforded me. Throughout the northern and western parts of the district, I found the sentiment in our favour, at the same time a considerable disinclination to afford the smallest information of the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah or his partisans. This I attribute to the dread which the numerous examples of assassination by the rebels of those who had come forward could not fail of inspiring, which, notwithstanding all our efforts to oppose, they constantly kept alive by small and numerous roving partisans, who had spread themselves all over the country. In many, however, I evidently saw a strong inclination to favour the rebel leaders, in particular Yadaachan Coongan (Edachenna Kungan), who, with his rebel relations wisely had taken the opportunity, while the Wynad was in exclusive possession of the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah, to connect themselves with principal families in Wynad, who thereby became interested for them, but in all classes, I observed a decided interest for the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah, towards whom the inhabitants entertained a regard and respect bordering on veneration, which not even his death can efface.

“ The conduct to be observed towards the most doubtful of those characters it was not difficult to determine on. Something decisive was absolutely necessary ; there was no security while they were living on their estates, and I found no other alternative left me than that of sending out of the district such of those against whom my suspicions were strongest, a determination which, while it was calculated to cut off the rebels from deriving any further support from such able allies, also would have the effect of warning others against imitating their example.

“ Having fully conveyed to the inhabitants of the northern and western divisions a full idea of the line of conduct I intended to adopt towards them, I proceeded to fill up all the vacant revenue appointments in order to give due effect to my measures. Written instructions were drawn out for the conduct of these native servants,

throughout which I enjoyed the most conciliatory conduct, and having concluded my arrangements I proceeded to the Southern Hobelies of Parakameetil (Parakkumital = South-East Wynad).

" In this division of the country, affairs wore a different aspect. Here was no security to be placed in the inhabitants, the most wealthy and numerous of whom were the Chetties and Goundas,—a vile servile race of mortals, who are strangers to every honest sentiment, and whom nothing but one uniform system of severity ever will prevent from the commission of every species of deceit and treachery. Although the whole of these had presented themselves at the cutcherry, they had done so from no other impulse than a dread of the consequences of absenting themselves, neither did they thereby throw off their connections with the rebels, for it is notorious that the whole rebel confederacy, with the exception of Coongan's (Kungan) party, were in Parakametal (Parakkumital) and were being supported and secreted by these very Chetties, after they had received cowle. I am fully persuaded also from what transpired in the course of my investigation, that the majority of these Chetties did not present themselves to the cutcherry until they had previously obtained the permission of the Pycho (Palassi) Rajah and Palora Jamen (Pallur Eman), a conduct that will be easily accounted for when it is recollected that the Rajah's whole reliance for subsistence and information rested in these people. The Soodra (Sudra) or Nair (Nayar) part of the community were more to be depended upon; there was an honest frankness about them which you could not but admire, and which is a surety that in proportion to our increasing influence, these people will prove themselves worthy of the confidence of Government. The Kooramars (Kurumbar), a numerous race of bowmen, by far the most rude of all the Wynadians, had to a man deserted their habitations and estates and betaken themselves to the strongest parts of the country, where they had removed their families and were dragging on a miserable existence, labouring under the dreadful impression that it was the intention of our Government to extirpate their whole race. As these people were exclusively under the influence of Palora Jamen (Pallur Eman), it is not difficult to explain whence this unfortunate notion originated; it is only those who have had a personal opportunity of knowing the extensive abilities and artifices of this man who can justly calculate upon the mischief and dire consequence that must ensue where such qualifications are employed against us. This was unfortunately instanced in the Kooramars (Kurumbar), who, from the time of Palora Jamen's (Pallur Eman's) defection, had become in a manner desperate; they had been the foremost amongst the rebel ranks, and there is no crime, no species of cruelty and outrage, which they have not committed.

" After this unfavourable description of the southern inhabitants of Wynad, you will judge what were the difficulties to be overcome. I saw that the utmost firmness and vigilance was requisite, at the same time that I deemed the most open and public disclosure of my purposes was more likely to keep in awe those who

were wearing the appearance of fidelity as well as to counteract the designs of our open enemies. To the Chetties in particular I explained that there were no means I would leave untried to discover their real sentiments, and warned them against giving me the smallest shadow to suspect they were continuing in the rebel interest. For this purpose I employed emissaries in a variety of characters. I made frequent marches by day and night to the most unfrequented parts of the country, and by degrees obtained such a knowledge of the inhabitants that, fearful lest their shallow artifices would sooner or later be known, they began evidently to alter their conduct and on some instances they came forward with information. The rebels saw this change that was being effected, and suspecting a continuance in Parakameetil (Parakkumital) would expose them to danger, they by degrees emigrated¹ towards the eastern extremities of Wynad, and one march I made after the Rajah while residing at Coorcheat (Kurchiyat) and which would have succeeded but for the treachery of my guide, a Chetty, drove them entirely out of the southern division.

“ As the great engine of success against an enemy is depriving him of his means of subsistence, my thoughts were naturally directed to this point. As I before said, the Chetties were the media through whom these were principally drawn; these people, to further these their views, had removed their families into Mysore in the villages of Poonat, Pootoor, Kakanabetta, etc., whither they had free egress and regress; and from whence it was no difficult matter to draw such supplies as Wynad could not provide. They had established an intercourse by these means with the Mysoreans, whom they supplied with ghee and grains of different sorts, and in return received coconuts, oil, salt and other articles necessary for subsistence; in removing their families from Wynad they had a variety of objects, one of which was to secure them against any of those consequences which they naturally apprehended from their own dishonest and perfidious pursuits; another was a safe asylum in the event of discovery. The rebels had now confined themselves to the Wynad Hobali and had entire possession of the eastern frontier, by which they were enabled to profit by this understanding between the Mysoreans and Wynad Chetties free of any molestation whatever. After this statement, it will not be extraordinary that I should have pursued the most effectual means to cut off the destructive commerce. I wrote, therefore, to the Resident at Mysore fully on the subject, and requested his co-operation to that extent as should to him appear judicious and expedient; the result of this application was a perfect compliance with my wishes: all the inhabitants of Wynad then in Mysore were ordered to be seized and proclamation made prohibiting, under severe penalties, the passage of any articles whatever without

¹ The Principal Collector was also, as already related, in receipt of authentic intelligence from below the ghats, and the narrow escape the Palassi Raja then had must also have acted as inducement to move eastward. Pearson before Baber's arrival also reported the Palassi Raja as being about Pulpally.

a passport from the officers of the Honourable Company or of Mysore. Major Wilkes went further, so earnest was he in forwarding the public service, that he offered to meet me on the frontier should I deem a personal conference as promising still further advantages.

“ From this time, the rebels began to experience the miseries of want, and their supporters, the Chetties, to be sensible that a perseverance in their conduct would only entail disgrace and ruin upon themselves and families. Still I found that they paid deaf ear to all our promises of protection and thundering declarations against the rebels, all of which the inhabitants considered and with great reason, as so many vauntings, for with all our means our forces, our resources, our reiterated offers of reward, we had not succeeded in apprehending any one rebel of consequence. It became, therefore, an object of the first importance to direct our views to this one subject, and which, now the rebels were confined to one part of the country, was become the more necessary, since matters were brought into that train as to afford every reasonable hope of success.

“ As the rebels had entirely fled into the Wynad Hobali, I deemed it necessary to go in quest of them without loss of time ; having, therefore, made my arrangements at Ganapady Watton (Ganapativattam—Sultan’s Battery), I proceeded to Panaroto Cotta (Panamaratta Kotta) and there solicited of Colonel Hill, a detachment lightly equipped to accompany me. A detachment of 200 men was in consequence held in readiness, and on the (blank) Lieutenant-Colonel Hill with 3 officers, accompanied by myself and 200 of the police, marched to Pulpally (Pulpalli). Nothing material happened on the road ; not a single inhabitant was to be seen, although many of them had presented themselves some months previous to the officer of Government. But it was not to be surprised at ; they were principally Chetties, conscious of the double part they were acting ; they had fled to the mountains, and many of them with their families were followers of the Rajah and his leaders. A few movements of our troops soon brought the inhabitants to a sense of their own interest ; they had been driven from mountain to mountain, their jungly huts were destroyed, their families were reduced to the greatest distress. They had seen with surprise that no injury was offered to their habitations or cultivations and they began now to conceive the idea that we were as ready to protect as we were powerful to punish them. I soon learned this their situation, and as they had been so situated as not to derive the smallest support from our Government, I conceived they merited our most favourable consideration as it was possible they might have been compelled to have espoused the rebel interest. I, therefore, sent them invitations to come in, by which I hoped not only to induce them to throw off all their connection with the rebels and become good subjects, but to obtain from them that information

which I know they must possess of the rebel retreats. The invitations were accepted, and in the course of a few days most of the inhabitants within several miles of Pulpally (Pulpalli) had made their submission to me.

"From the time of my arrival at Pulpally (Pulpalli) scarcely a day passed without some movement of their sopoys or *Kolkars*, and the natural result was frequent skirmishes with parties of the rebels, in all of which we invariably obtained a superiority, having shot or taken several prisoners.

"Having said thus much of the plan of operations that had been adopted, I now come to those which terminated the career of the Pyche (Palassi) Chieftain.

"I before said that one of my objects by getting in the inhabitants of Pulpally (Pulpalli) was to obtain accurate information of the rebels. This I did not think prudent to commence upon too early lest they should take the alarm. I preferred trying all my persuasive means to gain their confidence and to wear them from those their connections. For this purpose, I had them constantly before me and took every opportunity of representing the folly of countenancing a body of men so truly contemptible, and who had no other end than to involve them in one common ruin. I pointed to them in the strongest colours the power and lenity of the British Government, and at last, what with exhortations and occasional presents, had succeeded in inducing several of these, who had been of most essential service to the Rajah's party, to send their Paniars (Paniyar = agricultural labourers) out in quest of information. I took the precaution of swearing all whom I employed to secrecy. With many agents I could not fail of success in some one of them. On the 30th ultimo, three of them at last brought me intelligence of the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah and all the rebel leaders, with the exception of Palora Jamon (Pallur Eman) being then in the opposite side of the Kangura river, a short distance in Mysore, and this so unequivocally that I determined to act upon it. I accordingly requested of Lieutenant-Colonel Hill to assist me with 50 sopoys and an officer, with which force and about 100 *Kolkars*, half Captain Watson's police, half my own locals, I marched at nine o'clock at night, and such was the secrecy in which we set off that our guides even did not know my intention until the moment we took our departure. Previous to this, I had deemed it expedient to make a feint to divert the attention of the rebels (who I thought it probable might have their spies in camp) by detaching 70 of my *Kolkars*, under the Sheristadar, under the pretext of going in pursuit of Palora Jamon (Pallur Eman), who was reported to be in the Kompanany Mala in the south-eastern direction, while they had secret instructions after marching half-way to this mountain to strike off eastward to the Kallir mountain and there lay in ambush near to paths to cut off the retreat of any fugitives who would, in most probability, go off in that direction in the event of our party coming up with the rebels.

“Such was the nature of the country that, although we kept marching the whole night, we did not reach the Kangara river until seven the following morning. Here we divided ourselves into two parties, and proceeding along the banks observed a vast number of huts, all of them bearing every appearance of recent habitation : we continued marching until nine o’clock when the detachment being fatigued, a halt was proposed. We accordingly halted, and having taken some refreshment, we again started, with the determination of tracing every jungly path—so fully persuaded was I, as well from the earnestness of our guides as the consideration that this was a part of Mysore that our troops had at no time penetrated or perhaps even thought of doing, that the rebels must be concealed in some part of these jungles. After proceeding about a mile and a half through very high grass and thick teak forests into the Mysore country, Charen (Cheran) Subedar of Captain Watson’s armed police, who was leading the advanced party, suddenly halted, and beckoning to me, told me he heard voices. I immediately ran to the spot, and having advanced a few steps, I saw distinctly to the left about ten persons, unsuspecting of danger, on the banks of the Mavila Toda, or nulla to our left. Although Captain Clapham and the sepoy, as well as the greater part of the *Kolkars*, were in the rear, I still deemed it prudent to proceed, apprehensive lest we should be discovered and all hopes of surprise thereby frustrated. I accordingly ordered the advance, which consisted of about thirty men, to dash on, which they accordingly did with great gallantry, with Charen (Cheran) Subedar at their head. In a moment, the advance was in the midst of the enemy, fighting most bravely. The contest was but of short duration. Several of the rebels had fallen, whom the *Kolkars* were despatching, and a running fight was kept up after the rest till we could see no more of them. Just at this time, a firing was heard to the right ; was accordingly returned, when we saw the sepoy and *Kolkars* engaged with fresh body of rebels, who proved to be Coongan’s (Kungan’s) party, but who fled after a few shots had been fired at them, and, though pursued, were seen nothing more of. From one of the rebels of the first party to the left, whom I discovered concealed in the grass, I learnt that the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah was amongst those whom we first observed on the banks of the nulla, and it was only on my return from the pursuit that I learnt that the Rajah was amongst the *first* who had fallen. It fell to the lot of one of my catcherry servants, Canara Menon, to arrest the flight of the Rajah, which he did at the hazard of his life (the Rajah having put his musket to his breast), and it is worthy of mention that this extraordinary personage, though in the moment of death, called out in the most dignified and commanding manner to the Menon, ‘not to approach and defile his person.’ Aralat Cootty Nambiar, the only one remaining of those rebels proscribed by Colonel Stevenson, and a most faithful adherent of the Rajah, made a most desperate resistance, but at last fell overpowered by the superior skill of one of the Parbutties (Pravritti) in Wynad ; four other followers of the Rajah were also killed, two

taken prisoners together with the *Rajah's Lady*,¹ and several female attendants. There was no other property discovered, but a gold Cuttarum (Katharam or Kattaram—dagger) or knife and a waist-chain—the former I have now in my possession, the latter I presented to Captain Clapham. And from the accounts of the Rajah's Lady, they had been reduced to the greatest distresses, in particular for the last ten days. The Rajah's body was taken up and put into my palanquin, while the lady, who was dreadfully reduced from sickness, was put into Captain Clapham's. Finding any further pursuit of the rebels useless, we made a disposition of our forces and returned to Chomady, which we reached about six in the afternoon without having met with any further occurrences on the road. The following day the Rajah's body was despatched under a strong escort to Manantoddy, and the Sheristadar sent with it with orders to assemble all the Brahmins and to see that the customary honours were performed at his funeral. I was induced to this conduct from the consideration that, although a rebel, he was one of the natural chieftains of the country, and might be considered on that account rather as a fallen enemy. If I have acted unjudiciously, I hope some allowances will be made for my feelings on such an occasion.

“ Thus terminated the career of a man who has been enabled to persevere in hostilities against the Company for near nine years, during which many thousand valuable lives have been sacrificed and sums of money beyond all calculation expended.

“ Notwithstanding that every effort of moderation and lenity was pursued towards the Rajah, nothing could get the better of his natural restlessness and ferocity of disposition, which, aided by the evil counsels of his advisers, impelled him to the most desperate acts and produced an infatuation which rendered him insensible to the dictates of humanity or reason. His annihilation became necessary for the stability and security of the Government and its subjects. While this severe necessity existed, the recollection of the services he has performed during the infancy of our Government, cannot but inspire us with a sentiment of regret that a man so formed should have pursued a conduct that should have thrown so insuperable a bar to all kind of accommodations. To temporize further than was done would have been to yield, and to have yielded would have afforded a precedent which might have been fatal to the British Government in India.

“ But it will not be necessary for me to enlarge to you, who are so well acquainted with this chieftain's history, on the leading features of so extraordinary and singular a character. The records of India and England will convey to posterity a just idea of him.

“ Where the conduct of all was so generally satisfactory, it would be an invidious distinction to mention individuals at the same time. I should be wanting in justice to Charen (Cheran),

¹ Niece of the Payyormala Nayar.

the Subedar, were I to pass over unnoticed his gallantry and judgment on the present as well as on all former occasions, nor is Caranakara (Karunakara) Menon less entitled to my approbation for his activity, courage and attachment which I have experienced for six years.

" Nothing more remains to give due effect to our Government in Wynad but the extirpation of the remaining rebel leaders—one of the most formidable, the proscribed Jadachana Jamoo (Edachenna Ammu), has already fallen. Since my departure for the coast, by the activity and intrepidity of the Pooluyal Parbutty (Pravirtti) several advantages have been obtained, and I anticipate as soon as I can return to the upper country a speedy termination to the career of the remainder.

" I am, Sir, etc.,

" CANNANORE, }
" 31st December 1805. }

(Signed) T. H. BABER,
Sub-Collector.

" Five elephants, a small quantity of sandalwood, and several copper pots, the property of the Rajah, have been discovered and taken at different times. I beg to recommend their immediate sale and that the proceeds be distributed for the benefit of the captors.

" (Signed) T. H. BABER,
" Sub-Collector."

The other rebel leaders were shortly afterwards all accounted for. Edachenna Kungan, being sick and unable to escape, committed suicide to prevent himself from falling alive into the hands of a party sent in pursuit of him. Pallur Rayrappan was in January 1806 overtaken on a mountain belonging to the Tirumalpad of Nilambur, who had been privy to the rebel's retreat and had sent men to assist him. He made a desperate resistance before he fell, and mortally wounded, it was feared, one of his captors. His brother Pallur Eman, the friend of Colonel Wellesley, was captured, and with many other rebels was deported to Prince of Wales' Island in 1806. The two junior Rajas of the Palassi (Pychy) family had, previously to the Raja's death, fled to the southward to the protection of the Raja of the Padinyaru (western) branch of the Zamorin's house, who had been permitted as a favour¹ to reside at Kalladikod. The place was searched and the arms of the rebel party were found. The Raja was made a prisoner and sent to the fortress of Dindigul and his house was completely demolished. He died without a trial on 3rd March 1806. Mr. Warden held² out, after the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's death, an offer of pardon to the two Rajas who had thus been sheltered at Kalladikod, and they appear to have accepted it.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CLXXXVI.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCLVII.

Mr. Baber received the thanks of Government for his services, and a donation of 2,500 pagodas.

The peace of the district has not been very seriously disturbed since then, except in consequence of the Mappilla outrages, which will be presently related. But in the beginning of April 1812, the people, chiefly Kurchiyars and Kurumbars of the east of Wynad, again gave some trouble owing to the exaction of the Government land revenue in money. The people were unable to find a market for their produce, and had to part with their grain at ruinous prices to pay the revenue. They assembled and consulted as to what they should do, and a subbadar and jemadar of the local police were attacked with bows and arrows on endeavouring to disperse an assemblage in Nallurnad. Fire was returned, but the police party was not strong enough to carry out its object and eventually had to retreat with the jemadar and two *Kolkars* wounded. Troops had to be brought both from the coast and from Mysore for the relief of the detachments at Manantoddy and Sultan's Battery which were placed in a state of siege by the insurgents. The column from the coast encountered opposition in the Kuttiyadi pass, near which (on the north) there is a strong Kurchiyar settlement. Two officers and seventeen or eighteen men of the second battalion of the 3rd regiment were wounded. The posts were relieved, and in order to obtain a better command of the country held by the jungle tribes, a chain of posts was established in the wild jungly country stretching to the north of the Sultan's Battery, namely, Porakandy, Pakam, and Moodramoly, besides Panamaram and Sultan's Battery.

In connection also with the rebellion in 1808-9 of the Travancore and Cochin Nayers, an unsuccessful attempt was made on 28th December 1808 to murder the British Resident (Colonel Macaulay) in his house at Cochin. And on the 19th January following, the town was attacked by the rebels, 3,000 strong, in three divisions. They had also planted a battery of two guns on Vypeen point and did some execution with it. The place was gallantly defended¹ by fifty men of His Majesty's 12th Foot and by six companies of the 1st battalion of the 17th Regiment, all under Major Hewitt. The defence was conducted with great spirit notwithstanding several determined attacks from the rebels, who lost 300 men. The gallant defenders also suffered severely.²

But the rebels, though defeated, were not driven out of the field; two days later they attacked the Dutch Governor's house on the outskirts of the town and destroyed the garden.

On the 25th another attack was made on the town from the eastward. "They³ came on with their guns adorned with crimson shoo-flowers (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*), sacred to Siva and the Gods of Blood.

¹ Wilson's *Hist. Madras Army*, Vol. III, pp. 208-10.

² *His Majesty's 12th Foot*—1 private killed, 1 officer and 14 rank and file wounded; *1st Battalion, 17th Regiment*—10 sepoy killed, 1 officer and 45 rank and file wounded, the former (Captain Road) mortally.

³ Day's *Land of the Permauls*, page 188.

They did not, however, approach with any bravery, and were without much difficulty forced to retreat, many being taken prisoners."

For a month more they hovered about the town, doing mischief, and in particular subjecting the Syrian Christian community to great ill-treatment.

Few events of political importance remain to be noticed except the outrages by Mappillas, which, unfortunately for the peace of the district, continue down to the present day. But mention requires to be made of the following :—

* On 15th November 1806 the Principal Collector, Mr. Warden, and the Zamorin reduced to terms¹ the understanding with the latter and his family in regard to the payment of the malikhana allowance (or one-fifth share of the revenues of their districts) which had been set apart for their maintenance. The family receives Rs. 1,32,163 odd per annum, and it is "considered as the security for the good and dutiful behaviour towards the Company's Government of each and every member of the Rajeum (*Rajyam*) or family to which it may now and hereafter be payable."

The Government had on 21st November 1804 approved of the Principal Collector's suggestion to have similar written instruments interchanged with the other ancient chieftains of the district. But beyond this engagement with the Zamorin and his family no such interchange of written deeds appears to have taken place.

In Appendix XX will be found a complete list of the malikhana recipients, and the nature of the payments made to them has been defined as follows :—"It should² be understood that these allowances will be subject to revocation upon proof established of flagrant misbehaviour or rebellious conduct." In 1857 the Government³ agreed with the Revenue Board and the Acting Collector "that the allowances are perpetual during good conduct and are not revocable at pleasure."

"These⁴ varying allowances were permanently fixed at 20 per cent. of the net revenue of the year 1800-1."

The control of the Cochin State was transferred⁵ to the British Resident in Travancore in April 1809.

In 1813 the Anjengo Factory was closed.

On 23rd February 1817, after the conclusion of peace between the two nations, "the establishment of Mahe" was retransferred⁶ to the French and this was followed on 1st February 1819 by the delivery⁷

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCLXII.

² Revenue Board to Principal Collector, 5th May 1804.

³ Ext. Min. Cons., 30th May 1857.

⁴ Proceedings, Board of Revenue, 1870, dated 11th June 1857.

⁵ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCLXV.

⁶ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCLXVIII.

⁷ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCLXXI—CCLXXXIX.

to M. le Chef of Mahe of "the French factory at Calicut with the extent of ground to which that Government are entitled in virtue of their having possessed it in former days."

After much and protracted discussion it was further finally decided that the French had made good their claims to certain other bits of territory lying in the neighbourhood of Mahe, described as "the four villages of Paloor, Pandaquel, Chamberra and Chalicarra, and of the three detached points or posts of Fort Saint George, the great and the little Calayi, as defined by the British authorities, without any of the territory in their vicinity, to which a claim was made on a former occasion." These bits of territory were accordingly delivered¹ to the French on 14th November 1853.

The Coorg war in 1834 did not affect Malabar beyond that "an old and faithful servant of the Company," Kalpalli Karunakara Menon, the Head Sherishtadar of the district, was sent for the purpose of opening a friendly negotiation with the Raja, and was imprisoned by the latter. This outrage led² directly to the war.

Shortly after the close of the war with Coorg the district administration entered upon a period of disturbance, which unhappily continues down to the present time. The origin and causes of this are of so much importance that it has been considered best to treat the subject at considerable length with a view not only to exhibit the difficulties with which the district officers have had to deal, but to elucidate the causes from which such difficulties have sprung.

On the 26th November 1836 Kallingal Kunyolan of Manjeri amsam, Pandalur desam in Ernad taluk, stabbed one Chakku Panikkar of the *Kanisan* (astrologer) caste, who subsequently died of his wounds. He also wounded two other individuals, and a fourth who had been employed to watch him, and fled to Nonmini amsam in Walluvanad taluk, whither he was pursued by the tahsildar, taluk peons and villagers. He was shot by the police on the 28th idem.

On the 15th April 1837 one Ali Kutti of Chengara amsam, Kalpetta desam, Ernad taluk, inflicted numerous and severe wounds on one Chirukaranimana Narayana Mussat (a Brahman *janmi*), and took post in his own shop, where he was attacked by the tahsildar and the taluk peons, and shot by the taluk police on the following day.

On the 5th April 1839 Thorayampolakkal Attan and another, of Pallipuram amsam, Walluvanad taluk, killed one Kelil Raman and then set fire to and burnt a Hindu temple, took post in another temple and there they were attacked by the tahsildar and his peons and were shot by a taluk peon.

On the 6th April 1839 Mambadtodi Kuttiathan stabbed and severely wounded one Kotakat Paru Taragan and then came among the police party, consisting of two tahsildars and others, who were

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCLXXX—CCXC.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCLXXV.

occupied in framing a report connected with the preceding case, and stabbed and wounded a peon. He was captured, brought to trial, and sentenced to transportation for life.

On the 19th April 1840, in Irumbuli amsam, Ernad taluk, Paratodiyil Ali Kutti severely wounded one Odayath Kunhunni Nayar and another, set fire to Kidangali temple and took post in his house, where he was attacked by the tahsildar and his peons. He rushed out and was shot by a taluk police peon on the following day.

On the 5th April 1841 Tumba Mannil Kunyunniyan and eight others killed one Perumbali Nambutiri (a Brahman *janmi*) and another at Pallipuram in Walluvanad taluk, burnt the house of the latter victim as well as four other houses (belonging to the dependents of the Brahmans), the owner of one of which died of injuries then received. The Mappillas then established themselves in the Brahman's house and defied the Government authorities. They were attacked and killed on the 9th idem by a party of the 36th Regiment Native Infantry and the police peons and villagers under the direction of Mr. Silver, then Head Assistant Magistrate in the district. The military consisted of 1 jemadar, 1 havildar, 2 naigues and 20 privates.

"The plan¹ of attack I formed was, a body of peons to rush close up to one of the doors with axes and break it open, closely followed by a storming party of sepoy, while the armed villagers and peons should be disposed round the building, among the trees, as skirmishers to keep up a constant fire on every aperture to protect as much as possible the storming party.....While we were waiting for the pick-axes, etc., the door was flung open and forth rushed the ruffians."

* * * * *

"The jemadar's party of sepoy behaved extremely well, and without them many lives would have been sacrificed."

* * * * *

One man, Pulikot Raman Nayar, was killed and ten, namely, 1 sepoy, 5 peons and 4 villagers, were wounded. The Government in Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated 22nd April 1841, No. 329, remarked: "His Lordship in Council considers that great commendation is due to Mr. Silver for the decision and promptitude displayed by him, and to the detachment 36th Regiment Native Infantry who aided him, as well as the tahsildar and others concerned."

The chief criminal in this outbreak was one Kunyolan, and the cause assigned was the duplicity on the part of the Nambutiri Brahmans in the matter of a garden for which Kunyolan advanced Rs. 16, and of which he wished to remain in possession. Another Mappilla brought a suit in the Munsiff's Court to evict Kunyolan on the strength of a deed of *melkanam* obtained from the Brahmans.

¹ Mr. Silver's report of 10th April 1841.

On the 13th November 1841 Kaidotti Padil Moidin Kutti and seven others killed one Tottassori Tachu Panikkar and a peon, took post in a mosque, set the police at defiance for three days, and were joined by three more fanatics on the morning of the 17th idem.

“ On ¹ the requisition of the Zillah Judge, Mr. E. B. Thomas (the Collector having been absent at Ootacamund), a party of 40 sepoy of the 9th Regiment Native Infantry, under Lieutenant Shakespear, accompanied by Mr. Platel, arrived ” on the scene.

* * * *

“ Mr. Platel ² made strenuous efforts to induce a party of peons to advance ; I found it was necessary to advance with them ; as we approached, the peons fired a few shots and drew off to the left, and when we arrived within 100 yards of it, five of the Mappillas rushed forward with big knives and shields to defend themselves ; two diverged to the left, who were instantly shot by the peons, and three made off to the right towards some paddy-fields, where they were assailed by a file or two of my men, and a few villagers and peons likewise joined them. A struggle took place between a sepoy and one of the Mappillas ; and adhikari came up and cut him down ; a second was attacked by a sepoy who threw him down, and whilst securing him was shot by one or two peons ; a third having severely wounded a villager, was also killed. Immediately after the rush of the first men, six more came running headlong down the eminence, similarly armed, and from the desperation of their manner the sepoys and peons opened fire upon them and they fell.”

The cause assigned for the murder of the peon was that the peon dragged one of the Mappillas out of the mosque, and with the assistance of Tachu Panikkar tied him up. But the Mappillas had previously resolved upon murdering the Panikkar because he had opposed the raising of a mud wall round a small mosque built in a garden obtained on *kanam* twenty-two years before from his predecessor.

On the 17th of the same month a large band of Mappillas, estimated at 2,000, set at defiance a police party on guard over the spot where the above criminals had been buried, and forcibly carried off their bodies and interred them with honors at a mosque. Twelve of these were convicted and punished.

On the 27th December 1841 Melemanna Kunyattan, with seven others, killed one Talappil Chakku Nayar and another, and took post in the adhikari's house on the 28th idem. They rushed upon the police peons and villagers who had surrounded the house under the Ernad tahsildar's directions, and were before the arrival of the detachment sent out from Calicut, all killed and their bodies were brought to Calicut and interred under the gallows.

¹ The District Magistrate's letter to Government, No. 29, dated 22nd November 1841.

² Lieutenant Shakespear's report of 20th November 1841.

On the 19th October 1843 Kunnancheri Ali Attan and five others killed one Kaprat Krishna Panikkar, the adhikari of Tirurangadi, and proceeded, at the suggestion of a seventh Mappilla who joined them afterwards, to the house of a Nayar in Cherur, and posting themselves in it, avowed not only the murder they committed, but their determination of fighting to death. A detachment consisting of 1 lieutenant, 1 subadar, 1 jemadar, 3 havildars, 4 naigues, 1 drummer, 51 privates, 1 pukkalli, and 1 lascar of the 5th Regiment Native Infantry, under Captain Leader, was deputed to the spot. They attacked the Mappillas on the morning of the 24th, but upon the latter rushing out, the sepoys were panic struck and took to flight. The consequence was that 1 subadar and 3 sepoys were killed, Captain Leader and 5 sepoys were wounded, the former in the neck and stomach, and, besides these casualties to the regular troops, 7 peons were wounded (3 of them severely). The fanatics, seven in number, were killed by the taluk peons and villagers. The sepoys were subsequently tried by a Military Court of Enquiry assembled at Cannanore.

"The military¹ detachment who had misbehaved were called into Calicut the next day and their place taken by a fresh body of 35 men, whom I thought it essential to keep in the disturbed locality until tranquillity was more secured."

It is this outbreak which is described in the verses translated at pages 102–104. Tirurangadi, the adhikari of which was killed, lay close to the residence of the Arab Tangal or High Priest who was generally credited with having incited the Mappillas to commit these outrages. The Tangal died shortly afterwards and was buried at the Mambram mosque situated on the river bank opposite Tirurangadi. Fanatics who intend to commit outrages, and those who have committed them do, as a rule even now, proceed to this mosque to pray at the Tangal's shrine.

On the 19th December 1843 a peon was found with his head and hand all but cut off, and the perpetrators were supposed to be Mappilla fanatics of the sect known as *Hal Ilakkam* (*lit*: Frenzy-raising).

The following interesting account of this sect is taken from an official report by a native subordinate, dated November 1843:—

"Particulars of the (ഹാൽ ഇലക്കം) (*Hal Ilakkam* = frenzy) among the Mappillas in Chernad taluk and the neighbouring parts.

"Originally there was no *Hal Ilakkam* there.

"In the month of Metam last year, one Alathamkuliyl Moidin of Kotinhi desam, Nannambra amsam, Vettattnad taluk, which is on the skirts of Trikkulam amsam, went out into the fields (*punja pattam*) before daybreak to water the crops, and there he saw a certain person who advised him to give up all his work and devote his time to prayer at the mosque. Moidin objected to this, urging

¹ District Magistrate's report to Government, No. 29, dated 4th November 1843.

that he would have nothing to live upon. Whereupon the above-mentioned person told him that a palm tree which grew in his (Moidin's) compound would yield sufficient toddy which he could convert into jaggery and thus maintain himself. After saying this, the person disappeared. Moidin thought that the person he saw was God himself and felt frantic (*hal*). He then went to Taramal¹ Tangal, performed *dikkar* and *niskaram* (cries and prayers). After two or three days he complained to the Tangal that *Kafirs* (a term applied by Muhammadans to people of other religions) were making fun of him. The Tangal told him that the course adopted by him was a right one, and saying "let it be as I have said," gave him a spear to be borne as an emblem, and assured him that nobody would mock him in future. Subsequently several Mappillas affecting *Hal Ilakkam* played all sorts of pranks, and wandered about with canes in their hands, without going to their homes or attending to their work. After two or three days some of them, who had no means of maintaining themselves unless they attended to their work, returned to their former course of life, while others, with canes and Ernad knives² (war knives) in their hands, wandered about in companies consisting of five, six, eight, or ten men, and congregating in places not much frequented by Hindus, carried on their *dikkar* and *niskaram* (cries and prayers). The Mappillas in general look upon this as a religious vow and provide these people with food. I hear of the Mappillas taking among themselves that one or two of the ancestors of Taramal Tangal died fighting, that the present man being advanced in age it is time for him to follow the same course, and that the above-mentioned men affected with *Hal Ilakkam*, when their number swells to 400, will engage in a fight with Kafirs and die in company with the Tangal. One of these men (who are known as *Halar*) by name Avarumayan, residing in Kilmuri desam, Melmuri amsam, two months ago collected a number of his countrymen and sacrificed a bull, and for preparing meals for these men placed a copper vessel with water on the hearth and said that rice would appear of itself in the vessel. He waited for some time. There was no rice to be seen. Those who had assembled there ate beef alone and dispersed. Some people made fun of Avarumayan for this. He felt ashamed and went to Taramal Tangal, with whom he stayed two or three days. He then went into the mosque at Mambram, and on attempting to fly through the air into the mosque at Tirurangadi on the southern³ side of the river, fell down through the opening of the door and became lame of one leg, in which state he is reported to be still lying.

"While the *Halar* of Muniyur desam were performing *niskaram* (prayer) one day at the tomb of Chemban⁴ Pokar Muppan, a rebel, they declared that in the course of a week a mosque would

¹ The high priest referred to in connection with the preceding outrage.

² See *kodungakutti* in the Glossary, Appendix XIII.

³ And, it may be added, on the opposite side of the river, which here runs within high banks, of which the southern bank is the higher.

⁴ The famous rebel in the early days of the British Government, *conf. pp.* 527-529.

spring up at night and that there would be complete darkness for two full days. Mappillas waited in anxious expectation of the phenomenon for seven or eight days and nights. There was, however, neither darkness nor mosque to be seen.

" Again in the month of Karkidagam last, some of the influential Mappillas led their ignorant Hindu neighbours to believe that a ship would arrive with the necessary arms, provisions and money for 40,000 men; that if that number (40,000) could be secured meanwhile, they could conquer the country, and that the Hindus would then totally vanish. It appears that it was about that time that some Tiyyar (toddy-drawers) and others became converts. For some days some Mappillas gave up all their usual work and led an idle life. In those days *Halar* were made much of and treated by some.

" None of these predictions having been realised, Mappillas as well as others have begun to make fun of the *Halar*, who having taken offence at this, are bent upon putting an end to themselves by engaging in a fight. A certain individual known as Harabikaran Tangal (*lit.* Arab high priest), with long hair, has been putting up with the Taramal Tangal for the last two years, offering prayers with a cry called *dikkar* (ദിക്കർ). The *Halar* appear to have adopted the *dikkar* from the said Tangal, as it was not known to the people before.

" The man who first had the *Hal Ilakkam* in the punja fields is called by the people '*Punja Tangal*.' "

On the 4th December 1843 a Nayar labourer was found dead with ten deep wounds on his body, and his murder was believed to be the work of the *Hal Ilakkam* sect just described.

On the 11th December 1843 Anavattatt Soliman and nine others killed one Karukamanna Govinda Mussat, the adhkari of Pandikad in the Walluvanad taluk, and a servant of his while bathing. They afterwards defiled two temples, broke the images therein, and took post in a house. A detachment¹ of the 19th Regiment Native Infantry was sent out, but the officer commanding deemed his force insufficient and consequently fell back a short distance. Two companies² of sepoy of the same regiment, under the command of Major Osbourne, marched from Palghat on the 17th, and on the 19th the Mappillas without waiting to be attacked, rushed at the troops directly they appeared and were shot, but not without loss of life, as one native of the force was killed.

" I moved³ the detachment at half-past ten in the direction of the house occupied by the murderers accompanied by H. D. Cook, Esq., two tahsildars and peons. Immediately after filing through the paddy field the murderers rushed upon the column, and in a few minutes were shot, ten in number."

¹ Lieutenant Lynch, 1 subbadar, 1 jomadar, 3 havildars, 3 natives, 1 drummer, and 30 sepoy.

² 2 lieutenants, 2 subbadars, 2 jomadars, 11 havildars, 8 natives, 3 drummers 148 privates, 2 puckallis, and 4 lascars.

³ Major Osbourne's report, dated 19th December 1843.

On this occasion the fanatics were in an open plain without shelter, and charged deliberately, 10 men into the midst of over 200.

On the 26th May 1849 Chakalakkal Kammad wounded one Kanancheri Chiru and another and took post in a mosque. When the Chernad tahsildar (a Pathan) proceeded towards the mosque in the hope of inducing the murderer to surrender himself, he rushed forward with a knife, and a peon put an end to the fanatic on the same day.

On the 25th August 1849 Torangal Unniyan killed one Paditodi Teyyunni, and with four others joined one Attan¹ Gurikkal. They with others on the following day killed the servant of one Marat Nambutiri and two others and took post in the Hindu temple overlooking Manjeri, the headquarters of the Ernad taluk. They defiled the temple and in part burnt it. Captain Watt with a detachment of the 43rd Regiment Native Infantry proceeded from Malapuram to Manjeri, and on the 28th he formed a plan for attacking the temple. Ensign Wyse and his company were sent across the paddy flat separating the taluk cutcherry hill from the temple hill to attack the rebels, then only 32 in number, who were to be drawn from their position in the temple by parties of police and villagers who had been sent forward to fire at them.

The rest of the detachment was held in reserve on the cutcherry hill, Mr. Collett, the Assistant Magistrate, being with them. Ensign Wyse's party, with the exception of 4 men who were all killed, refused to advance to receive the charge of only a few of the fanatics who came down hill at them, and notwithstanding the gallant example set by the Ensign himself in killing the first man who charged, the party broke and fled after some ineffectual firing.

"Others now" came down upon Ensign Wyse, and I am informed that one of them seized him by the jacket and he received a wound, when he appears to have fallen and was of course quickly put to death; but by this time three of the insurgents had fallen, and now those men in the detachment who alone had emulated their officer, fell, one of them having first gallantly bayonnetted the man who gave Mr. Wyse his death wound."

The party held in reserve on the cutcherry hill, on witnessing this disaster, fled, although the fanatics were still at a considerable distance on the far side of the paddy flat lying at the bottom of the hill on which the reserve was posted. Only one of the insurgents crossed this paddy flat and he was killed by a police *Kolkar*.

A detachment of His Majesty's 94th Regiment² from Cannanore, under Major Dennis, reached Manjeri on the 3rd September, and also

¹ A descendant of the Gurikkal who gave so much trouble in the early days of the British administration. Attan Gurikkal was a worthless fellow who preferred a life of idleness and shikar, varied by occasional dacoities, to any other kind of pursuit. He had gathered round him a considerable following of men of the same way of thinking as himself, but among them were two at least of a respectable family who had been reduced to poverty "by suit and otherwise in their early life."

² Mr. Collett's report of 28th August 1849.

³ 3 officers, 6 sergeants, 5 corporals, 2 drummers, and 104 privates.

a detachment of the 39th Regiment ¹ Native Infantry from Palghat. The insurgents, whose ranks had been largely recruited in the interval, evacuated the temple during the night after the arrival of the reinforcements, and proceeded a distance of about twelve miles to the Bhagavati Kavu temple near Angadipuram, the head-quarters of the Walluvanad taluk. Thither next day they were followed by the troops, who, in spite of their forced march in tempestuous weather from Cannanore to Calicut, of being cooped up, wet and without regular food, in cramped positions in the boats, in which, in still more tempestuous weather, they were conveyed from Calicut to Arikkod, and of the heavy march of the two preceding days, showed the utmost eagerness to close with the enemy. At 5 p.m. on the 4th September the encounter took place at the forty-first milestone from Calicut on the Great Western Road (No. 6) and in the open ground (now enclosed) to the south of the road at that point. On receiving intelligence that the insurgents, now 64 in number, were coming to the attack, Major Dennis drew his men up "in column" ² of sections, right in front, so as to occupy the whole breadth of the road, when the enemy came on with most desperate courage, throwing themselves on our bayonets; after firing off their matchlocks, they took to their war knives, swords and spears, and when struck down to the ground, renewed the fight even on their knees by hurling their weapons at the faces of our men, and which continued until literally, they were cut to pieces; others, planted on the trees, kept up a most destructive fire with their matchlocks loaded with iron slugs. This attack was made by the enemy in three divisions, about 300 yards apart, the second led on in person by Attan Gurikkal (Coyah or priest), who fought with most desperate courage; but I am happy to say that through the steadiness, correct and low firing of the men, our loss has not been so considerable as might have been expected from the desperate onset of these mad fanatics; and in the space of half an hour the enemy was completely annihilated, leaving 64 dead, their bodies lying close to each other, exhibiting most dreadful wounds, some having received four or five musket balls, besides bayonet stabs, before these fanatics could be stayed carrying on their determined work of destruction into our ranks."

"The power ³ of their fanaticism was astounding. One of the men had had his thigh broken in the engagement in which Lieutenant Wyse was killed. He had remained in all the agony attendant on an unhealed and unattended wound of this nature for seven days; he had been further tortured by being carried in a rough litter from the Manjeri to the Angadipuram pagoda. Yet there he was at the time of the fight, hopping on his sound leg to the encounter, and only anxious to get a fair blow at the infidels ere he died."

The casualties in the detachments were trifling when the numbers and determination of the insurgents are considered. Two

¹ 2 officers, 4 native officers, 9 naigues, 2 buglers, and 132 privates.

² Major Dennis' report of 5th September 1849.

³ District Magistrate's report of 12th October 1849.

privates of the 94th Regiment were killed and three others and a sergeant wounded ; one officer received a deep flesh wound, and Major Dennis " had " a wonderful escape from a bullet, which grazed his wrist."

A sepoy of the 39th Regiment was likewise severely wounded. On searching afterwards, one of the insurgents, a lad of 17 or 18 years, was found to be alive. He lived for some time and told what he knew about the outrages.

The bodies of the slain insurgents were thrown into a dry well in the garden lying in the south of the Walluvanad taluk cutcherry at Perintalmanna.

On the 2nd October 1850 information was received that the sons of one Perambath Attan, the Mappilla adhikari of Puliakod amsam in Ernad taluk had, with others, concerted to kill one Mungambalatt Narayana Mussat and to devote themselves to death in arms. Security was required of nine individuals on this account.

On the 5th January 1851 Choondyamoochikal Attan attacked and wounded severely a Government native clerk named Raman Menon, who had been employed in inspecting gingelly-oil seed (*ellu*) cultivation in Payanad in Ernad taluk in conjunction with the village accountant in view to settling the Government share, and he then shut himself up in the inspector's house, setting the police at defiance. No persuasion could induce him to surrender himself. He declared he was determined to die a martyr. The tahsildar (a Mappilla) tried to induce him to deliver himself up, but he utterly refused to do so. Finally, rushing out and firing at the opposing party, he was shot dead. The reason assigned by the criminal for attacking the inspector was that his wife's gingelly-oil crop had been over-assessed.

On the 17th January 1851 three Mappillas were reported as contemplating an assault, and security was taken from them.

On the 15th April 1851 Illikut Kunyunni and five others were reported as designing to break out and kill one Kotuparambat Komu Menon and another. Evidence of the fact was deficient and the accused were released, but it subsequently turned out that the information was only too true.

On the 22nd August 1851 six Mappillas killed one Kotuparambat Komu Menon (above referred to) and his servant on the high road between Manjeri and Angadipuram as they were returning home from the Mankada Kovilakam of the Walluvanad Raja. They were joined by three others, with whom they proceeded towards Komu Menon's house. But finding a brother of Komu Menon's ready to meet them with a gun and a war knife, they left the place and went to the house of Ittunni Rama Menon, another brother, who was then bathing in a tank close by. They killed Kadákottil Nambutiri, who was seated in the porch of the house, the family of Rama Menon escaping in the tumult. The murderers next

¹ District Magistrate's report of 4th September 1849.

overtook Rama Menon, who had endeavoured to escape, and cut him down. Setting fire to the house, they marched towards the house of one Mudangara Rarichan Nayar, whom they wounded severely and who subsequently died of his wounds. They then set fire to the house of one Chengara Variyar. On the morning of the 23rd they were seen in Kuruva amsam, about eight miles distant from Ittunni Rama Menon's house. Thence they proceeded to the house of the Kulattur Variyar, an influential *janmi* who had opposed the erection of a mosque. They were in the meantime joined by five others. On their arrival, the attendants and family escaped; all the women and children were told by the fanatics to go away. They next killed two servants of the Variyars. Two of the junior Variyars escaped. But the old Variyar, a man of 79, probably shut himself up in a room of his house where the fanatics eventually discovered him. The Hindus sent for the Mappilla chief men of the place and others. About fifty persons appeared, two of whom joined the insurgents, calling out "the chief pig is inside." The old Variyar was then brought out into the paddy field adjoining his house, to a distance of sixty yards from the gatehouse, and one Pupatta Kuttiattan and another there, in the sight of all the people assembled, hacked him to pieces, severing his head from his body. As soon as Mr. Collett, the Divisional Magistrate, heard of their having taken up a position at Kulattur, he sent a requisition to Major Wilkinson, the officer commanding the 39th Regiment at Malapuram, who in complying with the request, wrote to Mr. Conolly in the 24th as follows:—

"I despatched a party, under the command of Ensign Turner of 65 rank and file with the proper complement of native commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

* * * * *

"My reason for sending the party under the command of Ensign Turner was, that Mr. Collett had informed me, when at my house very early yesterday morning, that he had written expressly for the European troops stationed at Calicut."

In his two letters to Government of the 25th August 1851, Mr. Conolly thus described the operations of the Malapuram detachment:—

"The troops advanced by a muddy road towards the house" in which the insurgents were "and attacked three abreast along a causeway leading to the house through paddy-fields. After some firing, nine of the Mappillas came out from the house and advanced to meet the sepoy on the causeway. The leading sepoy was seized with a panic, which communicated itself to those in the rear, and a general retreat ensued. The Mappillas pursued the fugitives and cut down (killed) three—a naigue, a sepoy, and a drummer. They then picked up some of the muskets which had been thrown away by some of the sepoy in their haste to escape, and returned to their home. One or two of the party is supposed

to have been badly wounded by the first firing. The scattered sepoy rallied after some time and have been posted in a house about a mile from where the Mappillas are."

This was (to use Mr. Collett's words) "a complete disaster." The European detachment¹ from Calicut arrived on the forenoon of the 27th, under command of Captain Rhodes.

They "were so fagged with their marches"² and so "exhausted and footsore" that they were not able to act with sufficient steadiness against the fanatics, whose ranks had been, in spite of a close watch by villagers and police, joined by three others, and who now numbered seventeen. Moreover, the fanatics showed a disposition to attack directly the detachment arrived near their stronghold, and Captain Rhodes had no time to rest and recruit his men. The attack was thus sketched by Mr. Conolly³ :—

"The Europeans were in advance and the sepoy in the rear. The Europeans fired at the fanatics, who had the partial cover of a bank, till they were too tired to load. The fanatics then advanced and charged⁴ them, and the soldiers retreated in order. The sepoy in the rear seeing this, of course retreated also, and the confusion was very great until the officers, by dint of exhortation, managed to rally their men. It was now that the sepoy, whose guns were loaded, did the good service⁵ I spoke of. They brought down some of the leading pursuers and enabled the Europeans to halt and reload. Their confidence was at once restored, and they moved forward again with the sepoy in expectation of meeting more enemies. They were all in good order when I joined them in the house from which the fanatics had come out. That the check was a very unhappy one cannot be denied, but it was satisfactory that it was so soon rectified. In the previous attack by the detachment of the 39th Regiment the rout was complete, and there was no rallying until the Mappillas had retired to their stronghold."

In this second engagement on August 27th, 4 European privates and 1 native subbadar were killed.

The result of the action as far as the Mappillas were concerned may be thus summarised. Of the 19 fanatics who were concerned in these outrages it seems that 9 were engaged in the first four murders on the 22nd, 1 joined them immediately afterwards, and 4 more during the night and next morning. Fourteen thus attacked the Variyar's house, where 2 more immediately joined them. Of

¹ 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 2 drummers, 47 privates, and 2 puckallies of H.M.'s 94th Regiment.

² They had "marched a good forty miles in two days, over a very hilly, stony and wild district," the route being by Boypore, Tirurangadi, Venkatakotta, and Chappangadi to Kulattur.

³ Reports to Government of 28th and 30th August 1851.

⁴ The charge was made under cover of the smoke of the firing, which had lasted a quarter of an hour or more; the detachment was drawn up in quarter column, and some of the fanatics, passing round the flanks under cover of the smoke, attacked the rear, while others attacked the front of the column.

⁵ Eleven of the fanatics were shot by a party of the 30th Regiment, who ran down to meet them from the house held by the sepoy about a mile from the Variyar's house.

these 16 men, one was killed in the affair of the 24th August, and another, mortally wounded, died on that night. Three more subsequently joined the band, making 17 who fell on the 27th August.

On the 5th October 1851 information was received that Tottangal Mammad and three other Mappillas of Nenmini amsam, Walluvanad taluk, were found in possession of certain arms and were designing to commit an outrage. "They" had intended to join the fanatics who *perished at Kulattur*, but were too late. Their purpose, it was said, had been known to some of their co-religionists and they were subject to the contemptuous soubriquet of *Minjina Sahid's* (all but saints). There was but too much reason to fear therefore from former experience that they would take an opportunity of wiping off the reproach by organising an outbreak on their own account." Security to keep the peace was required from three of them.

On the 27th October 1851 information reached the head police officer in Ernad that some Mappillas of Irumbuli amsam, Ernad taluk, had likewise intended to join the late fanatical outbreak at Kulattur. Two of them were required to give security to keep the peace.

On the 9th November 1851 information was received that Choriyyot Mayan and eight others were designing to break out and kill one Kalattil Kesuvan Tangal, a wealthy and influential Hindu *janmi* of Mattanur in Kottayam taluk. Evidence was lacking, and the tahsildar omitted to report the matter. The individuals in question did, however, with others subsequently commit the outrages next to be described.

On the night of 4th January 1852 the party named above and six others, making in all fifteen, supported by a large mob estimated at 200, proceeded to the house of the abovesaid Kalattil Tangal in Mattanur, Kottayam taluk. They butchered all the unhappy inmates (eighteen in all) and thus extirpated the family, wounded two other persons, and burnt the house on the following morning. They then, unattended by the said mob, burnt four houses and a Hindu temple, killed four more individuals, defiled and damaged another Hindu temple, entered the palace of a Raja, took post there temporarily, defiled and destroyed two other Hindu temples, and finally fell on the 8th idem in a desperate and long-sustained attack on the house of the Kalliad Nambiar, another wealthy and influential *janmi* in Kalliad amsam of Chirakkal taluk. A detachment under Major Hodgson of the 16th Regiment, consisting of two companies of that corps and 100 Europeans of the 94th Regiment, were sent out from Cannanore, but before they arrived on the scene, the Mappilla fanatics had been all killed by the country people, retainers of the Nambiar.

¹ District Magistrate's report of 10th October 1851.

On the 5th January 1852 information was received that certain Mappillas intended to break out and kill one Padinyaredattil Ambu Nambiar, and security was taken from five of them.

The District Magistrate, Mr. Conolly, in reporting on the outrage and wholesale murders of January 4th-8th, suggested that a commission should be appointed "to report¹ on the question of Mappilla disturbances generally. I wish," he stated, "for the utmost publicity. If any want of, or mistake in, management on my part has led in the slightest degree to these fearful evils (far more fearful in my time than they have ever been before), I am most desirous that a remedy be applied, whatever be the effect as regards my personal interests. I have acted to the best of my judgment, but my judgment may be in error, and I should be glad were it duly tested No measures taken as yet have reached the root of the evil, which there is too much reason to fear is growing in place of decaying."

When reviewing² this report the Government decided to adopt Mr. Conolly's suggestion. "For some years past the province of Malabar has been disgraced by a succession of outrages of the most heinous character, perpetrated by the Mappillas of the province upon the Hindus. Bodies of Mappillas have in open day attacked Hindus of wealth and respectability, murdered them under circumstances the most horrible, burnt houses or given them up to pillage, and finally, wound up their crimes by throwing away their lives in desperate resistance to the Police and Military." The order then proceeds to point out that the outbreaks had "become progressively more sanguinary and more difficult of suppression" in spite of the employment of the regular troops, and that, while on former occasions the fanatics spared women and children, they had (in the last outrage perpetrated in a part of the district "of late years distinguished for its quietness") put to death "men, women, children, the very infant at the breast, masters, servants, casual guests and ordinary inmates," in short, "every human being found" in the house first attacked. Mr. Thomas Lumsden Strange, a Judge of the Sadar Adalat, "whose former long service in Malabar and intimate acquaintance with the people and their peculiar habits and feelings eminently qualify him for the task, while his employment in a different sphere of late years saves him from the influence of any prejudice or bias," was accordingly selected "to be Special Commissioner for enquiring into the Mappilla disturbances, their causes and remedies." Mr. Strange was directed to enter into the freest intercourse with all classes, official and non-official, "to ascertain the causes of past outbreaks and the manner in which they may be most effectually prevented for the future. Referring to the many instances in which disputes respecting land have been, or have been assigned as, the causes of *emeutes*, and to the position of the Hindu and Mappilla in their relations of

¹ Report, dated 28th January 1852.

² Extracts Minutes of Consultation, 17th February 1852.

landlord and tenant, mortgagor and mortgagee, he will consider whether any measures seem called for for defining the landed tenures of the country and placing them on a better basis. He will report upon the various expedients proposed from time to time by the present Magistrate, for preventing or repressing outbreaks, and if it should seem to him that the district functionaries require to be armed with larger authority than they possess under the existing law, he will suggest the extraordinary powers which should be conferred and submit draft of a legislative enactment for the purpose of giving them effect."

Among Mr. Strange's instructions it was pointed out that a subject to which he should give his earliest consideration was "the conduct of the Tirurangadi Tangal, and the measures to be employed in reference to that individual." The individual here referred to is the notorious Saiyid Fazl of Arab extraction, otherwise known as the *Pukoya*¹, or the Tirurangadi or Mambram Tangal. He had succeeded at an early age to the position vacated by the Taramal Tangal (already alluded to), and it is certain that fanaticism was focussed at this time at and about the head-quarters of Saiyid Fazl at Mambram. Fanatics then, as now, considered it almost essential to success in their enterprise that they should have visited and prayed at the Taramal Tangal's tomb at Mambram and kissed the hand of the Tangal living in the house close by. So great an ascendancy had Saiyid Fazl at this time attained that the Mappillas regarded him "as imbued² with a portion of divinity. They swear by his foot as their most solemn oath. Earth on which he has spat or walked is treasured up. Marvellous stories are told of his supernatural knowledge. His blessing is supremely prized." And even among the higher class of Mappillas his wish was regarded as a command, and no consideration of economy was allowed to stand in the way of its being gratified. On the very day (17th February) that the Government appointed Mr. Strange as Special Commissioner, Mr. Conolly reported that 10,000 to 12,000 Mappillas, "*great numbers of whom were armed*," met at Tirurangadi and held a close conclave with the Tangal on rumours being spread that he was at once to be made a prisoner and disgraced.

Mr. Strange was directed to report whether the Tangal should be brought to a formal trial, or treated as a State prisoner, or be induced to quit the district quietly. But meanwhile Mr. Conolly had been successful in his negotiations to induce Saiyid Fazl to depart peaceably. The Tangal avowed that he had done nothing "to³ deserve the displeasure of the Government; that he repudiated the deeds of the fanatics; and that it was his misfortune that a general blessing, intended to convey spiritual benefits to those alone who acted in accordance with the Muhammadan faith, should be

¹ *Pa* (Mal.) = flower, and *Koya* (? corrupt form of *Khwaja*) = influential person, gentleman.

² Magistrate's report, dated 29th November 1851.

³ Magistrate's report, dated 21st February 1852.

misinterpreted by a few parties who acted in contradiction to its precepts." But he added "as his blessing *was* sometimes misunderstood and his presence in the country unfortunately *had* led to deeds of horror, he was willing, if the Government chose it, to end further embarrassment by leaving Malabar and taking up his permanent abode among his people in Arabia." Mr. Conolly on his own responsibility then acted upon this proposal, a measure which the Government afterwards approved, and on the 19th March 1852 the Tangal, with his family, companions and servants (fifty-seven persons in all), set sail for Arabia. "The Tangal's own conduct since he resolved on going has been prudent and politic. He did all that was in his power to avoid popular excitement by remaining in his house and denying himself even to the gaze of the large bodies who came to visit him on hearing of his intention to quit Malabar. He continued in this seclusion, so far as it was possible, till the last. So soon as it was heard that he was leaving his house (yesterday¹) a large crowd assembled, and by the time he got to Parappanangadi on the coast, six miles from his residence, from 7,000 to 8,000 men were collected, showing strong signs of grief at his departure. The Tangal had proposed to come in during the night to Calicut by land and embark with his family, who had preceded him from thence; but foreseeing the great excitement which might ensue from the crowd, which positively refused to leave him, and whose numbers would, no doubt, have swelled in his journey along the coast, he resolved, as he sent me a message, to take boat to the ship from Parappanangadi itself. He reached it after a twelve miles' pull and at once got under weigh."

On the night of the 28th February 1852 one Triyakalattil Chekku and fifteen other Mappillas of Melmuri and Kilmuri amsams in the Ernad taluk "set out to die and to create a fanatical outbreak." Information of this was given by the principal Mappillas of the former amsam at about ten o'clock that night. They and their adherents remained on guard during the whole of the night at the houses of Pilatodi Panchu Menon and Purmekad Pisharodi, the principal Hindu *janmis* in the amsam, and respecting the former of whom there were on several occasions rumours that Mappilla fanatics were seeking to kill him. On the morning of Sunday the 29th, Panchu Menon hastened into Malapuram, having been alarmed by seeing some Mappillas moving on the hill at the back of his house. He applied for protection to the officer in command at Malapuram, who, deeming the danger of an attack on Panchu Menon's house imminent, proceeded with a portion of his troops to the house, where they remained for a few hours. He left a guard of twenty-five sepoy, who were withdrawn at night, a guard of villagers being substituted.

On the afternoon of the 1st March the suspected persons were secured in a mosque through the exertions of a wealthy and influential Mappilla named Kunyali. The case was enquired into by Mr. Collett,

¹ 19th March 1852.

Assistant Magistrate, and the offenders were required to furnish security to keep the peace.

Ominous rumours of an intended Mappilla outbreak in the Kottayam taluk in April 1852 drove many of the Hindu inhabitants into the jungles. From two letters—one from Mr. Brown of Anjarakandi, and the other from the Kalliad Nambiar at the attack of whose house the fanatics were slain on 8th January of this year—the Joint Magistrate was led to believe that the storm, if it was brewing, was intended to burst upon the head of the latter, who had become a marked man by his late spirited defence of his house. The Raja of Chavasseri had received previous warning to leave his palace. The Joint Magistrate sent off all the assistance in his power to the Nambiar, and wrote to the Raja requesting him not to leave the palace, and in the event of an emergency he would repair to his assistance with troops. The origin of the panic was that the Mappillas had given out that they were determined to avenge the supposed disgrace brought upon them by the Hindu resistance at Kalliad, and also to erect a monument over the remains of the “martyrs” who died on that occasion. The Joint Magistrate adopted some necessary precautions and the panic subsided. But the Mappillas did attempt to erect the tomb in the course of a single night. It was immediately, however, destroyed under the orders of the Joint Magistrate, Mr. Chatfield.

On the night of the 28th April 1852 the house of Kannambat Tangal in Kottayam taluk was fired into and the out-buildings of the Kallur temple were set on fire. The tahsildar (a Hindu) was of opinion that it was done by Hindus wishing to profit by the absence of the Tangal, the great *janmi* of the locality. The Sri Kovil (shrine) and the grain rooms were left uninjured, and this fact was urged in support of the tahsildar's opinion. But in the view of the Special Commissioner, Mr. Strange, this opinion had been expressed more to suit the views of the Collector (Mr. Conolly) than to report facts. Mr. Strange took a different view and attributed the affair to the Mappillas.

In April-May 1852 two Cheramars (the property of Kudilil Kannu Kutti Nayar, peon of Chernad taluk), after embracing Muhammadanism, reverted to their original faith after the departure of Saiyid Fazl, through whose influence they had become converts. Some Mappillas did not relish this, and consequently determined to murder Kannu Kutti Nayar and the two Cheramars, and thus become Sahids (martyrs). Although the Nayar agreed to relinquish his claims over these Cheramars on receipt of their purchase money, the impression made on the conspirators was that Kannu Kutti Nayar alone was instrumental to the Cheramars' apostacy. As the life of Kannu Kutti Nayar was thus threatened, he was allowed to carry a pistol with him for his self-protection. He was instructed to take good care of the pistol and also to send the Cheramars away to some distant place, which was agreed to by him.

In connection with this conspiracy two persons were apprehended by the tahsildar and steps taken for the arrest of every one who aided in and abetted the offence.

The result of the proceedings taken is not known, but Kannu Kutti Nayar was transferred to Ponnani, and subsequently to Calicut, with a view to avert the impending danger to his life. The Cheramars also were sent away to other taluks as their presence was considered a source of disturbance.

On the 9th August 1852 information was received that three Mappillas of Kurumbranad taluk had taken up a position in the house of the accountant of Puttur amsam in the same taluk, and had resolved to die as *Sahids* (martyrs). They wounded a Brahman and were on the 12th idem killed by the police, of whom two received wounds.

Two Mappilla fanatics, Kunnumal Moidin and Cherukavil Moidin, murdered a Brahman named Chengalaly Vasudevan Nambutiri on the 16th September 1853. They, failing to get any recruits and not finding any good house undefended, made their appearance on the 23rd on the top of a hill close to Angadipuram. The tahsildar at once went up to the spot with his poons. The fanatics, one an elderly man and the other a mere boy, rushed upon the assailing party as usual. Eighteen shots were fired at them. The elder man was brought down wounded but the younger was unhurt and fell on the leading poons and villagers, by whom he was despatched before inflicting injury on any one.

On the 25th September 1852 Mr. Strange had submitted the report called for by the Government, and this report was in due course reviewed by the Government and orders issued on the 23rd August 1853. Mr. Strange found that of all the persons engaged in the thirty-one cases, the circumstances of which he set forth in detail, there were "but fourteen for whom any personal cause of provocation was discoverable. In seven instances land has afforded the presumed ground of quarrel," and in the other seven cases the provocatives "were mostly of an equally unreal nature." In nine cases the parties had been "instigated to engage in crime by others who were to profit thereby or had malice to satisfy." Five were induced to crime "because of relatives having wrongs, fancied or real, to redress; and the remaining 144 were without any personal provocations whatsoever." "It is apparent thus that in no instance can any outbreak or threat of outbreak that has arisen be attributed to the oppression of tenants by landlords. A great clamour is now raised on this regard prominently in the southern taluks visited by me, the Mappilla population seeking to throw the blame of these outbreaks upon the landlords by thus charging them with being the cause thereof. I have given the subject every attention, and am convinced that though instances may and do arise of individual hardship to a tenant, the general character of the dealings of the Hindu landlords towards their tenantry, whether Mappilla or Hindu, is mild, equitable and forbearing. I am further convinced that

where stringent proceedings are taken, the conduct of the tenants is, in the vast majority of cases, the cause thereof, and that the Mappilla tenantry, especially of the taluks in South Malabar, where the outbreaks have been so common, are very prone to evade their obligations and to resort to false and litigious pleas." And Mr. Strange proceeded to review some instances—such as the taking of fines and fees on renewal of leases and the granting of *melkanam* rights for the purpose of getting rid of obnoxious tenants—in which he thought some changes¹ in the customary rules ought to be made.

He then went on to review the next ground for committing them dwelt upon by the Mappillas, namely, that the criminals were forced into them by destitution, but he passed this by with the remark that most of the criminals were mere youths, and he could not believe that they "should be ready thus to throw life away from mere despair as to the means of supporting it."

But he next remarked "a feature that has been manifestly common to the whole of these affairs is that they have been one and all marked by the most decided fanaticism, and this, there can be no doubt, has furnished the true incentive to them."

And he then proceeded to state that the Mappillas of the interior were always lawless, even in the time of Tippu's Government, were steeped in ignorance, and were on these accounts more than ordinarily susceptible to the teaching of ambitious and fanatical priests,² using the recognised precepts of the Koran as handles for the sanction to arise and slay *Kafirs*, who opposed the *faithful* chiefly in the pursuit of agriculture.

The natural result was that "the Hindus, in the parts where outbreaks have been most frequent, stand in such fear of the Mappillas as mostly not to dare to press for their rights against them, and there is many a Mappilla tenant who does not pay his rent, and cannot, so imminent are the risks, be evicted. Other injuries are also put up with uncomplained of."

And he continued: "To what further lengths the evil might not go if unchecked, it is impossible to say. Even the desire for plunder may prove a sufficient motive for the organisation of these outbreaks, some having already largely profited in this way. They will also, there can be no doubt, be more and more directed against the landed proprietors. Six of the very highest class have been marked out for destruction in the course of the past outbreaks, of whom three were killed and several others of average property have suffered." In the Kulattur case in August 1851 the leading Mappillas had even asserted "that it was a religious merit to kill landlords who might eject tenants."

¹ These changes he proposed (paragraph 69) to leave to the Sadr Adalat to declare by rule, and this was partly done. The rules issued by the Sadr Adalat will be found printed in the Notes to Appendix XIII.

² He named especially the Taramal Tangal mentioned in connection with the 19th October 1843 outrage, and his son Saiyid Fazl, who left the country under the circumstances already related.

The condition of the Hindus had "become most lamentable," and even the prestige of the rule of Government had been "much shaken in the district."

Special legislation was necessary towards the following objects, namely :—

escheating the property of those guilty of fanatic outrage,
fining the districts where such outrages occur,
deporting the suspected, and placing restrictions on the possession of arms, and more especially of the war-knife, and on the building of mosques.

Mr. Strange further proposed the organization of a special police force to put down these risings, and deprecated the resort to the use of the European force for the purpose. The Magistrate, Mr. Conolly, was in favour of this scheme, but he would "esteem it only as an adjunct to the European troops, *in whom alone he has any confidence.*"

But Mr. Strange went beyond this and proposed¹ that the force should be *exclusively composed of Hindus*, a measure which it is needless to say was not approved by the Government. The Government also, on similar grounds, refused to entertain his proposals for putting restrictions on the erection of mosques as being a departure from the policy of a wise and just neutrality in all matters of religion.

But on all the other main points above adverted to Mr. Strange's views were adopted, and a policy of repression set in with the passing into law of Acts XXIII² and XXIV³ of 1854, the latter for rendering illegal the possession of the war-knife, and the former for fining localities disturbed and for dealing with persons suspected of being privy to the commission of outrages.

In December 1854 Mr. Conolly proceeded on a tour to collect the war-knives through the heart of the Mappilla country, and brought in 2,725, and by the 31st of the following month of January 1855 (the latest date on which the possession of a war-knife was legal) the number of war-knives surrendered to the authorities amounted to the large number of 7,561.

The next report in connection with these Mappilla outrages conveyed to the Government the distressing intelligence that Mr. Conolly, the District Magistrate and Provisional Member of Council⁴ for the Presidency, had been barbarously murdered by a gang of Mappillas.

¹ It is unnecessary to notice here some other almost grotesque proposals of Mr. Strange, all directed to the same end, the repression of the Mappilla caste. The Government took no action upon these proposals.

² Continued by Act XXIV of 1859.

³ This Act came into force on the 1st February 1855.

⁴ Mr. Conolly was shortly to have proceeded to the Presidency town as Member of the Council of Government.

The following is a copy of the letter written by Mr. G. B. Tod, Assistant Collector, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated 1 A.M., 12th September 1855, reporting the occurrence :—

“ It is my melancholy duty to inform you, for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council, that Mr. Conolly, the Collector of this district, was most barbarously murdered this evening, between eight and nine o'clock, in the presence of his wife. He received seven wounds, one of which at least was mortal.

“ So far as the details at present are ascertained, the perpetrators were three Mappillas, who rushed into the verandah and completed their deadly work before assistance could be called. In the present state of Mrs. Conolly, it is impossible to gather further particulars of the tragedy of which she was the sole witness ; but immediately that I am able to do so, I will furnish more complete information.”

The facts of this most tragic and melancholy occurrence are narrated below :—

On the 4th August 1855 convicts Valasseri Emalu, Puliyakunat Tenu, Chemban Moidin Kutti and Vellattadayatta Parambil Moidin escaped from their working party of jail convicts at Calicut and proceeded to Walluvanad. They loitered about in that taluk for a few days and left it finally on the 20th, visiting, on their way, the house of Tenu and taking with them Ossan Hyderman (a barber lad), whom they desired to show the way as far as the “ new public road ” running due east and west through the Payanad hills, which are connected with the Pandalur range. On the 23rd they (including the barber lad, who threw in his fate with the party) proceeded to Urotmala, whence they went to the house of Moidin Kutti at night to take their food. After a brief halt there of three or four hours they left the house, visiting some of their relatives on their way, and reached Mambram on the evening of the 24th. Here they prayed with Taramal Kunhi Koya at the shrine of the great Tangal referred to by Special Commissioner Mr. Strange as having been one of the great apostles of fanaticism and the instigator of the earlier outrages narrated above. At Mambram the intention of the murderers appears to have been disclosed to Kunhi Koya, whose son, a boy, 13 years old, heard his father speak of it to his wife, and subsequently gave evidence to that effect before Mr. Collett, who enquired into the case. From the shrine they proceeded to Vettattupudian-gadi, where they stayed for a short time. On the 29th and 30th they visited certain shrines of local reputation lying within easy distance of that station. After this they roamed about the country till the 9th September, on which date they were harboured by one Malakal Mammu, whose house was situated three-quarters of a mile due east of Mr. Conolly's residence on West Hill, now occupied by the European detachment at Calicut. On the 10th there was a *nercha* (feast when a vow is made) in Mammu's house,

at which these assassins were present. The ceremony consisted in the recital of a song called *Moidin Mula Pattu*, and their war-knife was passed through the smoke of the incense burnt on the occasion.

Thus prepared, the ruffians left Mammu's house on the evening of the 11th and noiselessly entered Mr. Conolly's residence between eight and nine o'clock. What followed is thus described by Mr. Collett, the Sub-Collector, in one of his official reports:

"Nothing¹ could exceed the treachery with which the murder was begun, or the brutal butchery with which it was completed. Mr. Conolly was seated in a small verandah (as was his invariable custom of an evening) on a low sofa. Mrs. Conolly was on one opposite, a low table with lights on it being between them; he was approached from behind and even Mrs. Conolly did not catch sight of the first blow, which would alone have proved fatal; the next moment the lights were all swept off the table and the ruffians bounded upon their victim, slashing him in all directions. The left hand was nearly severed, the right knee deeply cut, and repeated stabs inflicted in the back. The wounds (twenty-seven in number) could have been inflicted only by fiends actuated by the most desperate malice. To the cries of poor Mrs. Conolly no one came; the peons and servants are usually present in a passage beyond the inner room; they were either panic-stricken, or, unarmed (as they invariably were) were unable to come up in time to afford any real assistance. One poor massalji who came forward and met one of the murderers in the inner room, received a blow which cut clean off four fingers of his left hand. A peon has also a slight wound, but it does not appear how he came by it. Doubtless this atrocity was rapidly completed, and perhaps the first thought of those servants who came up was to carry off their poor mistress to another part of the house. Mr. Conolly was soon after carried in, and Mr. Tod was the first who arrived to witness the terrible scene of domestic agony that ensued. Supported by Mr. Tod, Mr. Conolly lingered another half hour and then expired, having addressed a few words only to Mrs. Conolly, and apparently endured intense agony. Mr. Conolly had received an anonymous letter warning him, but unfortunately thought it needless to take precautions, and had not even mentioned it to Mrs. Conolly."

Immediately after the murder the criminals proceeded along the high road to Tamarasseri to a village near Keravul, a distance of about twelve miles from Mr. Conolly's house. Here they went to the mosque. About 4 P.M. on the 12th they went to Makat Nambutiri's illam and remained there till about 9 P.M. They took away money and property to the amount of Rs. 300. Then they struck back to the main road to Tamarasseri and came to the house of Pulkutti Moyi. At night they went to the Bhavat mosque, where they remained till the following night (13th). On the 14th they were reported to have purchased provisions at the Tamarasseri bazaar. On the 15th they moved on to the Tiruvambadi amsam of

¹ Mr. Collett's report of 21st September 1855.

the Calicut taluk. On the 16th they met a village peon and wrested his musket from him. They compelled one Chapali Pokar to act as their guide. He led them to Eddamannapara, which they reached at 4 P.M. on the 17th. They had not gone far from this place when they were seen, and, being followed up by the people of Kondotti (another sect of Mappillas), were driven at length to take refuge in the house where they were shot the same evening by a detachment of Major Haly's Police Corps and a part of No. 5 Company of H.M.'s 74th Highlanders under Captain Davies.

"The position¹ of the Mappillas was a most difficult one, consisting of gardens surrounded by ditches. After some practice with the mortar and howitzer, the troops charged into the gardens, and after turning the Mappillas out of one house, the offenders retreated to a stronger one, which they barricaded; the outer door of this garden was on the edge of a deep nullah; this door was first forced, and the troops were in the act of firing the house when the Mappillas threw open the door and rushed out upon the troops, and were, of course, quickly disposed of. It was quite impossible, I consider, to have secured them alive, though injunctions had been given to do so if possible. The men of the new Police Corps emulated the Europeans in their steadiness, and were equally to the front at the last charge. I have, though with great regret, to report that one European was killed² by a shot from the house, and another *very dangerously* wounded by a cut on the throat whilst one of the Mappillas was on his bayonet."

Various causes have been suggested as the motive for the murder of Mr. Conolly, but the most probable of them seem to be that the ruffians, who were men of bad character, were exasperated at the orders of Mr. Conolly subjecting them to restraint in the jail, and that they had resolved, probably at the suggestion of some outsiders, on avenging the banishment of Saiyid Fazl to Arabia.

The following amsams, implicated in the outrage, were fined in the sums noted against each:—

	RS.	A.	P.
Nemmini, Walluvanad taluk ..	1,857	8	0
Kariavattam, do.	1,951	0	0
Kalpakancheri, Ponnani taluk.	16,989	0	0
Kanmanam, do.	1,869	0	0
Vadakkumpuram, do.	1,991	0	0
Talakad, do.	8,842	0	0
Koduvayur, Palghat taluk ..	3,003	0	0
Kacheri, Calicut taluk	1,317	0	0
Kedavur, do.	512	0	0
Total ..	38,331	8	0

¹ Mr. Collett's report of 17th September 1855, from "Morar, eight miles north-west of Manjeri."

² Two Hindus were also killed, one accidentally shot, and the other murdered by the Mappillas when they took possession of the house.

The widow of Mr. Conolly was granted the net proceeds of the Mappilla fines aggregating Rs. 30,936-13-10.

In November 1855 Mr. Collett, the Joint Magistrate, suspecting two Mappillas who had deserted from the Malabar Police Corps of complicity with the murderers of Mr. Conolly, required them to produce sureties for good behaviour, and confined them on failure to give security for three years. They were afterwards permitted to leave the country.

A Muhammadan named Vanji Cudorat Kunji Mayan, a relative of the Kottayam Tangal, and who had been convicted on a former occasion of robbery and sentenced to eight years' hard labour, was arrested on the 3rd September 1857 on a charge of using seditious and inflammatory language in the public streets of Tellicherry, and of invoking the people in the name of God to rid the country of the *Kafirs* (Europeans). The country was then in a very disaffected state owing to scarcity of rice and the outbreak of the Mutiny. The excitement caused by Mayan's preaching was so great as to induce the Brigadier commanding the provinces to adopt precautionary measures at Cannanore and Tellicherry, and to place the former station in a state of defence. The Magistrate, Mr. Robinson, on proceeding to the northern division, found that the Head Assistant Magistrate had unwisely left the case in the hands of the subordinate police. Mr. Robinson, in consultation with the Sessions Judge, Mr. Chatfield, decided that the case should be summarily dealt with without the intervention of the Muhammadan Sadr Amin (native criminal judge), and particularly directed the Head Assistant Magistrate to pursue this course. The latter disobeyed the instructions given him and ordered the committal of the case to the Principal Sadr Amin, who, acting on an informal medical certificate given by Mr. West, Civil Surgeon, as to the man's insanity, and on the plea that the declamations made by Mayan in the public streets were not heard by men of his own persuasion, acquitted him of the charge, but kept him in jail as he was believed to be insane. The Acting Magistrate and the Sessions Judge disagreeing with the views taken by the Principal Sadr Amin, the Head Assistant was directed to send the prisoner with a report to Calicut, where he was kept under the surveillance of the Zillah Surgeon; and as the Acting Magistrate could find no reason to doubt the man's sanity, he proposed to Government to put the Mappilla Outrages Act in force by deporting him. This suggestion was adopted and Mayan subsequently died in jail at Trichirappalli.

About the latter end of August 1857, Puvadan Kunyappa Haji and seven other Mappillas of Ponnimala in Ernad taluk, the hot-bed at that time of fanaticism and disaffection, were suspected of conspiring to revenge the supposed insult offered to their religion by the relapse of a Nayar convert, and to make an attempt to rid the country of the *Kafirs* (Europeans), representing that the Government was weakened by the mutiny in Northern India. One of them, a mullah, who was mukri of the Ponnimala mosque, and who was the

depository of the fanatical songs and ballads of the people, had collected the prisoners and incited them to deeds of violence and blood-shed by reciting to them the famous "Cherur¹ ballad," commemorating the feats of their relatives in the outbreak of 19th October 1843. Information of this was conveyed to the police by the inhabitants, who valued their property too much to connive at it. The conspirators were surprised and taken prisoners by the police officer at Ernad (Koman Nayar) and by Mr. E. C. G. Thomas, the Special Assistant Magistrate. Seven of them were dealt with under the Mappilla Outrages Act and deported.

The Acting Magistrate of Malabar reported to Government on 9th February 1858 that the Mappilla Act should be put in force against three individuals, one of whom had purchased the piece of ground—the scene of the death struggles of the Mappillas killed in the outbreak of 19th October 1843—had built a small mosque there, and had instituted a day for holding a festival in honour of the martyrs. Since 1849 the number of visitors to the place had steadily increased, and the feast assumed a very threatening character in the opinion of Mr. Collett. The two others were mullahs who exercised a powerful influence for evil on the people, and their removal also was thought necessary. The three men were accordingly deported for short terms.

In 1860 two Mappillas of North Malabar were deported for short terms for threatening the life of an adlikari who gave evidence in a criminal case against them.

The District Magistrate, Mr. Ballard, reported to Government that on the 4th February 1864, during the Ramzan feast, a Mappilla of Melmuri amsam, Ernad taluk, named Attan Kutti, in a fit of religious fanaticism, stabbed and caused the death of one Notta Panikkar, whom he found in the house of a Tiyan, his intended victim. Attan was convicted and sentenced to be hanged as an ordinary malefactor. It afterwards transpired that he had a confederate in his design, and as their design must have been known to the people of the amsam, the District Magistrate proposed, and the Government sanctioned, the fining of the amsam to the extent of Rs. 2,037 and the deportation of the confederate.

Three Mappillas, Muhammad Kutti and two others, were convicted of the murder of one Shangu Nayar of Nenmini amsam, Walluvanad taluk, on the 17th September 1865. The circumstances of the case were such as to lead to the conclusion that the murder was planned and committed from personal and private motives, as the prisoners had money transactions with the murdered man; but a religious cloak was thrown around the affair by the performance, three days before the act was committed, of a certain religious ceremony called *mavalud* at a feast at the first prisoner's house. Several men were present on the occasion to whom the objects of the murderers must have been known. Six persons were accordingly deported.

¹ The ballad translated at pages 102-4 is sometimes thus called.

Shortly after midnight of 7th September 1873, Kunhippa Musaliyar, the priest of the Tutakkal mosque in Paralamsam of Walluvanad taluk, with eight others, visited the house of one Chattera Nayar, the *Velichchapad* or oracle of the Hindu temple at Tutakkal, which lies directly opposite to the mosque on the other or southern bank of the river. The *Velichchapad* in one of his fits of inspiration had given offence to the Mappillas of the mosque opposite. The party, on arrival at his house, roused him up on the pretence that one of their number had been bitten on the foot by a snake. As the *Velichchapad* stooped down to examine the limb, the leader of the gang struck him several severe blows with a sword across the back of the neck, and the party then went away leaving him for dead.

From the *Velichchapad*'s house the gang proceeded to, and reached in the early morning, Kulattur, the scene of the memorable outrage of 22nd-27th August 1851, a distance of twelve miles, expecting to find the Variyar (the present head of the family and a member of the District Board) at home. But he chanced to be absent. Two other male members of the family, however, were at the house, and one of these was decoyed downstairs by the leader of the gang and was immediately attacked and mortally wounded. The other man managed to escape.

Hearing from Paral in the early morning that the gang had started for Kulattur, the taluk tahsildar, a Mappilla, sent to Malapuram a requisition for troops. And Mr. Winterbotham, the Head Assistant Magistrate who chanced to be in the taluk at the time, also heard of the outbreak while riding from Manarghat to Angadipuram, and pushed on to Kulattur, which he reached at 4 p.m.

Mr. Winterbotham had time to reconnoitre the buildings held by the fanatics before the troops¹ from Malapuram arrived at about an hour before dark. This enabled Captain Vesey to make his dispositions for attacking the fanatics at once.

The right half company under Lieutenant Williamson passed through the temple attached to the Variyar's house and took up a position in the level courtyard of the house flanking the left half company, which, under Captain Vesey, occupied the interior verandah of a raised gate-house.

As soon as these dispositions had been completed and just as the day was closing in, the fanatics attacked the gate-house party. They were armed with swords, spears, a knife, an axe, and a chopper, and notwithstanding the cross fire from both parties of military, charged home on the bayonets. The leader of the gang, a man of great determination, "received" two bullets in the chest, if not more, wounded first a front rank man, and then a rear rank man, receiving first the bayonet thrust of each, and was then killed by a third bayonet thrust." "Another man was also wounded at the same spot."

¹ 1 lieutenant, 1 surgeon, 2 sergeants, 1 corporal, 1 bugler, and 31 privates of the 43rd or Oxfordshire Light Infantry under Captain Vesey.

² District Magistrate's (Mr. MacGregor's) report to Government, No. 84-F, dated 12th September 1873.

Of the nine fanatics eight were killed, and one, "a mere child," was wounded and afterwards recovered.

The amsams concerned in this outrage were fined Rs. 42,000, and the proceeds were utilised in giving compensation to those aggrieved, and in constructing two cart roads to open up the tract of country where the outrage occurred, and a police station at Kulattur.

On the 27th March 1877 it was reported by the adbhikari of Irimbuli amsam in Ernad taluk that Avinjipurat Kunji Moidin and four other Mappillas were designing to commit a fanatical outrage, the reason assigned being that a Nayar had debauched Kalitha, the wife of one of the men, and consequently the grossest insult had been given both to him personally and to his religion. The injured husband had asked A. Kunji Moidin to join him, and had got five choppers made and well ground for the purpose of murdering the Nayar. The other three had been asked to assist in carrying out the design. It would appear that these three men could not make up their minds to join, and that, in the meanwhile, news of their design had leaked out and was communicated to the authorities, who promptly dealt with the matter.

Kunji Moidin had set out to join the fanatics at Kulattur in 1873, but had arrived too late. Security for his good behaviour for a year was therefore taken from him. It being considered unsafe to allow the two chief conspirators to remain at large, the Government directed that they should be proceeded against under section 6 of Act XX of 1859 unless they undertook to leave India for seven years, and that security for good behaviour should be taken from the others. The two men elected to leave Malabar for Mecca, to which place they were accordingly sent.

On the 20th June 1879 the Taluk Magistrate of Walluvanad received private information from one Teyan Menon of Cherapullas-
seri to the effect that Kunnarat Kunhi Moidu of Tutakal bazaar in Paral amsam, and the younger brother of Kunhippa Musaliyar, the ringleader of the Kulattur fanatics of 1873, had been inciting some six or seven young men to commit an outrage by inculcating into their minds at the mosque and other places that they would gain paradise if killed in an outbreak, and that Kunhi Moidu had also received money from, and seditious songs composed by, his father Moidin Kutti Haji, who was detained at Rajahmundry for complicity in the Kulattur outrage of 1873. Immediately on receiving this information the tahsildar proceeded to Tutakal, where he arrested Kunhi Moidu and other individuals suspected. The evidence obtained in the case was of an unsatisfactory character, and the District Magistrate, Mr. McWatters, accordingly directed the release of the seven prisoners including Kunhi Moidu. But this action was subsequently overruled by the Government, who ordered the ringleader to be deported and security to be taken from the other six men. The Haji above referred to, as well as Nellayi Pokar, the chief of the persons banished to Rajahmundry in 1873,

were reincarcerated in jail and the allowance sanctioned to five other men who were under surveillance at Rajahmundry was reduced to Rs. 6 per mensem.

On 9th September 1880 Matuminaltodi Ali, after waiting till he was tired at the gate of an East Coast Brahman landlord named Appatura Pattar in Melattur amsam, Walluvanad taluk, for the purpose of murdering him, started for the house of a Cheraman (slave caste) lad who had some years previously become a convert to Islam and had subsequently, much to the disgust of the Mappillas of the neighbourhood, reverted to Hinduism. Finding the lad at home, he went up to him in a friendly sort of manner as he was standing close to a wooden stile, and seizing him, he bent the lad back over the stile and deliberately cut his throat with a knife. Thence he went to the village mosque, armed himself with the mosque sword, and started with the avowed intention of slaying the abovesaid Appatura Pattar, another landlord called Trippakkada Krishna Pisharodi, and another Hindu named Mannan Raman. Several other Mappillas were afterwards suspected of having intended to join Ali, but as matter of fact none of them did. On the afternoon of the 9th Ali wounded a potter who came in his way and thrashed with the flat of his sword a small Cheraman boy who met him and began imitating the way in which he was brandishing his weapon. On the early morning of the 10th September Ali, dressed in martyr fashion (white with loins girt), went vapouring up through the paddy fields to the gate-house of one of his intended victims—the Pisharodi—flourishing his sword and chanting some hymn or other. But the door was shut in his face, and a Hindu watchman named Gopala Taragan, placed in the upper story of the gate-house and armed with a shot gun, planted a charge of slugs and shot in Ali's breast from a distance of about ten or twelve feet, and sent him doubled up and dead into the water-channel running past the gate-house.

The Molattur amsam was fined Rs. 4,200, seven Mappillas privy to the design were deported, nine others required to give security, and the watchman who shot Ali was rewarded.

On the 14th October 1880, shortly after the last outrage above narrated, in which the lives of two prominent landlords (Appatura Pattar and Krishna Pisharodi) were menaced, the Government of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos received an anonymous petition, in which the grievances of the agriculturists were set forth, particularly in regard to eviction from their lands, and stating that the people, especially Mappillas, having conspired to create a disturbance, had been advised by some wise men to wait until a representation of the popular grievances had been made to Government and orders received thereupon. The petition went on to say that "disturbances and bloodshed of a kind unknown in Malabar will take place," and that this was no vain threat. "By the Almighty God who has created all, petitioners swear that this will be a fact." And the petition wound up by praying for

orders to prohibit the trial and execution of eviction suits, to forbid registration of deeds effecting transfers of land recovered in such suits, and for the appointment of a Commissioner "to inquire into complaints against landlords."

This petition was referred for confidential report to the District Judge of South Malabar (Mr. H. Wigram), who was to hand it over for the same purpose to the District Magistrate (Mr. W. Logan), then just about to return from leave on furlough. Both officers agreed that Special Commissioner Mr. Strange had given far too little weight to agrarian discontent as the cause of the Mappilla outbreaks, and both officers, who had had to deal, the one in his judicial and the other in his executive capacity, with a very serious outbreak of dacoity which had imperilled the peace of the district in the years 1875, 1876, 1877, were also agreed that agrarian discontent was also at the bottom of that business. At the same time both officers were agreed that no general rising was imminent, but both thought it likely that the agrarian discontent would culminate in fresh acts of fanaticism directed against individuals, notwithstanding the tremendous penalties of Mr. Strange's repressive legislation.

These opinions were in due course forwarded to Mr. A. MacGregor, the British Resident in Travancore and Cochin, who had been for several years Collector of Malabar, and in whose time, as such, the Kulattur outrage of September 1873 had occurred, and he in turn generally agreed in the views above expressed:—"First, as to the essential nature of Malabar Mappilla outrages, I am perfectly satisfied that they are agrarian. Fanaticism is merely the instrument through which the terrorism of the landed classes is aimed at."

After consideration of the above reports, the Government of Mr. Adam decided, on 5th February 1881, to appoint the Collector of the District (Mr. W. Logan) as Commissioner to "specially inquire into and report upon—

(1) The general question of the tenure of land and of tenant right in Malabar, and the alleged insufficiency of compensation offered by the landlords and awarded for land improvements made by tenants.

(2) The question of sites¹ for mosques and burial-grounds, with suggestions for a measure rendering the grant of such sites compulsory under certain conditions if such a measure appears to him called for.

"He will further submit his views as to the best means for redressing any existing grievances which are, in his opinion, well founded, and which, after due inquiry, he thinks ought to be redressed, and will suggest appropriate remedies."

On receipt of these orders Mr. Logan proceeded, in February-October 1881, to visit all parts of the district (except Wynad), and

¹ Another fertile cause of disagreement between Hindu and Mappilla.

after receiving in these tours 2,200 petitions presented by 4,021 persons, he was engaged from October 1881 till June 16th, 1882, in arranging the information gathered, in searching the voluminous district records, and in drawing up a report, which, on the last-mentioned date, was duly submitted to the Government of Mr. Grant Duff.

The facts and conclusions arrived at may be shortly stated thus :—

At the commencement of British rule, the *janmi* or landlord was entitled to no more than his proper share, viz., one-third of the net produce of the soil, and even that one-third was liable to diminution if he had received advances from those beneath him.

The *janmi* was also entitled to various ranks and dignities of sorts—commandant of the Nayar militia ; a man of authority in the Nayar guild, organized into villages called *taras* ; trustee of the village temples, etc.

The British authorities mistook his real position and invested him erroneously with the Roman *dominium* of the soil.

For certain reasons (on which it is unnecessary to enlarge) this change in the position of the *janmi* did not make itself much felt until Mr. Graeme, the Special Commissioner in Malabar in 1818–22, proposed to ascertain what the actual “rents” were in order to base upon them a scheme for revising the land revenue assessment on wet lands.

This inquiry brought the respective conflicting interests into sharp antagonism, and the result will be found sufficiently described in paragraph 266, etc., of Chapter IV, Section (b).

Moreover, shortly after this (about 1832) a notable increase in the prices of agricultural produce began to be felt. The land revenue assessments, hitherto collected with great difficulty, began to come in with increasing¹ ease.

This increase in the prices of produce, however, left a larger margin of profit than before to be scrambled for between the *janmis* and the ryots ; and the former, holding in the view of the Courts the *dominium* of the soil, began to evict such of the latter as would not yield to their increasing demands.

It was only a few years, namely, on the 26th November 1836, after these disturbing elements had been at work, that the FIRST of the Mappilla outrages reported on by Mr. Strange occurred.

Mr. Strange's view was mainly to the effect that the outrages were due to fanaticism fanned by the ambition of two Arab priests, and the legislation proceeding from that idea had been purely repressive.

Finally this repressive legislation had failed to fulfil its objects, as the above narrative abundantly shows.

¹ Chapter IV, Section (b), paragraph 315.

Mr. Logan next turned his attention to the present condition of the agricultural classes and elicited the following facts :—

Fully two-thirds of the land revenue of the district comes from wet or rice land ; there is still a considerable extent of land to be taken up (about five acres¹ per man of the agricultural classes).

The cultivators are all more or less in debt, and have to pay excessive interest on their debts.

Socially the cultivators are subjected (particularly if they are Hindus) to many humiliations and much tyrannical usage by their landlords.

The common *kanam* tenure has degenerated into an outrageous system of forehand renting, favourable only to the money-lender.

The improving lease (*kulikkanam*) tenure is also unsatisfactory, as tenants, when evicted, do not get the full market value of their improvements.

The ordinary ryot (the *verumpattam* holder) no longer enjoys the one-third of the net produce to which he was by custom entitled, and his terms have of late years approached the starvation limit.

Moreover, the bulk of the ryots tend to become such ordinary ryots (*verumpattam* holders).

And this is more especially noticeable in the grain-producing portion of the district (the Mappilla taluks), where rack renting is so much easier than in the fruit-bearing portion of the country, which chiefly lies along the coast line.

Of the ordinary ryots' (*verumpattam* holders) grain land holdings, no less than 2,483² out of 3,817² (over 65 per cent) are year to year holdings, which have been held by present occupants for periods less than twelve years. Suits for eviction of cultivators and for rent have become increasingly numerous between 1862–1880.

Quinquennial periods.	Average ANNUAL numbers of		
	Suits of eviction.	Persons against whom eviction decrees have been passed.	Rent decrees, excluding Small Cause suits against persons.
1862-66	2,030	1,891	1,473
1867-71	2,547	3,483	2,549
1872-76	3,974	6,286	4,314
1877-80	4,983	8,355	6,498

The excessive hardship of evictions was specially dwelt upon by the petitioners.

And when tenants are evicted, they do not, owing to court costs and other expenses, realize anything like the full market value of their improvements.

¹ Of course this is the worst land, and very little of it can be irrigated.

² These figures relate only to the lands actually examined in all parts of the district.

The big *janmis*' property is scattered widely over the face of the country and is rarely held in compact blocks capable of effective management.

Most of them do not know where much of their property lies, *having never even seen it*.

They do not know the persons who cultivate it, and do not concern themselves as to whether their tenants sublet or not.

Most of them care nothing for the welfare of their tenants.

And the tenants are, as a rule, largely in arrears with their rents.

Moreover, the men employed by these big *janmis* to manage their scattered properties are all men of common education, who get very small pay, and their chief duty is to grant receipts for rent collected.

This granting of receipts places large power for evil in the hands of these low-paid and ignorant agents, and they have to be bribed by the ryots in order that they may be allowed to remain in the good graces of the *janmis*, who in regard to local details are completely in their agents' hands.

Mr. Logan finally formed the opinion that the Mappilla outrages were designed "to counteract the overwhelming influence, when backed by the British courts, of the *janmis* in the exercise of the novel powers of ouster and of rent raising conferred upon them. A *janmi* who, through the courts, evicted,¹ whether fraudulently or otherwise, a substantial tenant, was deemed to have merited death, and it was considered a religious virtue, not a fault, to have killed such a man, and to have afterwards died in arms fighting against an infidel Government which sanctioned such injustice."

It is unnecessary to say anything here of Mr. Logan's proposals for legislation, as the matter is still (1886) under consideration, but it may be mentioned here that he proposed to adopt as principles for legislation the following :

(a) The only person interested in the soil, to whom the Government should look in the pending legislation, is the actual cultivator or ryot :

(b) The landlord's power of ouster must, in the public interests, be curtailed :

(c) The landlord is perfectly entitled to take a competition rent, provided he is dealing with capitalists : and

(d) The tenants must have the full benefit of the ancient customary law entitling them to sell the improvements on their holdings.

While Pulikkal Raman of Pandikad amsam, Ernad taluk, was cleaning his teeth at a channel on the 31st October 1883, Asaritodi Moidin Kutti of the same amsam attacked him from behind with a sword, cut him on the back of the neck, and, as he rose, inflicted another wound on the shoulder. Raman fled pursued by Moidin Kutti, who held the sword in one hand and a book in the other,

¹ Mr. Collett's report on the first Kulattur outrage of 22nd August 1851.

and used unintelligible expressions as he ran. After dancing about on a rock for some time, brandishing his sword and striking the back of his neck with it, Moidin Kutti, on the intervention of his brother Aavaran and a Mappilla named Mammad, threw the sword and took down and surrendered. He was afterwards tried and acquitted on the ground of insanity.

On the 4th March 1884 one Marakkar and four others, of Chembrasseri amsam, Ernad taluk, presented a petition before the Taluk Magistrate, charging one Vakkayil Moidin Kutti and another of the same amsam with conspiracy to murder the East Coast Brahman landlord named Appatura Pattar of Molattur amsam in Walluvanad taluk, already mentioned in connexion with the outrage of 9th September 1880, and to die subsequently as martyrs. Moidin Kutti was a son of one of the petitioners, and his companion (O. Kutti Mammu) was a tenant of the Brahman who had rendered himself obnoxious as a landlord generally, and who had prevented Kutti Mammu from ploughing his land until arrears of rent due had been paid or until security had been given for its due payment. Moidin Kutti was merely a tool in the hands of Kutti Mammu, and there were also five others who had been arrested on suspicion. The two ringleaders were deported, two of the remaining five had to furnish security to keep the peace, another was released unconditionally, and the other two were released with a warning. The man who disclosed the design received a reward of Rs. 200.

A Hindu of the toddy-drawer caste, named Kannanchori Raman, who had several years previously embraced and subsequently renounced Islam, was proceeding by a river footpath from his house to work at the Malapuram barracks at about 6-30 in the morning of the 18th June 1884. He was there waylaid and attacked in a most savage manner by two Mappillas armed with hatchets, and was very severely wounded. He managed, however, to get free and fell into the river close by, whence he contrived to make his escape to the house of his brother, by whom he was taken to the barrack hospital. He at once denounced Avarankutti and Koyamutti as the men who had wounded him, and stated that a third person, one Kunhi Mammad Mulla, was present and held him whilst the others attacked him. These men had intended to run the usual fanatical course, but their courage failed them at the last moment and they were in due course arrested, brought to trial, and, being convicted of attempt to commit murder, were sentenced to transportation for life.

Three other persons were afterwards deported in connection with this case and five others released with a warning. The Acting District Magistrate (Mr. Galton) proposed to fine the amsam (Kilmuri) in the sum of Rs. 15,000, of which he proposed to assign a sum of Rs. 1,000 to K. Raman as compensation for his wounds, and these proposals were in due course sanctioned by the Government.

It was found necessary subsequently to reduce the fine to about Rs. 5,000 by reason of the poverty of the Mappilla inhabitants.

The proposal to assign Rs. 1,000 of this sum to the apostate K. Raman appears to have rankled in the minds of the Mappillas generally. These hold the perverted view that an apostate should suffer death, and viewed the idea of granting a reward to an apostate for his wounds as a covert attack on this cherished dogma of their religion. This, and the fact that the pseudo-*sahids* (martyrs) in this case had set out fully resolved to die as such, and had not had courage enough to adhere to their resolution, were viewed as slurs upon the faith of Islam which could only be washed out in blood. Champions of the faith were required, and these were found, not among the recreant inhabitants of Malapuram, but away in the north of the taluk among the wild timber-floating population, who earn a precarious living amid hardships and dangers of no common sort.

And the following narrative sets forth how they fared in their self-imposed mission in defence of their "pearl-like faith."

At 4 A.M. on 27th December 1884, Kolakkadan Kutti Assan and eleven other Mappillas proceeded to the house of Kannancheri Choyi Kutti, the brother of the apostate K. Raman mentioned in the narrative of the preceding outrage, in search of the latter, who, fortunately for himself, was absent. *The house is on the river bank within sight of the barracks of the European infantry stationed at Malapuram, and is situated less than half a mile distant therefrom.* When Choyi Kutti, hearing a noise at his cowshed, opened the door to ascertain what it was he was greeted by a volley from the fire-arms carried by the party. Two of the shots took effect on him and he fell badly wounded. His son, a small boy, was also wounded. The gang set fire to the thatched roof of the house and drove the women and children out of it. On leaving the house in flames they raised the Mussulman cry to prayers. The noise was distinctly heard in the barracks, but no one paid any attention to it as firing of guns at that time was quite common in the neighbourhood.

After this exploit the gang formed up and marched right through the Malapuram bazaar, passing within twenty yards of the police station, and continued on their course along the Great Western road (No. 6) for a distance of over eight miles, warning people whom they met to get off the road. A Brahman who failed to comply with this peremptory demand, was mortally wounded by the leader of the gang with a bullet from a No. 6 gauge single-barrelled muzzle-loading elephant rifle¹ which he carried, and received besides a cut from a heavy knife behind the ear. Long before they left the road it was broad daylight, and they sent sundry messages to the Officer commanding, Malapuram and to the District Magistrate of what they had done.

¹ The rifle has "Samuel Nock invenit" on the lock plate

On reaching the 21st mile 4th furlong they diverged to the north into the wild hilly and jungly country stretching thence to the Beypore river. At the river they halted a short time to take some food. After doing this a party of seven of them proceeded straight across that river, which was at the time fordable, to the Hindu temple of Trikkallur, lying in the Uringattiri amsam of Ernad taluk. They halted, for a short time only, at the Churott mosque, which lies about three-quarters of a mile from the temple on the opposite bank of a large paddy flat.

The seven men broke into the temple and took possession of it, raising the Muhammadan cry to prayer, and firing their guns out of the four windows of the upper-storeyed gate-house.

The above occurrences happened during the Christmas holidays, and both the Special Assistant Magistrate and the Assistant Superintendent of Police quartered at Malapuram were absent from the station. The head constable of police however put himself, as soon as the particulars were ascertained, in communication with the Officer commanding (Captain Curtis of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry), and the latter with a party of his men started in pursuit of the gang, which, however, having had a long start, was never overtaken, and the detachment returned the same afternoon to their barracks.

The District Magistrate (Mr. W. Logan) and the Police Superintendent (Major F. Hole) were at Calicut when the news of the outrage arrived late in the forenoon of the same day. Hastily gathering as many as possible of the police reserve under Inspector Sweeny, they marched in the afternoon and evening to Kondotti, and before midnight received authentic intelligence that the gang of fanatics had taken possession of the temple at Trikkallur.

Hearing that the gang had firearms, the District Magistrate sent from Arikod, which was reached in the early morning of 28th, urgent requisitions to Malapuram and Calicut for dynamite, as it was not at all improbable that this gang of fanatics meant to depart from the tactics of their predecessors and to fight from behind walls with firearms, instead of charging the troops in the open as had been the practice heretofore. After events fully justified this anticipation.

The paddy flat beneath the temple on the east was reached at 10-30 a.m., and the Mappilla inhabitants of the locality were assembled and despatched to bring in the fanatics if possible. But in this they failed and only brought back a message to this effect from the fanatics: "K. Raman committed an offence worthy of death by becoming an apostate. You not only did not punish him for this offence, but you actually proposed to reward him with Rs. 1,000" (the sum proposed by Mr. Galton as compensation for his wounds) "for doing it. How could we let him live under such circumstances?" One of the members of the deputation had the hardihood to remain behind when the rest of the party retired from the temple and joined the gang of fanatics. They now numbered

twelve, the heart of one of the original party having failed him when the neighbourhood of the temple was reached in the preceding afternoon.

The fanatics had burnt two houses in the neighbourhood in the morning as a warning to the people that they must be supplied with provisions. They had also caught and killed for food a cow which they found near the temple.

The first shot was fired by the fanatics shortly after the deputation of Mappillas retired from their interview with the gang.

About 2 p.m. a party of 28 men of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Day and accompanied by Surgeon-Major Joseph Heath,¹ reached the spot from Malapuram.

It was determined to attack the temple from the west, on which side the ground was open, whereas the direct route on the east side was not only steep, but, owing to the sloping nature of the ground, no musketry fire could be directed on the building until close range was reached, and even then there was no room for more than ten men in the first line of attack. On the west the building, and in particular the upperstoreyed gate-house in which it was believed the fanatics meant to make their stand, could be seen from a distance of over half a mile. It was known that the fanatics had but one rifle in their possession, the one already described; the rest of their armament consisted of a double-barrelled muzzle-loading percussion gun, about 14 bore, by Westley Richards, a smooth-bore muzzle-loading percussion musket, and two smooth-bore muzzle-loading percussion country guns, besides several heavy chopping knives, etc. The temple, and in particular the upper-storeyed gate-house, occupied a most commanding position except on the east, where the view was obscured by trees.

As Lieutenant Day's party came in sight at a distance of about 500 yards the fanatics opened fire from the upper-storeyed gate-house with their rifle throwing conical bullets of over three ounces, which, from their ragged shape and high velocity, due to excessive charges of English sporting gunpowder, flew over the heads of the detachment with a scream like that of a small cannon ball.

The Light Infantry assumed the attack formation, advancing by rushes of a few yards, and having the police in reserve behind them. No casualties occurred until the military and police had both entered the spacious outer temple square through the ruined western gate. Here they found themselves, with massive bolted wooden doors, stone walls, and thick tiled roofs separating them from their enemies, who held the spacious inner square and the upper-storeyed eastern gate-house.

But the walls which sheltered the Mappillas also afforded shelter to the military and police, for the fanatics, not expecting the attack from the western side, had only partially loopholed it.

¹ Shortly afterwards killed by dacoits in Burmah to the great regret of a wide circle of friends.

As Lieutenant Day was reconnoitring the building he received what at the time appeared to be a fatal wound from a bullet at the southern door of the inner square and had to retire. And the fanatics began to come down from the upper-storey building into the inner square and to make loopholes in the roof for shots at close range. Axes were procured, but it was soon found to be an impossible task to break open the massive doors.

A retreat from the outer square became necessary, and just as this critical operation had been successfully accomplished under a brisk fire, but without casualty, Lieutenant Cardew of the Oxfordshires came up shortly before sundown with 28 more men.

The fanatics had all this while kept up a brisk fire from the upper-storeyed building and the western doorway of the inner square, and numerous very narrow escapes from their bullets had occurred.

The reinforcement enabled Lieutenant Cardew to guard during the night two of the four gates leading through the walls of the outer square of the temple, and the charge of a third, the eastern one, was taken by the police reserve. The southern gate was left unguarded during the night. This fact was probably not known to the Mappillas in the temple nor to those in the neighbourhood, several of whom, armed with guns, had been seen suspiciously hanging on the flank of Lieutenant Day's detachment as it marched up to the temple, and from others of whom there came defiantly at intervals across the intervening paddy flat a wild Muhammadan call to prayers during all the time that the musketry was playing in the temple front, in sympathetic response to similar cries raised by the fanatics in the temple. Two men unarmed attempted to pass into the temple during the night, but were stopped by the sentries. It is certain, judging from previous experience, that recruits would have joined the gang in large numbers during the night had these precautions not been taken.

Captain Curtis arrived during the night with some dynamite, and Mr. Twigg, the Special Assistant Magistrate, who had travelled all the way from Madras after receiving news of the outbreak, also arrived in the early morning.

The Mappillas had been busy loopholing the western side of the temple during the night, and at the first dawn, as the party of six officers stood closely together in a group talking, the first shot from the new loopholes in the temple was fired, and the bullet from an overloaded gun fortunately whistled harmlessly over their heads.

The means of getting access to the temple had now arrived, but a difficulty which had not been foreseen occurred, for no one present knew how to handle the explosive. And those who eventually prepared the cartridges had never even seen the explosive before. A series of experiments were made separately first with fuse, then with fuse and detonator, and finally with fuse detonator and cartridge. The experiments being successful, about twenty-five cartridges were tied together and enveloped in a thick coating of wet clay.

Just as these preparations were being made, Captain Heron Maxwell arrived from Calicut with Surgeon Cusack and 50 men of the Royal Fusiliers.

The troops and police were then divided into three parties ; the larger number, including nearly all the police, were posted at every available spot round the ruined outer wall of the temple to fire upon the upper-storeyed gate-house and all the loopholes in the doors and roof of the north-west and south sides of the inner square. Another but very small party of picked men were told off to line the few practicable places in the ruined wall on the east side. A third party was held ready to receive the fanatics with the bayonet if they charged out.

These arrangements having been completed, a brisk fire was opened on the north-west and south sides against the loopholed doors and roof of the inner square. And when the firing ceased, Private Barrett of the Oxfordshires ran up to the western door of the inner square and placed a dynamite cartridge on the sill. The fuse went out ; a second cartridge was brought and placed in like manner beside the first one.

After an interval which seemed an age to those waiting for the result, a loud report shook the ground, a dense cloud of smoke and dust rose from the doorway, and when this cleared away it was seen that the dynamite¹ cartridges had successfully done their work by blowing in the door and displacing the beams with which the fanatics had strengthened it inside. Another five pound cartridge had subsequently to be used to clear away the wreck.

After this the taking of the stronghold was only a matter of time. But it was not accomplished without further bloodshed. Private Miles, one of the steadiest shots in the Oxfordshire detachment, had been told off as one of the marksmen at the eastern gate to protect Private Rolfe of the Royal Fusiliers, who laid the dynamite charge at the eastern door. Rolfe had laid one charge, but the fuse had gone out. Miles was peering through some bushes growing on the ruined outer wall with his head only exposed, when a fanatic shot him dead from one of the loopholes in the upper-storeyed gate-house. Rolfe, nothing daunted, successfully laid the second charge in spite of a brisk fire from the fanatics and smashed in the eastern door.

The north door was next destroyed, and a cross-fire poured through the north and west doors drove the fanatics in the inner square up into the upper-storeyed building.

Their determination to resist desperately to the end was remarkable. They had a bullet-proof parapet extending to a height of nearly thirty inches above the floor of the upper-storeyed room in which they were now all gathered. By lying or even kneeling behind this, they were absolutely safe from injury from the bullets,

¹ It is believed that this was the *first occasion* on which dynamite was used in actual warlike operations in face of an enemy in India.

which crashed through the broad wooden planks which closed in the room on all sides above this thirty inch parapet. In the interstices between these planks loopholes had been cut. Each fanatic took his turn to fire at the military and police sharp-shooters lining the outer wall. As the muzzle of his gun was seen protruded from the loophole and in act to fire, some twenty or thirty of the marksmen lining the ruined outer wall, fired a volley at the spot, and some of their bullets crashing through the wooden planks, hit the fanatic in several parts of his body simultaneously, but usually in the head or throat or chest. It was thus that they all died one by one.

As their fire slackened the interior of the temple was gradually occupied by the military and police, and the last dynamite cartridge was used to blow open the massive trap-door giving access to the upper-storeyed gate-house room where the final stand was made.

Of the twelve fanatics, three were still alive, but two of them were speechless and died immediately ; the third man lived about twenty-four hours.

The casualties among the military were one private killed and one officer (Lieutenant Day) and one private wounded. It is marvellous that the casualties were so few in number, considering that the fanatics were afterwards estimated to have fired *not less* than two hundred and fifty shots at the party of order.

This serious outbreak was followed by several other small affairs, all pointing to the existence of widespread excitement and fanatical zeal, the particulars of which it is unnecessary to relate here.

The Soudanese Mahdi was at this time (January-April 1885) occupying a large share of public attention. One fanatical teacher at least selected his exploits for the theme of many exciting discourses, and a mysterious Hungarian stranger, under the guise of a priest, who admitted that he had known Oliver Pain, the Soudanese Mahdi's Frenchman, made his appearance shortly afterwards at Cochin.

The risks run by the party employed in suppressing the Trikkalur gang from the firearms used by the fanatics made the Government decide to disarm three taluks of the district (Calicut, Ernad and Walluvanad). And this ticklish operation was, notwithstanding the excited state of the Mappilla community at the time, successfully carried out in the month of February 1885 by the district officers. It had a most beneficial effect on the population of the tracts in which the order was enforced.

Five disarming parties were organized, each in charge of a Magistrate with a police officer to assist him. To each party were attached a havildar's guard of sepoy and a head constable's party of the Police Reserve of the district. Troops furnished by the 12th Regiment were imported by rail, and stationed at all the important centres, and a considerable body of European troops furnished by the Oxfordshire Light Infantry was located at Malapuram and Calicut, in the heart of the country to be disarmed,

ready to act in any direction in which their services might be required.

"The general¹ plan of the operations was to start from a common centre—the country lying round Malapuram, where the bulk of the European force lay in readiness for any emergency—and, by sweeping clean all amsams lying in the rear and on the flanks of the several disarming parties, to concentrate eventually three of the disarming parties on the country where the gang of rebels was originally recruited."

The military and other preparations were kept secret up to the very last moment, until in fact the troops (brought by rail from Bangalore) were at their appointed stations. "The sudden² descent of the troops, their swift and sudden seizure and firm hold of all the important places, the sudden and widespread issue of the demand for the surrender of all arms, the shortness of the time allowed to the people to think over the matter, the enforced surrender of their arms, and the ease with which, on the failure of the telegraph line, we were enabled to open up communication almost as swift and far more secure, were all well calculated to impress the population with a wholesome fear of the resources of the Government.

The allusion to the failure of the telegraph line relates to a curious coincidence which happened on the very day (10th February) on which the troops arrived in the district. In the afternoon of that day communication between Calicut and Malapuram was suddenly interrupted; it was known that some people in Calicut had been discussing the effect which an interruption to the wires would have had on the outbreak of December 1884. It was thought at the time that the interruption might have been caused by design,³ and in any case the necessity for a substitute made itself strongly felt. Signalling parties were accordingly organised. The Urot hill (1,573 feet) near Malapuram was occupied in force by a signalling party of the Oxfordshires, who communicated by helio by day and by lamp at night with the General Officer Commanding at Calicut, 22 miles; with Malapuram, where the bulk of the European force was stationed, 6 miles; and with the District Magistrate's disarming camp, as it moved to its various disarming stations, namely, Manjeri, 8 miles; Pandikad, 16 miles; Wandur, 17 miles; and Arikkod, 10 miles.

The number of arms of all kinds collected was very large, namely, 17,295, of which no less than 7,503 were firearms of different kinds.

A marked change for the better was immediately perceived in the demeanour of the people of the disarmed tracts directly these operations were brought to a close.

¹ District Magistrate's report. No. 1871, dated 1st May 1885, to Government.

² *Ibid.*

³ It was long afterwards satisfactorily ascertained that this was not the case.

But the people of the neighbouring taluk of Ponnani were the next to betake themselves to acts of violence.

During the night of 1st May 1885 a gang of Mappillas, consisting of T. V. Virankutti and eleven others, broke open the house of a Cheraman (slave caste) called Kutti Kariyan, and murdered him and his wife and four of their children, and set fire to the house and a neighbouring temple. The victim had become a convert to Islam many years previously, and had reverted to his original religion fourteen years ago. The Mappillas of the neighbourhood had been in the habit of taunting him with his lapse from Islam, and he in his turn had made free use of his tongue in returning their taunts.

After effecting the murders, the gang, who had one gun with them, proceeded to a police station (Kalpakancheri) with a view to help themselves to the police arms, but finding that guarded, they struck a course northwards towards the Urot hill near Malapuram, just abovementioned, with the avowed intention of there taking post in a small Hindu temple on the summit of it. But want of water compelled them to descend the hill on the west, and the attitude of their co-religionists in that part of the country, which had just been disarmed, being unfriendly, they retreated during the night of the 2nd May to their own country side, and in the early morning of the 3rd they seized the house of a wealthy Nambutiri Brahman, landlord of Ponnundam ansam, in the Ponnani taluk.

On the afternoon of that day they were there attacked by a party of the South Wales Borderers from Malapuram under Captain Logan, accompanied by the Special Assistant Magistrate Mr. Twigg. They opened fire from a window in the third or top storey of the house at the military, and wounded four of the men; upon this the fire was returned, and, as it afterwards turned out, the few shots poured in at the windows of the room to silence the fire killed all twelve persons. Three, including a child, had joined the gang in place of three men whose courage had failed them, and who had deserted during the night. Their determination to be slain was perhaps quite as strong as that of the Trikkallur gang, and they adopted similar tactics in trusting to their firearm to do damage to their opponents.

The disarming of the Ponnani taluk was next ordered by the Government. And this operation was also successfully carried¹ out by the district officers in June 1885, on the same plan which had been adopted in the previous February. One company of the 2nd Battalion South Wales Borderers was brought by rail from Madras and stationed at Vettattupudiangadi, where it remained during the disarming operations.

On the morning of 11th August 1885 a Mappilla named Unni Mammad entered the house of Krishna Pisharodi, referred to in the account of the outrage of 9th September 1880, under the pretence of buying paddy. The Pisharodi was at the time engaged in having

¹ Arms collected 3,300, of which 1,010 were firearms.

an oil-bath. The Mappilla slipped past the attendants, and with one blow of a hatchet which he had brought with him, he inflicted a mortal wound on the recumbent Pisharodi's head. He was immediately seized and disarmed, and was, after trial in the usual course, eventually hanged. He thus missed the martyr's fate which he repeatedly, during his examinations, avowed to have been the mainspring of his actions. But the real fact was that the man slain was what would have been called in Ireland a "land-grabber," and the persons (Mappillas) for whose lands he was intriguing set up Unni Mammad to commit the murder.

This closes the narrative up to date of these fanatical outrages, which have been a special feature in the district administration during the last half century. And it only remains to add that the policy of repression advocated by Mr. Strange has signally failed to fulfil what was expected of it.

Fanaticism of this violent type flourishes only upon sterile soil. When the people are poor¹ and discontented, it flourishes apace like other crimes of violence. The grievous insecurity to which the working ryots are exposed by the existing system of landed tenures is undoubtedly largely to blame for the impoverished and discontented state of the peasantry, and a measure to protect the working ryot, of whatever class, is the means which seems to commend itself the most for the amelioration of their condition. With settled homesteads and an assured income to all who are thrifty and industrious—and in these respects the Mappillas surpass all other classes—it is certain that fanaticism would die a natural death.

Education is looked to by many as an equally certain means to the same end, but starving people are not easily taught, and, if taught, it would only lead to their adopting more effectual measures to obtain for themselves that security and comfort in their homesteads which it would be much wiser to grant at once. With increasing comfort at home, an increasing demand for education would certainly spring up. Without comfort, and with education, discontent would only be increased.

From the foregoing narrative it will be seen that the Malabar district of the present day is made up—

First—of the "*Province of Malabar*," the government of which was fixed by Sir R. Abercromby, Governor of Bombay, and the Joint Bengal and Bombay Commission, on the 18th March 1793,

Secondly—of the Dutch possessions of the town of Cochin and its outlying *pattams*, and of Tangasseri, which were acquired on 20th October 1795, and

Thirdly—of the district of Wynad, acquired at the end of the last Mysore war on the 22nd June 1799.

¹ That they are both poor and discontented Mr. Logan's Special Commission conclusively proved.

Few changes except the restitutions already described to the French have occurred in its limits since that last event happened. In 1830 the Nilgiri plateau was attached to Malabar, and its precise limits as a "separate charge" were defined¹ in 1836. In 1843 the Nilgiris were transferred¹ to Coimbatore, leaving to Malabar the range of the Kundahs. In 1860 the Kundahs were also transferred¹ to Coimbatore and "a small nook of land at the confluence of the Moyar river and its western tributary on the confines of the Mysore territory" was at the same time transferred from Coimbatore to Malabar. On 6th October 1870 an interchange¹ of some small bits of land in the Walluvanad and Ponnani taluks took place between Malabar and the Cochin State. In 1873 "the tract known as Outchterlony valley" was transferred² from Malabar to the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of the Nilgiris. And finally the three amsams of South-east Wynad—Nambolakod, Cherankod, and Munnarad—were in like manner also transferred³ to the Nilgiri district from and after 31st March 1877.

The Collector³ and District Magistrate has political, revenue, and magisterial authority over the whole of these territories, except in regard to the revenues of the outlying bits of territory at Anjengo and Tangasseri, which are leased⁴ for terms of five years to the State of Travancore, and in regard to the territories of Ali Raja of Cannanore, comprising the *kirar* limits at Cannanore and the Laccadive Islands of Agatti, Kavaratti, Androth, Kalpeni, and Minicoy. The Collector and District Magistrate has ordinarily⁵ only magisterial jurisdiction over the *kirar* limits of the mainland, while the Raja collects the revenue there and exercises full authority over the islanders.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCLXXVII, CCLXXIX, CCLXXXI, CCXCI.

² *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCLXXXIV, CCLXXXV.

³ In Appendix XIV will be found lists of the British officials, Chiefs, Residents, Commissioners, Supervisors, Principal Collectors and Collectors from the earliest times down to the present day.

⁴ *Treaties, etc.*, ii. CCLXXXVI, CCLXXXVII.

⁵ Since 1877 the islands have, however, been under attachment for arrears of revenue due by the Raja, and the administration is in process of reformation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAND.

Section (A).

LAND TENURES.

N.B.—The author puts forward the views contained in this section as those which he has adopted after an attentive study of the sources of information at present available on the subject of the Malabar Land Tenures. These views are not to be taken as an authoritative exposition of this most difficult subject, which requires further study and a more detailed elucidation than the author has been able to give to it. The Glossary in Volume II contains the information gathered by Special Commissioner Mr. Gröme in the years 1818–21.

The unit of the Hindu social system was the family, not the individual.

An association of families formed a body corporate, as, for example, the *gramam* (village) among the Brahmans, the *tara* (foundation, street, village) among the Nayars, the *cheri* (assemblage, village, street) among the *Tiyar* (Cingalese, Islanders) and other foreigners.

These guilds or corporate bodies had each distinct functions¹ to perform in the body politic, and those functions were in old times strictly hereditary.

— In their administration of the land the Hindus seem to have made no exception to the rule governing their social organisation. The chief agricultural class appears to have been the *Vellalar*,² the water rulers, that is, the irrigators. To them was given the duty³ (*karunnei* or *karayma*) of regulating the distribution of water for the irrigation of the paddy or rice fields. The *Tiyar* or Islanders who, it is said, came from the south (Ceylon), bringing with them the southern tree, that is, the cocoanut (*Tengnga* or *Tengnga*⁴ or *Tenguyi*), were appointed the planters of the body politic. These two guilds seems to have formed the bulk of the agricultural population, as indeed they do down to the present day if the Nayars, who have been classed⁵ as belonging to the protector and governing classes, be relegated to the agricultural class to which they appear to have originally⁶ belonged, and to which as matter of fact they belong at the present time.

¹ Conf. p. 112.

² From *Vellam* = water, and the verb *aluka* = to rule, possess, have.

³ Conf. pp. 110–12. So common became the use of this word and its derivatives that *karalar* came to signify in time husbandmen, or ploughmen.

⁴ From *Tekku* = south and *kay* = fruit.

⁵ Page 114.

⁶ The tradition is strong that Kerala was conquered by Chola and Pandya *Vellalars*.

Why the *Nayars* have been classed in the protecting or governing class has already been explained.¹

The *Nayars* were, as the Keralolpatti² expressly says, the people of "the eye," "the hand," and "the order," and it was their duty "to prevent the rights from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse." So that they had as a guild higher functions in the body politic than merely ploughing the rice-fields and controlling the irrigated lands.

What these higher functions were has already also been more than once alluded to. They were probably the holders of the "sharing-staff"³ of office and they were also supervisors (*kanakkar*); and as *kanam* or the supervision right is the name⁴ applied to one of the commonest tenures at the present day, it is essential to a proper understanding of Malayali land tenures that the original idea attached to the word *kanam* should be thoroughly understood.

It is unfortunate, under such circumstances, that so little evidence of the early use of this word is as yet forthcoming. It occurs twice in deed No. 3 and once in deed No. 4, Appendix XII. In the two first instances Dr. Gundert has translated it as "right" and in the last as "possession" or (with some hesitation) as "mortgage."

In considering its meaning it is well to notice in the first place that the word itself—*kanam*—comes from the Dravidian verb *kanuku* (=to see, or to be seen), and the root from which that verb is derived is *kan* (= the eye).

Now to the *Nayars* as a caste belonged the duty of supervision (literally, "the eye") as the Keralolpatti expressly says, so that *kanam* in its original sense seems to have denoted this function of theirs in the body politic.

And there can be little doubt that it is in this sense and not as either "possession" or "mortgage" that it is to be understood in deed No. 4, Appendix XII. The phrase in which it there occurs runs as follows:—"The purchase of this domain of the Padarar with all that belongs to it has been then made by the Ruler of Cheranadu and his Officers, and the image of the God of the Padarar with their sovereignty has been subjected to the Six Hundred, and is *kanam* held under the king." The Six Hundred were the heads of the *Nayar* militia of the nad, the *karnavar* (elders or managers) of the families of authority—*Taravads*⁵—in the *taras* (*Nayar*

¹ Pages 111, 112, 114 and 116.

² *Conf.* p. 132, 133.

³ *Varakol*—Deed 3, Appendix XII.

⁴ This is however only a very modern use of the name. The proper name for the tenure is given correctly in Mr. Graeme's Glossary (Appendix XIII), namely, *Pattola*, or *Pattamola*. The *Kanakkar* was in fact, as asserted in these pages, the person responsible to the ruling authority the (*pad*) for the ancient land revenue assessment (*pattam*). This modern use of the word *kanam* as applied to the tenure has tended not a little to obscure the facts—see foot-note No. 1, to Deed 57, Appendix XII.

⁵ From *Tara* (= *Nayar* village) and *padu* (= authority).

villages) constituting the nad (county). The Nayar guild were in short constituted the supervisors (*kanakkarar*) of this domain purchased from the Padarar.

But what was this supervision duty or right (*kanam*) ? Clause (i) of deed No. 3, Appendix XII, proves conclusively that the *Kon* (shepherd, King) and the *Pati* (Lord, Master) had shares of the produce due to them as the persons of authority in the land. And the specific words used in the ninth century A.D. to denote these shares have probably survived to the present day, and are still in common use in a contracted form as *puttam*. For *puttam* seems to be a compound word signifying the *padu* (=authority's) *varam* (= share) and it was perhaps used in its uncontracted form in this clause of deed 3. The exact words of the clause will be found printed in the appendix. To make the matter clear, the translation is here given:—" * * * that Anjuvannam¹ and Manigramam² protect the citizens in every coming generation, that in the space within the four gates and on the spot where land for sale³ (or "under prohibition"³) is given *in trust*⁴ the Palace (or supreme Government) having received the King's tithe, Anjuvannam⁵ and Manigramma⁶ receive the Lord's title." In respect to the lands referred to in this deed it is clear that the Jews and Christians in their corporate capacities had conferred on them the chief function in the State usually performed by the Six Hundred Nayars, viz., Protection. Indeed, as will be seen from clause (x), they were specifically associated with the local Six Hundred in that function. It is peculiarly significant therefore that to them also should have been assigned the *Pati* (= Lord's) tithe or share of produce. For it follows that this share of produce did ordinarily at that time go either to the Six Hundred or to the *Patis* (= Lords) of the Six Hundred. In fact the other function appertaining to the Six Hundred, namely, *kanam* (= supervision), appears to have been the function of giving the land in trust to the proper workers in the body politic and of gathering from them in due course the shares of produce due to the persons in authority. The Nayars were no doubt spread over the whole face of the country (as they still are) protecting all rights, suffering none to fall into disuse, and at the same time supervising the cultivation of the land and collecting the *kon* or king's share of the produce—the *public land revenue in fact*.

If this reasoning be accepted it brings the Malayali land tenures very appreciably nearer to those prevailing in the rest of India, for it has, up to very recent years, been a matter of accepted belief

¹ The Jews as a body corporate.

² The Christians as a body corporate.

³ This is Dr. Gundert's translation, but as suggested in the foot-note to the clause an alternative reading is "for cultivation."

⁴ *Karanmei* = *Karayma*. The use of this word signifies very clearly that the land was given *in trust* to the appointed workers or functionaries in the body politic. Conf. foot-note 3, p. 596.

⁵ The Jews as a body Corporate.

⁶ The Christians as a body Corporate.

with the British authorities that, prior to the advent of the Mysorean Mussulmans, there was no public land revenue in Malabar. The Honourable the Court of Directors were, and with good show of reason, very sceptical¹ on the point. The above facts seem to afford the clue to all the confusion of ideas which has prevailed. There *was* a public land revenue in Malabar originally, just as in every other Indian province, but with the extinction of the supreme kon or king in the ninth century A.D. the share of produce due to him did not pass to those (the present Rajas) who supplied in some measures his place, but to the great bulk of the people—the *Nayars*, the Six Hundreds—with whom, in their corporate capacities all power rested.

In order to understand the Malayali land tenures aright it is therefore first of all necessary to realise THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEA that certain castes or classes in the state were told off to the work of cultivation, and the land was made over to them *in trust* for that purpose, and *in trust* that the shares of produce due to the persons in authority should be faithfully surrendered.

The next most important point to keep in remembrance in regard to Malayali tenures is the fact that from the earliest times (about 700 A.D. the date of deed No. 1, Appendix XII) grants of land by the ruling power were customary, and what those grants conveyed requires to be examined attentively.

In the first place the grants were of a hereditary character, This is fully borne out by the earliest deeds (Nos. 1, 2 and 3, Appendix XII). The distinctive phrase used was *peru*. It occurs in various combinations. *Viduper*, *Atmiperu*, *Attipettola*,² *Perumartham*, *Epperpetlatu*, etc. *Peru* itself is the verbal noun of the verb *peruka* (= to bring forth), and it means *birth*. The word has fallen into disuse of recent years, and it has been supplanted by its sanskrit equivalent *janmam*, which, coming from the root *jan*, also signifies *birth*. Both words when applied in speaking of land tenures conveyed the idea of hereditary grants.

In the next place these grants have almost invariably been made *with water*.³ The earliest exception to this rule is, curiously enough, the earliest deed of all, the Jews' deed (No. 1). It has already been remarked⁴ that the Vedic Brahman factions were not cited as witnesses to this deed, although only a few years later they were witnesses to the Christians' deed (No. 2, Appendix XII). In deeds Nos. 35 and 38, Appendix XII, two other exceptions to this rule occur; moreover it has already also been said⁵ that the Vedic Brahmans in their passage southwards spread abroad their influence chiefly by claiming for themselves the gift of being able to compel the gods to do their will by reason of sacrifices conducted

¹ Para. 246 of Section (B) of this chapter.

² *Peru* inflected becomes *perru*, the two *rr* having the force of *tt*.

³ *Conf.* pp. 221, 260.

⁴ Page 271.

⁵ Page 260.

in sonorous Sanskrit, and in particular they claimed the power to secure benefits in the next world for their devotees by ensuring for them and their deceased ancestors an easy passage into the Heaven of Indra. The deeds of the various dynasties there cited afford the most conclusive proof that in the grants of land conferred on the Brahmans in return for their services the act of giving is almost invariably accompanied or preceded by "libations of water," by "pouring of water," by "copious libations of water," "with water in hand," with the pouring of "water out of a beautiful golden water-pot," etc. In twenty-five of these deeds casually observed and extending from about the fifth century A.D. down to the year 1339-40 A.D. the omission to mention a libation of water as accompanying a grant of land to these Vedic Brahmans occurs only once. In that solitary instance however—a deed of the Rashtrakuta king Karka III in A.D. 972-73—the grant is as usual made "in order to increase the religious merit and the fame of (my) parents and of myself." Several preceding Rashtrakuta grants contain the phrase, so that the instance in question seems merely to be the exception proving the rule. It is hard to resist the conclusions therefore that, as the notes to deeds Nos. 2 and 38 set forth, the customary libation¹ of water in making a hereditary grant of land in Malabar was introduced by the Vedic Brahmans about the beginning of the eighth century A.D., and that in parts of the district, where the influence of that caste was but small, this incident in a grant or sale of hereditary land did not obtain currency down to quite recent years.

In regard to the next, and perhaps the most important point of all, the sharing of the produce in these hereditary holdings, much has already² been said. And it is needless to say more here than that all the *State functionaries* employed had well-defined shares of the produce set apart for them. The *kon*, or king, had his share. The *pati* or overlord (the hereditary grantee apparently if there chanced to be one) had likewise a share. And if there was no such *pati* or hereditary grantee then it seems his share went to the general body of protectors and supervisors—the "Six Hundred," the Nayar guild, the *Kanakkar*.

But when the reign of the Perumals came suddenly to an end in 825 A.D. in the manner indicated in the historical chapter, their (the *kon*'s) share of the produce was, in Malabar at least, certainly not passed on to the chieftains who in some measure supplied the Perumals' place.

¹ A *water grant* or deed was called in parts of the country, where the Brahman influence preponderated, "*Nir-atti-peru*" = *water-contact-birthright*. In some of the deeds to be found in Appendix XII there is a curious extravagance of phraseology, as if the parties had laboured to find phrases to put the fact that they were *water grants* beyond the possibility of a shadow of doubt. See deeds 15, 18, 27, 30, 33, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46 and in particular 47, whereas in the Chirakkal Taluk, where the Brahman influence was small, the phrase is simply "*Deed of price or sale*."

² *Conf.* pp. 110-112, 269, 270.

It was probably different in Cochin—the territory left to and still ruled by the last Perumal's heirs—and in that territory the *mupra*¹ (the 3 *paras*² per 10 *paras* of produce in wet lands) and the *Ettukkonnu*¹ (the 1 in 8 of produce in gardens) do probably still represent what was the *kon's* share, or in other words the public land revenue of the State.

This holds true also of the Cochin territory usurped by the Travancore Maharajas in the eighteenth century A.D. and perhaps also of their other territories further south.

But in Malabar it seems to have been very different, and the fact that there was no public land revenue originally in Malabar has been accepted until very recent years as correct.

It is certain that, with two trifling exceptions which are fully explained in the next section, none of the Malayali chieftains were levying a regular land revenue when the Muhammadan invasion occurred in 1766 A.D. As the Court of Directors pointed³ out, these chieftains certainly had revenues from their demesne lands, but from the lands of the bulk of those subject to them they certainly levied nothing. The chieftains were hereditary holders (*Janmis*) of the lands from which they derived a share of the produce and on the other hand the bulk of their subjects—the headmen of the *Nayar* protector guild—had likewise become hereditary holders (*janmis*) of their own lands by usurping the *kon's* share of the produce. This is the only explanation which accounts for the state of the facts at the time of the conquest of Malabar, and moreover it is a very natural explanation.

The hereditary holders (*janmis*) had originally, as already seen,⁴ obtained their grants of land with many and formidable formalities. Those formalities lingered still in some respects, and it was usual down to recent times at a sale or gift of hereditary lands to summon the neighbours and others as witnesses to the deed.

The conveyance of the property, under such circumstances, conferred on the buyer in Malabar the hereditary position which was sold, but in Travancore, on the other hand, the conveyance of hereditary property at once broke the *allodial character* of the holding, and liability to pay land revenue (*Mupra* and *Ettukkonnu*) seems to have at once attached to the holding if the strictly hereditary lien was broken. The *Janmi's* transferee in short becomes an *ordinary ryot* in Travancore on purchasing the *Janmam* right. It is unnecessary to say that under these circumstances sales very rarely take place.

In this respect the difference between the usages observed in the two countries was probably due to the fact that the Travancore chiefs were stronger in their own dominions than the Malabar

¹ See footnote to deed No. 42, Appendix XII, and these words in Appendix XIII.

² Bushels.

³ Para. 246 of Section (B) of this chapter.

⁴ *Conf.* p. 268.

chieftains were. They were able to insist on conditions which the Malayali chieftains were powerless to enforce. The Travancore chiefs had a standing army drilled by a European—the Fleming, Eustachius D’Lanoy—which made them, at least latterly,¹ independent of the protector guild of Nayars. That they were strong enough to insist on such conditions as the above before the standing army was organised by D’Lanoy is extremely doubtful.

In Malabar the hereditary property (*janmam*) was freely bought and sold long before the Mysorean invasion took place. And it was this buying and selling, and in particular the wording of the deeds in which such transactions were recorded, that misled the early British administrators and caused them to form erroneous views on the general subject of the Malayali land tenures.

A reference to the deeds printed in Appendix XII seems at the first glance to leave no doubt whatever as to the character of these hereditary holdings. And it was unfortunately this superficial view which was adopted by the early British administrators, and which led to *janmam* being regarded as equivalent in all respects to the *dominium* of the Romans.

The deed of sale in No. 15 conveyed to the purchaser :—

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Good stones. ² | 15. Field ridges. |
| 2. Charcoal. ³ | 16. Canals. |
| 3. Stumps of <i>Strychnos nux vomica</i> . | 17. Washing places. |
| 4. Thorns. | 18. Footpaths. |
| 5. Roots. | 19. Streams. |
| 6. Stupid, bad, wicked snakes. | 20. Deer forests. |
| 7. Holes. | 21. Shady places where bees make honey. |
| 8. Mounds or foundations. | 22. <i>Desam</i> . |
| 9. Treasure. | 23. Authority in the <i>Desam</i> . |
| 10. Wells. | 24. Amsam (? share). |
| 11. Skies. | 25. Rank. |
| 12. Lower world. | 26. Battle wager. |
| 13. Water-courses. | 27. Import, export and transport customs. |
| 14. Boundaries. | 28. Everything else. ⁴ |

Most of these details seem at first sight to place beyond all doubt the completeness of the rights the purchaser acquired in the soil according to Western notions. The things enumerated

¹ First half of eighteenth century.

² The various things conveyed are sometimes strung together in a sort of alliterative rhyme thus :—

Veppum Cheppum = Hidden treasure and its receptacles.

Kallum Karadum = Stones good and bad.

Kanyira Kuttiam = Stumps of *Strychnos nux vomica*.

Mullum Muradum = Thorns and roots.

Murkkan Pambum = Stupid, bad, wicked snakes.

Melakasattolavum = Up to the Heavens.

Kilpatalattolavum = Down to the lower World.

³ Probably a mistake for *karadu* = Bad stones.

⁴ *Matta opperpettatum* = Everything heritable.

seem at first sight to have been named purposely to express, with exaggerated force, the completeness of the relinquishment of the seller's rights *in the soil*. But with these material objects it will be observed were conveyed such things as "authority in the *Desam*," "Battle wager" and "Rank" and "Customs" which are clearly outside the idea of *dominium* as understood by Roman lawyers. It would have been well therefore if, before adopting the view that *janmam* was equivalent in all respects to *dominium*, a full investigation had been made of the points wherein they differ.

Passing to another characteristic deed (No. 9) it will be seen that in that case the objects conveyed were :—

(a) A *Desam* along with—

1. Authority in the *Desam*.

(b) A *Temple* along with—

2. The seat of honour at the temple feasts,

3. The management of the temple affairs,

4. The temple wet lands,

5. Do. gardens,

6. Do. slaves¹, and

(c) A *Tarawad* (authority in the *Nayar tara* or village) along with—

7. The *Tarawad* wet lands,

8. Do. gardens,

9. Do. slaves,¹

10. Do. house-sites.

Here the lands and gardens and house-sites are appurtenant to the *Desam*, *Temple*, and *Tara* authority conveyed. The chief things conveyed were the different kinds of *authority* attaching to a *Desam*, a *Temple* and a *Tara*, and not merely the lands and slaves.

The idea of property *in the soil*—the Western or European idea—was evidently not the idea uppermost in the minds of the persons who executed this deed. They, on the contrary, concerned themselves chiefly with the "authority" constituting the main items conveyed. The rest of the items were mere appurtenances to the "authority." This seems to go to the root of the whole matter, and to differ essentially from the Western idea of ownership *in the soil alone*.

What in fact the Malayalis were buying and selling in this instance (deed No. 9) and also in the case of deed No. 15 was *not the soil*, but a position with emoluments (in Malayalam *Sthanam Manam*) conferring *authority* of different kinds, and of varying degrees over the classes resident within the limits specifically laid down in the deeds.

The European looks to *the soil*, and nothing but *the soil*. The Malayali on the contrary looks chiefly to *the people* located on the soil.

If however the *fundamental idea* of the Malayali land tenures referred to above (p. 599) is borne in mind, namely, that the land was

¹ Cherumar. Conf. pp. 147-247.

made over *in trust* to certain classes for cultivation, the above will be seen to be a most natural outcome of the Hindu system.

And the surprising fact which has frequently been commented on that even the soil¹ itself might drop away from the owner of a *janmam* holding and yet leave him as completely as before the *janmi* of the whole of it, becomes under the above interpretation a perfectly natural—nay, a necessary—consequence.

This essential difference between a Roman *dominus* and a Malayali *janmi* was unfortunately not perceived or not understood at the commencement of the British administration. The *janmi* has, by the action of the Civil Courts, been virtually converted into a *dominus*, and the result on the workers, the cultivators, has been, and is, very deplorable.

While on the one hand therefore it is erroneous to suppose that the *janmi* was the *dominus*, it is equally inaccurate, on the other hand, to say of the *kanakkar* or supervisors that they were the real proprietors of the soil.

The *Nayar* protector guild was distributed over the length and breadth of the land exercising their State functions of “the eye,” “the hand,” and “the order,” and, as *kanakkar*, they collected the share of produce due to the *janmi*. But *janmis* were at times hard pressed for coin, and it became customary for them to borrow what money they wanted from the *kanakkar*. In proportion to the sum borrowed the *kanakkaran* deducted from the *pattam* (i.e., the *padu* or authority's *varam* or share) collected by him for the *janmi* a quantity of produce sufficient to meet the interest on the sum lent. The interest was calculated at certain customary² rates, and the balance of produce alone went to the *janmi*.

Sometimes the interest on the sum borrowed was sufficiently large to wipe out the whole of the *janmi*'s share of produce. In that case the *kanakkaran*'s interest in the land was styled an *otti*.

It might be thought that a *janmi* having borrowed enough to wipe out by way of interest the whole value of his share of produce had but little proprietary right left in the land, but this was not so, for the obvious reason that, besides his share of the produce, he held authority of various kinds over the persons, located on his hereditary land, and it was customary to value this remaining right at one half of what had already been advanced to purchase the *otti*.

The deeds by which these further transactions were effected were:—

(a) the *Ottikkum Purameyullakanam*, by which the *janmi* borrowed ten per cent or more on the sum received for the *otti* right;

(b) the *Nirmutal*, by which the *janmi* borrowed another ten per cent on the money already advanced for the *otti* and *ottikkum*

¹ Conf. *Perum artham*, *Attiperu*, *Janmam*, *Sthand-mana-avakasam*, *Otti*, *Ottikumpurameyulla kanam*, *Nirmutal*, *Janmapanayam* in Appendix XIII.

² See *Palisa* in Appendix XIII.

puram rights. He pledged himself to confer the water (*nir*) right on his creditor ;

(c) the *janmapanayan* or pledge of the *janmam* right. Under this deed a still further advance was made on the sums borrowed, and there was but one step beyond this, and that was the conveyance outright of the *janmam* right itself.

The general effect of this system of borrowing was that the *janmi* first mortgaged up to its full value his own share of the produce, and, when that was no longer available for payment of the interest, he had to meet the interest out of his other resources as *janmi*.

What he pledged was evidently *not the soil itself* but only his share of its produce so far as that went, and after that his other income and emoluments attaching to his status as *janmi* of the land. But the Civil Courts, acting on the idea that the *janmi* was a *dominus* and as such entitled to take what he could get out of the land, viewed his pledges as pledges of the soil itself, and in this way they have almost completely upset the native system of *customary* sharing of the produce.

Under that system of customary sharing of the produce the *kanakkaran's* advance to the *janmi* used to be *periodically* ¹ revised in one or other of two ways, namely :—

(a) A deduction of about thirteen per cent. of the advance was made, and a renewed deed showing the loan diminished by this percentage was prepared, or

(b) no deduction was made, but instead of it the *kanakkaran* made to the *janmi* a payment equivalent to the customary deduction described in (a) and the renewed deed showed the full original sum advanced.

When (a) was the method adopted of revising the relations between the parties the portion of the *janmi's* share of the produce which had been pledged for the advance was of course released to the extent of thirteen per cent from the pledge and the *kanakkaran* had to account for that thirteen per cent. to the *janmi*.

When (b) was the method adopted, it is clear that the portion of the *janmi's* share of the produce which had been pledged for the advance remained still fully under pledge, and no portion of it was released.

The latter method (b) is that which has generally been adopted, and the periodical renewal fees—now however extravagantly enhanced, amounting *in the most favourable cases* to about twenty-five per cent, of the mortgage advance—form one of the regular ² sources of a *janmi's* income.

The idea at the root of this system of renewals was that in due course of time the *janmi's* customary share of the produce should be

¹ These renewals originally do not seem to have taken place more frequently than at successions to the *janmam* and *kanam* holdings respectively. They appear to have been in fact succession duties. *Conf. Purushantaram* in Appendix XIII.

² The renewals now take place after every twelve years.

freed from the mortgage with mutual advantage both to the *janmi* and to the *kanakkaran*. If, on the other hand, it was to their mutual advantage to maintain the existing relations, the payment made in lieu of the customary deduction was of advantage to both of them. The system was admirably conceived for binding the two classes together in harmonious interdependence.

This excellent arrangement necessarily fell to pieces at once when the Civil Courts began to recognise the force of *contract*—the Western or European law—as superior to the force of *custom*—the Eastern or Indian law. And this supersession of the unwritten native law was the final blow which ruined a system already endangered by the erroneous idea that a *janmi* was really a *dominus*.

Under the native system when, after a series of renewals by the method (a) above described, the *janmam* holding had been freed from mortgage, the parties (*janmi* and *kanakkaran*) simply resumed their original stations. The *kanakkaran* began to yield up again to the *janmi* the whole of the *janmi*'s customary share, as he had been in the habit of doing before the loan had been made, and remained on the holding in his capacity as supervisor (*kanakkaran*).

But the Civil Courts viewing the *janmi* as a *dominus*, and the *kanakkaran*'s advance as a mortgage of the soil, began to hold under the law of contract that on full payment of the advance the *kanakkaran* was bound to yield up the soil itself.

This is the latest development of the law resting on the decisions of the Courts, and it is probably not of earlier date than about 1856 when the Sadr Adalat circular, which has been published in extracts in Appendix XIII, was sent to the Courts for criticism. Though that circular was never formally promulgated, there is no doubt that the decisions of the Courts in the last thirty years have generally followed the law therein laid down. Prior to 1856 or thereabouts, when a *janmi* wished to get rid of a *kanakkaran* he allowed the *pattam* to fall into arrears and then sued for the arrears and in execution sold the *kanam* interest.

To save all trouble and doubt the *janmi* frequently now embodies in his *kanam* deeds a clause expressly contracting that the soil shall be given up on demand.

The tenure which comes next in order of importance to *kanam* and its connected tenures, *otti*, etc., is that known as *kulikkanam*. The agricultural workers in the State organisation not only cultivated the lands already reclaimed, but were constantly bringing fresh waste lands under cultivation. And *kulikkanam* was the term applied to the admirable system under which this was arranged.

The customary sharing of the produce of freshly reclaimed land took place (in the case of gardens at least) at the end of a certain number of years (usually not more than twelve years) from the time the land was taken up. Up to that time the cultivator enjoyed the whole of the produce, and all he had to pay was a trifling fee of two fanams (about nine annas) on entry on the soil, paid more as an

act of fealty to the *janmi* than as recompense for the privilege of possession.

When the *janmi*—the *padu* or authority—wished to take his customary share of the produce (*pattam*) of the newly reclaimed land he had to buy it from the cultivator at the rates recognised as customary in such transactions. But the money thus due was seldom or never paid down in cash. It was allowed to remain as a debt bearing interest at customary rates, and that interest was made good from the *janmi*'s customary share of the produce. This sum, however, under the system (a) described in regard to renewals of *kanam* deeds, was in due course of time gradually wiped off, or under the system (b), also described above, the *janmi* might content himself with taking periodically the renewal fee. The renewal did not come round very frequently in former days; the longer the *janmi* lived, and the longer the cultivator lived, so much the better it was for both of them, and when a succession did take place it was only thirteen per cent. of the debt that was wiped off, or an equivalent payment that was made.

This system—another necessary result of the Hindu social organisation—was evidently conceived in much wisdom for protecting the interests of the cultivating castes.

Here again however ideas borrowed from the European law of property *in the soil* have come in to upset the well-conceived customary law of Malabar. The courts have viewed the *janmi*'s payment of the customary improvement rates as payment in full to the cultivator for the improvements made by him *in the soil*, whereas there can be no doubt that the rates so established by custom were intended merely as compensation for the customary share of the produce—the *pattam*—due to the *padu* or *janmi* by reason of those improvements and as in no sense whatever compensation to the cultivator for his customary share of the net produce.

The leading principle however has very fortunately been preserved, and it is now the well-recognised practice of the courts that a tenant making improvements in the soil has to be paid for them if deprived of his holding, and the courts have even gone further than this and have awarded compensation for improvements even to a cultivator¹ who had not taken the trouble to recognise any one as *janmi* before beginning his reclamation of the waste land.

Under the native customary law the cultivator could not be ousted except by a decree of the *tara*², for the *janmi* was powerless

¹ The courts view him as trespasser, but the original idea is that all cultivators are *in duty bound* to reclaim waste land in Malabar and trespassers on waste land are unknown.

² The *kanakkar* used evidently to transfer themselves and the *janmi*'s shares of the produce of the lands they supervised from one *janmi* to another as their interest or inclination dictated. And even down to the present day a *kanakkaran* considers it a perfectly legitimate manoeuvre on his part to transfer himself and his lands to any *janmi* who, he thinks, is an abler man than the one under whom he holds. It is such a well-known device that it has now become the settled law of the courts that a *kanakkaran* denying his *janmi*'s title operates the forfeiture of his own. See *Kanam* in Appendix XIII.

unless he acted in strict accordance with the *Nayar* guild whose function was "to prevent the rights from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse" as the *Keralolpatti* expressly says. So that in fact the holders of the *kanam* and *kulikkanam* tenures were practically permanent¹ tenants.

This practical permanency of possession of their holdings, coupled with the preservation and observance of the customs regulating the shares of produce among all concerned, naturally enough created proprietary rights in the soil, and those rights are, and always have been, objects of free² transfer by sale, gift or mortgage. *What was sold, given or mortgaged however was confined strictly to the interest of the person making the transfer.*

That being so, it is evident that the recognition by the courts of the *janmi* as *dominus* and the enforcement by them of contracts have wrongfully benefited the *janmis* and have deprived the others of their just rights. These others were in effect CO-PROPRIETORS with the *janmis*, and the action of the courts has virtually expropriated them.

On the 5th of February 1881 the Government of the late Mr. Adam appointed Mr. W. Logan as Special Commissioner to inquire into and report on the general question of the tenure of land and of tenant-right in Malabar and the alleged insufficiency of compensation offered by the landlords and awarded for land improvements made by tenants.

Mr. Logan visited, in the course of his inquiry, all the taluks in the district except Wynad; he received petitions from 4,021 individuals, and on the 16th June 1882 submitted, for the orders of Government, the result of his investigation in a report of 112 pages, with two additional volumes of appendices, one of papers on various connected subjects and one of the evidence collected.

The foregoing is an abstract of the chief points treated in the report with some slight revisions, and the following gives some further insight into the relations between the parties.

For any further information the glossary published in Appendix XIII should be referred to, as it contains the earlier views of the British officers on the subject as well as the views of the Honourable the Judges of the Sadr Adalat in 1856 and references to many decisions of the courts in the time which has since elapsed.

When the Mysorean invasion occurred there was necessarily a disturbance of the customary sharing of produce which up to that time had prevailed. For the Mysorean Government of Hyder Ali and Tippu assessed the whole of the country with an ordinary Indian land revenue settlement. And this land revenue assessment had necessarily to be carved out of the customary shares of produce.

¹ Mr. Rickards, the second of the Principal Collectors of Malabar, entered Parliament after retiring from the service, and in a book published by him in 1832—"India, or Facts submitted, &c."—Smith, Elder & Co., London—Vol. II, page 279) he recognized the fact that they were practically permanent tenants.

² *Conf. Inakkumuri* in Appendix XIII.

What the Mysoreans did¹ was to take everywhere as land revenue a certain portion more or less of the *pattam* (i.e., of the *padu* or authority's customary share of the produce). This portion encroached more or less on the customary shares of both *kanakkaran* and *janmi* (who seem to have generally divided the *pattam* equally² between themselves) and to have left the customary share of the cultivator intact.

Stated in few words it may be said the Mysoreans took as Government land revenue a proportion of the *pattam*, varying, when taken in kind, from ten per cent. (on the wet lands in the Chera nad) to a hundred per cent. (on the garden lands in all South Malabar).

But the collection as land revenue of a hundred per cent. of the *pattam* simply meant the expropriation of the whole of the *janmi*'s and *kanakkaran*'s customary shares of the produce, and this was no doubt intended by the Muhammadans in all the localities where a hundred per cent. was the share taken of the *pattam*.

In practice, however, matters arranged themselves differently, and in consequence of the variations in the commutation rates used for converting the shares of produce taken as land revenue into a land revenue assessment payable *in money* a greater degree of quality in the assessments was obtained than would at first sight appear probable. For instance, the ten per cent. of the *pattam* of wet lands taken in the Chera nad in produce was commuted at Rs. 250 per 1,000 Macleod seers, while 50 per cent. of the *pattam* of wet lands in Kadattanad was commuted at only Rs. 40 per 1,000 Macleod seers. In reality then, other things being equal, the ten per cent. assessment in the Chera nad was really heavier, *when taken in money*, than the fifty per cent. assessment in Kadattanad.

In the tables to be found in Sub-sections III and VII of Section (B) of this chapter the *money* rates imposed by the Muhammadans on the various classes of land in Malabar and those subsequently imposed by the British Government have been reduced to certain common standards of *produce* assessments, and the result may be roughly stated thus:

(a) Assuming that in 1805-6 the actual market prices of produce were the same as those which Special Commissioner Graeme thought to be fair averages in 1822, no earlier figures being available, then in 1805-6 the assessments (which were still practically those imposed by the Muhammadans) averaged in the case of—

1. Wet lands—about 86³ per cent. of the *pattam*.

¹ For details see Section (B) of this chapter.

² The influential Nayers who set themselves up as *patis* or overlords or *janmis* appear to have generally divided share and share alike the whole of the *pattam* between themselves and their subordinate *kanakkar*.

³ Special Commissioner Graeme, working by different methods, found that those percentages came respectively to, wet lands fully 90 per cent. gardens over 62 per cent. See also "Modern Land Revenue" in Appendix XIII.

II. Coconut gardens—about 67 per cent. of the *pattam*.

Areca-nut	do.	53	do.	do.
Jack-tree	do.	69	do.	do.

3)189

Average for gardens 63¹ do. do.

III. Modan lands—about 32 per cent. of the gross produce.

Punam	do.	42	do.	do.
Ellu	do.	—market prices not available.		

In many cases, however, and over large tracts of country the assessment rates greatly exceeded these proportions, and swallowed up the whole of the *pattam*.

(b) Whereas now the assessments, owing to the enormous rise of late years in the prices of all kinds of produce, average no more than in the case of—

I. Wet lands—about 31 per cent. of the *pattam*.

II. Coconut gardens—about 18 per cent. of the *pattam*.

Areca-nut	do.	17	do.	do.
Jack-tree	do.	—present pattam rates not available.		

2)35

Average for garden. . 17 per cent. of the *pattam*.

III. Modan lands—about 7 per cent. of the gross produce.

Punam	do.	do.	4	do.	do.
Ellu	do.	do.	7	do.	do.

The various kinds of *pattam* adopted for revenue purposes in different parts of the district are fully explained in paragraphs 226, 226(a), 226(b), 227, 228, 290, 306 of Section (B) of this chapter.

The general result may be thus stated :—In some cases the *pattam* was at first wholly expropriated, and nearly everywhere the share taken of it as revenue was very large; whereas of late years, owing to the rise in prices, the share taken of it as land revenue has become very moderate.

The effect of this disturbance of the ancient system of customary sharing of the produce has next to be traced.

The Mysoreans made their land revenue settlements with the *kanakaras*. The reason of this was that the *janmis*—the Nambudiri Brahmans and petty chieftains of the Nayar caste—had fled from Malabar owing to the terror inspired by Hyder Ali's and Tippu's ferocious administrations, or if they remained in Malabar the same terror prevented them from ever trusting their persons at the Muhammadan cutcherries. "When, therefore," so wrote the Bengal

¹ Special Commissioners Graeme, working by different methods, found that these percentages came respectively to, wet lands fully 90 per cent. gardens over 62 per cent. See also "Modern Land Revenue" in Appendix XIII.

and Bombay Joint Commissioners¹ in 1793, "the system of establishing a general money rental, payable to these latter (the Mysore-reeans) was to be carried into execution, the local delegates of the Mysore Government had in general no other choice than to settle the assessment on each portion of territory with these *kanoomar*² or *kanumkar*,² who, making some reservation³ out of the gross produce for a payment to their *jennkaars*⁴ or landholders (which appears from Oodhut Roy's examination, entered in the Voucher No. 4, to have been in proportion of three-twentieths), together with a further deduction of about eleven-twentieths⁵ for their own support and profits and for the charges of cultivation, agreed to pay the residue, being about six-twentieths,⁶ to Government."

There is no doubt whatever that Oodhut Roy, a Mysorean Malvatta Revenue officer, misled the Joint Commissioners. The latter, acquainted only with European ideas on the subject of property *in the soil*, naturally enough looked on the *janmis* as European landed proprietor and on the *Kanakkarar* as "cultivating farmers." Mr. Farmer, one of the Commissioners, made some inquiries, and that was the result he obtained. But he seems to have been correctly informed as to the ancient system of the customary sharing of the produce which, in the case of wet lands, was thus described to him :—From the quantity of seed the produce was calculated according to the qualities of the soil. "Of this produce one-third was allowed to the farmer⁶ for his maintenance, profit, etc., one-third for the expenses of the *Tiyars*, *Cherumars* or other cultivators attached to the soil, one-third went as rent to the *jelmkaar*⁷ or landlord."

Understanding here by the word "produce" that net produce was meant,⁸ it will be seen that the parties interested in the soil divided the net produce among them *share and share alike*.

Again at an interview between Mr. Jonathan Duncan, President of the Joint Commission, and a number of influential *Mappillas*, the latter told Mr. Duncan that "since Hyder's time the right of the *jennkaars*⁹ had been taken or absorbed by Government," and consequently the *Mappilla kanakkarar* were at the time paying nothing to the *janmis* except what they gave them out of charity,

¹ For the settlement of Malabar on its cession by Tippu.

² The Joint Commissioner's spelling has been retained. The proper spelling is of course *kanakkarar*.

³ Special Commissioner Graeme's inquiry in 1818-22 proved conclusively that no such special reservation was made, except in two instances to benefit the Muhammadan community. Paras. 147 and 192 of Section (B) of this chapter.

⁴ This is the Joint Commissioner's spelling. The proper spelling is *janmakkarar* or shortly *janmi*.

⁵ It is perhaps needless to say in the light of the facts stated in Section (B) of this chapter that these are fanciful figures likewise.

⁶ Styled elsewhere by the Commissioners the "cultivating farmer" or *kanumkar*, i.e., *kanakkarar*.

⁷ Properly *janmakaran* or *janmi*.

⁸ *Conf.* para. 228 of Section (B) of this chapter.

⁹ i.e., *janmakars* or *janmis*.

and they specifically asserted that nothing had been reserved for the *janmis* in making the Mysorean land revenue settlement, and they denied that the *janmis* were "of right" entitled to anything.

This was the beginning of the serious misunderstanding of the *janmi's* true position in regard to the land, which has since, as already set forth in the beginning of this section, produced so much hardship to the classes beneath them. For the Joint Commissioners viewed the Mappilla assertions as a claim on their part to the *janmam* right itself, whereas it is clear that what they really meant was that the *janmis'* authority and customary share of produce had been "absorbed" by the Government, not by themselves.

It was long a matter of wonder and surprise among the earlier British administrators that the *Mappillas* had been so easily satisfied when all the *janmis* fled to Travancore. It was thought that they could then have easily seized the *janmam* right itself, that is, as it was then thought, the absolute ownership of the soil according to European ideas. What the *Mappillas* really did at this time was to advance small sums of money and to obtain deeds assigning to them large *kanam* rights.

Had *janmam* meant in those days *dominium*, as it does now, and had *kanam* meant a mere lease liable to cancellation every twelfth year, as it does now, it may be shrewdly guessed that the *Mappillas* would not have made such indifferent bargains.

But the fact was that a *kanakkaran* was as much the proprietor of the soil as the *janmi* himself was in former days. They were in short, as already set forth, CO-PROPRIETORS bound together in interest by admirable laws of custom.

The Joint Commissioners however looked on the *janmi* as the "owner"¹ of the soil, and on the *kanakkaran* as the owner's lessee, and as such liable to be turned out of the lands "when the time they leased them for expires," and on 28th October 1793 those views were embodied in a proclamation and promulgated throughout the district.

From that date forward the land disputes and troubles began, and the views above described of the Joint Commissioners were not the only causes contributing to the anarchy which ensued. The revenue management of the country was made over, on behalf of the Honourable Company, to the petty chiefs, who, freed by the irresistible power of the British Government from such ties as previously bound them, were only too eager to seize the opportunity of bettering themselves at the expense of those who had formerly been the mainstay of their power. Writing of the chiefs of North Malabar—but the same thing held good for those in the South—the Joint Commissioners observed "they have (stimulated, perhaps, in some degree by the uncertainty as to their future situations) acted, in their avidity to amass wealth, more as the scourgers and plunderers than as the protectors of their respective little States."

¹ See No. LXVIII, Part II, of Mr. Logan's "Collection of Treaties, etc., relating to British affairs in Malabar."—Calicut, 1879.

From 1792 till 1802 the district was in a state of constant disturbance from rebellions and organised robberies, and in these the *Mappillas* took a conspicuous part.

In 1803 Major Macleod, the first of the Collectors of Malabar, attempted in the short space of forty days to revise the land revenue of the district, and he also at the same time raised the rates of exchange. The fabrication of accounts, the over-assessment of produce, the assessment of produce that did not exist, the assessments imposed on wrong people, and the rigid exaction of the revenue under those inequalities were sufficient of themselves to raise a rebellion, but when to this was added that the ryots found to their astonishment, after paying in their *full* assessment in fanams, they had not, owing to very ill-advised changes in exchange rate, paid enough, the whole country rose *en masse*.

Major Macleod, with a view to lessen the excitement, summarily resigned his charge into the hands of Mr. Rickards, the First Judge of the Provincial Court then located at Mahe. Mr. Rickards had been employed in the district for some years, and was well acquainted with the people. His first steps were to cancel the revised assessment and to restore the former rates of exchange, and finally he took an early opportunity of calling together the principal *jammis* of South Malabar to confer on the important question of fixing the Government share of the produce.

The result of the deliberations is stated in detail in paragraphs 226, 226 (a), and 226 (b) of Section (B) of this chapter, and the proclamation embodying the details will be found in Appendix XV.

The net produce was ascertained in the customary method—this net produce was then assigned to the parties interested in the manner following :

<i>Wet lands.</i>	<i>Gardens.</i>
One-third to the cultivator.	One-third to the cultivator.
Two-fifths to the Government.	One-third to the Government.
Four-fifteenths to the <i>Janmi</i> .	One-third to the <i>Janmi</i> .

In regard to *Miscellaneous Lands* (*Modan, Panam and Ellu*) the sharing system generally adopted¹ was :—

Three-fifths of the gross produce to the cultivator.
One-fifth do. do. Government.
One-fifth do. do. <i>Janmi</i> .

Even Mr. Rickards seems to have been misled as to what "net produce" really meant, for Special Commissioner Graeme, who made a very full inquiry into the subject afterwards (1818-22), found² that there were besides customary shares of the produce deducted, at the time, for harvesting, threshing, etc., and for the carpenter, blacksmith, etc., amounting in all to about twenty per cent. of the gross produce, *which customary shares were, as a matter of*

¹ Paras. 232, 254, 273, 277, 278 of Section (B) of this chapter.

² *Conf.* Kolulabham in Appendix XII.

course, deducted from the gross produce, and did not form part of the gross produce distributed under the system adopted by Mr. Rickards in consultation with the *janmis*.

The scheme also failed to provide for the *kanakkaran's* customary share. The *kanakkar* were not, it seems, consulted at all in the matter. They were, it will be seen from what has been said above, entitled to a customary share equal to that of the *janmi*. But in this distribution scheme if the *kanakkaran's* position ever came up at all in the discussion, it must have been passed by with the reflection that he was a mortgagee, an investor of his money—which was to some extent true—and that he might be trusted to look after his own interests and investments.

The *janmi* was by this scheme finally and fully recognised as the lord of the soil after the European fashion.

This did not at the time matter very much to the *kanakkar*, because no immediate attempt was made to act upon the distribution scheme thus sanctioned, and indeed in many places the *janmis* were so heavily in debt¹ to the *kanakkar* at this time and for years afterwards that they were unable to pay off their claims. Even when Special Commissioner Graeme made his enquiry in 1818-22 the *kanakkar* were still in some places paying the *janmis* nothing (paragraph 551 of his report) and in other places were allowing the *janmis* only twenty per cent,² of the balance left over of the *puttam* after defraying the Government assessment and the interest on the sums advanced by them (the *kanakkar*) to the *janmis*. (Graeme's report, paragraphs 632, 732, 733, 734, 735, 802, 803.)

For years, therefore, it was a matter of hardly any importance to the *kanakkar* on what principles the Government assessment had been fixed. They were virtually in full enjoyment of their rights.

But about 1831-32 a most important change took place, for prices of produce began to rise.

Prices which were abnormally low just then rose in 1831-32 to about fifteen per cent. after the setting in of the rains. In the following year they again rose twelve per cent. Prices were again higher in 1833-34. Next year grain prices were a little lower, but garden produce more than maintained its position. The year following grain prices again fell, but garden produce prices were maintained. In 1836-37 grain quite recovered its position and garden produce fell considerably. In 1837-38 grain prices were maintained, while garden produce fully recovered its previous good position. And so it went on. There occurred a marked all round rise in the five years 1852-53 to 1856-57, and a still more marked rise³ all round in the three following years 1857-58 to 1859-60.

¹ Principal Collector Warden to the Board of Revenue, 12th September 1815, paragraph 12.

² In Ernad at least there seems to have been some agreement come to to this effect in 1790-91, and in 1818-22 Mr. Graeme mentions the facts that the courts were acting upon this custom in adjudging cases that arose. (Graeme's report, paragraphs 732-35) *Conf. Nikuti Sistam and Pattinnu randu* in Appendix XIII.

³ See para. 315 of Section (B) of this chapter.

Under such favourable circumstances the Government land revenue was of course, collected with great facility. This was first noticed in the year, 1832-33, and in 1833-34 the ease with which it was collected was still more noticeable. Since then the Collectors have had no difficulty in maintaining clean balance sheets.

But higher prices would enable the tenants to pay more to the *janmi* as well as to pay the Government demand with increasing ease, so a very material motive came into action straining the hitherto quiescent relations between the parties.

Unfortunately also, just before this rise in prices occurred, the parties interested in the soil had at last been brought face to face with, and enabled to realise, the innovations brought about in their relative positions by the British administration. This began in consequence of the inquiry set on foot by Special Commissioner Grieme in 1823 into "*actual rents*" as a basis for his scheme of fixing the Government assessment on wet lands. Sir W. Robinson's graphic account of the measures adopted to this end, and of their utter failure [paragraphs 266-68 of Section (B) of this chapter] gives some insight into the burning jealousies and strife thus engendered. The country teemed with false deeds, the courts were crowded with litigants. These heartburnings and disputes had no time to subside, for in 1833 there was commenced another similar inquiry by the same agency, and this continued for no less than ten years or till 1843.

It must have been at this time that the parties interested began to realise the enormous changes wrought by European ideas of property in their relative positions, and it is a very significant and ominous fact pointing in this direction that on the 26th November 1836—at a time when, looking at the high prices obtained for their produce, the cultivators one would have thought had every reason to be satisfied—there occurred *the first of the Mappilla outrages* reported¹ on by Special Commissioner Strange in 1852.

From that time down to the 14th September 1857 thirty-eight such outrages or attempted outrages occurred, including among the number the one which, shortly after Mr. Strange's special commission, resulted fatally to the Collector Mr. Conolly.

In reporting on these fanatical outrages Mr. Strange forcibly pointed² out that by means of fanaticism "the power of the *Mappilla* caste and the prostration of those of the adverse persuasion have been much advanced, and out of this substantial benefits to the aggressive body have arisen." And again, "the evil has become deep-rooted in the country, and being based not on simple delusion merely, but upon actual criminality and prospect of gain, it will not of itself expire;" and he continued, "even the desire for plunder may prove a sufficient motive for the organisation of these outbreaks, some having already largely profited in this way;" and finally, "they will be more and more directed against the landed proprietors."

¹ Paras. 399-407 of his report.

² Paras. 38 and 39 of his report.

He found ¹ that in one instance the relatives of certain of the fanatics avowed "that it was a religious merit to kill landlords who might eject tenants," and in Mr. Collett's (the Special Assistant Magistrate's) report on the first of the Kulattur outrages (22nd August 1851) there occurs the following very significant passage :— "The most perverted ideas on the doctrine of martyrdom, according to the Koran, universally prevail and are fostered among the lower classes of the *Mappillas*. The late inquiries have shown that there is a notion prevalent among the lower orders that, according to the Mussulman religion, the fact of a *janmi* or landlord having, IN DUE COURSE OF LAW, ejected from his lands a mortgagee² or other substantial tenant, is a sufficient pretext to murder him, become *sahid* (or saint), and so ensure the pleasures of the Muhammadan paradise. This opinion has been openly stated before me by *Mappillas*, some indeed making a distinction as to whether the ejection was accomplished by fraud or otherwise, but others believing that the fact of the tenant being thus reduced to poverty was sufficient." And the same feeling is more than ³ once alluded to in the correspondence on the subject. Mr. Strange further pointed ⁴ out :—"The spirit prevailing against the landlords I have remarked, as found by me, to be very strong, and *greed of land* unquestionably inflames it." Finally it is well known that the favorite text of the banished Arab Priest or Tangal—Saiyid Fazl—in his Friday orations at the mosque in Tirurangadi was :—"It is no sin, but a merit, to kill a *janmi* who evicts."

"*The land is with the Hindus, the money with the Mappillas*," observed ⁵ Mr. Strange, so to get the land the *Mappillas* in his view encouraged fanaticism.

That "*greed of land*" inflamed the movement there can be no manner of doubt, but, in the light of what has been set forth above, it may be permitted to question the accuracy of Mr. Strange's conclusion that this greed was exhibited *by the Mappillas alone*.

The real fact seems to have been that the *janmis*, influenced partly by the rise in the prices of produce and partly by the novel views of the courts as to their real position, had at last begun to feel their power as LORDS OF THE SOIL and to exercise it through the courts. The *Mappillas*, who had been peacefully in possession of the lands since the time of Hyder Ali's conquest, felt it no doubt as a bitter grievance that the *janmis* should have obtained power to evict them—a power which did not intrinsically belong to them—and the influential men among them, looking about for means to protect themselves, set fanaticism in motion, and at first experienced great benefits from it.

¹ Para. 39 of his report.

² i.e., a *Kanakkaran*.

³ *Mappilla Outrages Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 194, 195, 205, 355, 360, 451, 453.

⁴ Report, para. 39.

⁵ Report, para. 28.

Mr. Strange holding, or perhaps rather never suspecting the accuracy of, the view that the *janmi* was really the *Lord of the Soil*, did not much concern himself with the land question. He suggested that the Sadr Adalat should issue the circular of 5th August 1856 already referred to defining the law as then held by the Honourable the Judges, and on three points he suggested that amendments in the practice of the courts should be made. These were—(1) that the fine on renewal of the *kanam* deed should not be taken oftener than once in twelve years; (2) that the fees of various descriptions, but of a petty nature, should be regulated; and (3) that *melkanam* (an advance on the *kanam* debt) should not operate to a tenant's disadvantage during the currency of his *kanam* lease.

He directed his main efforts towards the repression of the rampant fanaticism, and the chief measures finally sanctioned may be shortly described as (1) a sort of permanent repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act in so far as the *Mappillas* are concerned in all disturbed tracts, and (2) the fining up to total confiscation of property, if necessary, of all *Mappillas* resident within the limits of portions of the disturbed district.

The Government of India, when passing the first of the *Mappilla* Outrages Act, observed: "Within that period" (the period of five years, to which the operation of the Act was first of all limited) "it is hoped these fanatical outrages will be entirely suppressed by means of the increased powers conferred upon the Government of Madras and the judicial authorities, and by the establishment of the proposed police corps, and that the continuance of the Acts will be no longer necessary."

This was written on the 31st March 1854, and unfortunately the Act does still remain on the Statute Book.

The policy of repression failed to fulfil its objects, and outrages or attempts at outrage have, notwithstanding the enormous penalties of the repressive Act, unfortunately occurred on 19th February 1858, 8th July 1860, 4th February 1864, 17th September 1865, 8th September 1873, June 1874, 20th March 1877, June 1879, 9th September 1880, December 1880, July 1884, 27th December 1884, 2nd May 1885, and 11th August 1885.

The exhibition of fanaticism on these occasions is still used as a means towards an end, and Mr. Strange's description of the results is still true—"The power of the *Mappilla* caste, and the prostration of those of the adverse persuasion have been much advanced, and out of this substantial benefits to the aggressive body have arisen." Fanaticism through the *fear* inspired by its exhibition exalts the *Mappilla* religion, and this carries with it the exaltation of the *Mappilla* caste. This exaltation of the *Mappilla* caste enables them to make better terms with their *janmis*. The *janmis* do not *fear* the Hindus as a caste. Therefore Hindu tenants have to submit to terms which *Mappilla* tenants would not endure. And finally the result is that there is a steady movement whereby in all the *Mappilla* tracts the land is passing slowly but surely into the possession of the *Mappillas* and the Hindus are going to the wall.

Out of 14,034 pieces of land examined by Mr. Logan in the course of his inquiry as Special Commissioner in 1881 it was found that—

The cultivator held direct from the <i>janmi</i> ..	10,328
Do. from intermediaries	
between himself and the <i>janmi</i>	3,706
Total ..	14,034

These 10,328 pieces of land were held on the following tenures :—

	NOS.
I. Permanent tenures with or without rent ..	338
II. Tenures with advances secured on the land but without rent, not liable to renewal fees at fixed intervals (<i>Otti</i>)	33
III. Tenures with advances secured on the land but without rent, liable to renewal fees at fixed intervals (<i>Quasi-otti</i>)	26
IV. Tenures with advances secured on the land, and with rent, not liable to renewal fees at fixed intervals (<i>Quasi-kanam</i>) ..	23
V. Tenures with advances secured on the land, and with rent, liable to renewal fees at fixed intervals (<i>Kanam</i>)	3,472
VI. Mortgages with or without rent for definite or indefinite periods (<i>Panayam</i>) ..	123
VII. Leases for twelve years or more (<i>Verum pattam</i>)	972
VIII. Leases for more than one year and less than twelve years	2,752
IX. Leases for one year or at will	2,589
Total ..	10,328

Similarly the 3,706 pieces held by the cultivators through intermediaries gave the following results :—

—			Held by intermediaries.	Held by cultivators from intermediaries.
			NOS.	NOS.
Under Tenure	I as above ..		86	7
" "	II " ..		131	19
" "	III " ..		9	..
" "	IV " ..		78	..
" "	V " ..		2,976	443
" "	VI " ..		194	399
" "	VII " ..		86	245
" "	VIII " ..		109	233
" "	IX " ..		37	2,360
Total ..			3,706	3,706

The *kanam* tenure is being steadily abandoned in favor of ordinary leases and more particularly in favor of leases from year to year or at will.

As regards the length of possession by the cultivators of the 14,034 pieces of land examined, the general results were found to be as follows :—The largest proportion (over forty-three per cent.) of the *grain cultivators* have held possession of their lands for less than twelve years. The next largest proportion of them (over thirty-four per cent.) have been in possession for over thirty years. Whereas in regard to the *garden cultivators* these proportions are exactly reversed ; forty-three per cent. having been in possession over thirty years, while over thirty per cent. have held their lands for periods under twelve years.

The statistics in regard to eviction suits supplied the following very suggestive figures :—

Quinquennial periods.	Average annual number of		
	<i>Suits of</i> eviction.	<i>Persons</i> against whom eviction was decreed.	<i>Persons</i> against whom rent was decreed. ¹
1862-66 ..	2,039	1,891	1,473
1867-71 ..	2,547	3,483	2,549
1872-76 ..	3,974	6,286	4,314
1877-80 ..	4,983	8,335	6,498

These figures prove that in the nineteen years preceding Mr. Logan's inquiry evictions had been steadily on the increase. Eviction does not however necessarily follow on a decree for eviction. The *janmis* have by this power of eviction been simply forcing up rents, which were formerly very moderate by force of *custom*. If the tenant agreed to enhancement of his rent then eviction did not usually follow on the decree against him. But if he refused he was ejected and a more amenable tenant took his place.

The complaints against these eviction proceedings were both numerous and bitter, and ranged themselves under a few general heads, the chief complaints being of eviction :—(a) from ancestral lands ; (b) on demand of the land by the *janmi* ; (c) just as the trees begin to bear ; (d) after due payment of renewal fees ; (e) before being permitted to reap standing crops ; (f) for refusing to permit tenants' trees to be cut by the *janmi* ; (g) for refusing to give up the *janmam* title to other lands ; (h) for sending petitions of complaint ; (i) of widows and orphans.

On only three out of ninety-eight estates examined in the low country taluks, it was found that the cultivators were enjoying the share of produce set apart for them under Mr. Rickards' scheme

¹ Exclusive of those sued in the Small Cause Courts.

of assessment ; on all the others, the cultivators' shares of produce had been encroached upon most seriously in most cases and most outrageously in some.

Consequently complaints of excessive rent and excessive renewal fees were very common and well founded in most instances.

Another very important subject of complaint was the inadequacy of the rates paid to the ryots for "improvements" when being evicted from their holdings. The cause of this has been already explained : the customary rates for improvements were the rates at which the *janmi's* share of produce had to be bought, and not at all the value of the ryots' interest in his holding. When he (the ryot) wished to get rid of *that* (his interest in his holding) he sold it at its full market value, *and* this he does still though the *janmi's* power of ouster has greatly neutralised the value of the privilege.

Among other miscellaneous matters complained of were the following :—(a) The insecurity to purchasers of *kanam* rights. This was a very well-founded complaint looking to the practical permanency of the tenure in former times, and the tenant's free power of transfer of his interest in his holding. (b) Breaches of contract to renew *kanam* deeds. The system of renewal as now developed is an outrageous system of forehand renting requiring extravagant sums to be paid down on entry or renewal. These extravagant payments having exhausted the tenants' resources and tenants' credit, they cannot readily raise such sums. Renewal fees are, therefore now paid in dribbles as the money can be scraped together, and the *janmi* frequently ignores such payments and gives away the land over the tenant's head, thus forfeiting the payments made for which receipts are never given. (c) Having obtained his renewal deed, the tenant is still not left at peace, for, under the guise of extra payments, fines, gifts, demands of produce, etc., and subscriptions he has to contribute in many illegal ways to his *janmi's* comfort and convenience. If he refuses, he is evicted at the next periodical renewal. (d) The courts having viewed the *kanakkaran's* advance to his *janmi* as having been made to secure payment of the rent (*pattam*) and as having been also made on the security of the land, it follows that the tenant cannot be ousted for allowing rent (*pattam*) to fall into arrears, and if rent is allowed to fall into arrears it can be recovered when the *kanam* advance is paid off at the end of the tenant's term of occupation. This being so it has become usual to write off from five to fourteen years' arrears of rent from the *kanam* advance at the end of the term of occupation. In one case, that of a poor widow, nineteen years' arrears of rent were so written off, the tenant being unable to produce receipts for the rent. (e) Very numerous and well-founded were, the complaints that it is usually impossible to obtain receipts for rent paid. (f) The *janmis'* managers were as a body impeached, and with good show of reason, for fraudulent dealings in various ways with the tenants under them.

This brief sketch of some of the contents of Mr. Logan's report on the land tenures brings matters down to the present day, and the following conclusions seem to be justified :—

I. The original Malayali system of land tenure was a system of customary sharing of the produce, each customary sharer being permitted the free transfer of his interest in the land.

II. Under British rule one of these customary sharers has been exalted into the position of a European proprietor holding the *plenum dominium* as the Romans called it.

III. The other customary co-sharers have consequently been gradually pushed to the wall and do not now receive their customary shares, and their right of free transfer of their interests has been virtually expropriated.

IV. The insecurity to the ryots thus occasioned has resulted in fanatical outrages by *Mappillas* and in a great increase of crime.

The remedies to be applied are still (1886) under the consideration of the Government of Madras.

Section (B).

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

EXAMINATION OF THE PRINCIPLES WHICH REGULATE THE LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENTS IN MALABAR AS BEARING ON THE SUBJECT OF RENT.

SUB-SECTION I.—PRELIMINARY REMARKS AND PLAN.

The objects which have necessitated the preparation of this

Objects of this paper¹ are mainly two, viz. :—

(a) To ascertain, first, by reference to the past Revenue History of Malabar, the proportions which the land revenue assessments bear to the fund available out of the net produce of the land, for paying a rent to the proprietor and an assessment to Government.

(b) To discover, in the second place, whether these proportions are anywhere so oppressive at the present time, as to take from the people more of the produce than by the fixed principles regulating the assessments the Government intended to take.

The former object is merely precedent to the latter. Regarding the latter, it was absolutely necessary to obtain accurate and exact notions, before proceeding to the main object of the present Commission, the consideration of the existing state of the relations between cultivators, intermediaries, and proprietors. It is sufficiently obvious, and, moreover, it has always been recognized that private property in land

¹ NOTE.—This paper formed Appendix II to Mr. Logan's Report on the Malabar Land Tenures.

in this country depends on the share of the produce which remains to the cultivator, after satisfying the demands of Government. The administrations, Muhammadan and others, prior to the British, on the East Coast of the Presidency, had practically abolished private landed estates by raising the Government

The British policy has been to restore property in land. This has, perhaps, already proceeded enough.

demands so as to absorb the whole of the surplus produce. The policy of the British Government has hitherto been to restore property in land on that coast. Evidence is not wanting (*see* the Famine Commissioners' Report) that that policy of restoring landed property has, perhaps, already proceeded far enough. The lessons to be learnt by an attentive study of the progress of events in Malabar, where the condition of landed property designed for the East Coast has never ceased to exist, may, perhaps, be found to be under such circumstances capable of more general application, and, at any rate as regards Malabar itself, it is absolutely necessary to a proper understanding of the land tenures, that exact ideas should first be obtained regarding the shares of produce which Government leaves to be divided between the private individuals interested in the land.

2. Some reasons will be found set forth elsewhere [Section (A) of this Chapter] for thinking that the idea hitherto

Contrary to the view usually accepted, Malabar probably at first had a land revenue assessment like all other Indian countries.

generally received that in ancient times there was no such thing as a land assessment in Malabar is, after all, a mistaken one. Knowledge on this subject is at present extremely limited, and it is now doubtful whether the point, if it is eventually cleared up, will hereafter be of any other than

antiquarian interest. It will be sufficient for the present purpose here to observe that the position occupied by the Kanakkars in ancient society, will repay the best study that can be devoted to it, and that it will almost certainly turn out that the proceedings, which will be found hereinafter detailed in due course, of the Kolattiri Raja in 1736-37 in Kolattunad, and of the Zamorin Raja a few years later in the Palghat country, were not after all, as hitherto usually accepted, the first essays to assess a land tax in Malabar.

3. Before proceeding to give in detail an account of the measures adopted, first by Hyder Ali and Tippu and after-

Necessity for reference to certain preliminary matters.

wards by the Honourable Company, for introducing a regular land tax throughout the district, it will be necessary to advert to some preliminary matters necessary to the correct appreciation of

those measures.

4. First, as to the Malayali mode of determining, or rather of stating, the extent of grain-crop lands, it appears

The Malayali mode of stating the extent of grain-crop lands

that Malabar has preserved on this point (as on so many others) the traditional custom of other parts of the Continent. The quantity of seed grain

is by the quantity of seed required to sow them.

but, on the other hand, the quantity of seed required for any particular field is, other things being equal, pretty constant, and the

Reason for this.

Custom, and not competition, distributed the produce in former times.

each field should be known in order that it might be distributed by custom; and hence the adoption of a mode of stating areas, which, under any other system, would have presented difficulties.

which it takes to sow a certain field, depends so much on the quality of the soil that it is impossible to form from it any but the very roughest approximation to the extent of the field, the quantity of seed required for any particular field is, other things being equal, pretty constant, and the outturn multiple being pretty constant also, the gross produce of the field is easily calculated. It will be seen from the paper on Tenures [Section (A) of this Chapter] that custom—and not, as in these modern days, competition—ruled everything: it was essential that the gross produce of each field should be known in order that it might be distributed by custom; and hence the adoption of a mode of stating areas, which, under any other system, would have presented difficulties.

5. As regards gardens, the produce of which, as in the case of grain lands, was likewise ruled by custom, it had been usual to count the fruitful trees only and to form an estimate of their produce for distribution in the allotted shares. A garden, therefore, came to be known as a garden of so many coco, areca, or jack trees, and of so many pepper-vines.

6. The subject of *pattam* or so-called rent has been considered, as fully as the extent of present knowledge will permit under the head of Tenures, and nothing more is required here than to observe that when the Mysoreans descended into Malabar under Hyder Ali, they found, as it were, a system made ready to hand for easily and quickly assessing a land tax. The seed sown on each field, the gross produce of the field, the shares into which this gross produce was divided, the number of fruitful trees in a garden, the produce of the garden and the customary shares of it were all points which were, and it may be added are still, known to the most illiterate husbandman; and it was with the husbandmen, and not with the landlords, that the settlement was made. (Paragraph 196 of the Joint Commissioners' Report, 1793). That settlement proceeded (as will be seen further on) nearly everywhere on the plan of taking for the Government a certain portion of the *pattam* or so-called rent paid by the husbandman.

6a. Finally, it has been too often and too easily assumed in many public reports that the Mysorean settlement of a land tax proceeded on a definite system, and was carried out completely and universally on such a system. The good but unfortunate Mysorean Governor Arshad Beg Khan's name has been too often quoted as the official who, at least in South Malabar, carried out this system; but it will be seen presently what was in reality the part that he played. The country was not settled enough for the introduction of any systematic

The Mysorean settlement was not systematic.

Arshad Beg Khan's share in it.

and complete plan, and the Mysoreans, even under Hyder's strict rule, were not the persons to introduce such a scheme if it had been elaborated.

7. The Bengal and Bombay Joint Commissioners, in 1792-93, obtained from a Brahman named Jinnea a statement purporting to give details of Arshad Beg Khan's settlement of the southern portion of the district for the year 1784-85, and on this the Joint Commissioners proceeded (paragraphs 39, 41, 42, 196 to 200 and 269 to 278) to discuss the principles on which that settlement was based, and being satisfied with its general correctness, they directed (paragraph 458) its adoption in the southern districts. It was conclusively ascertained, however, by Mr. Commissioner Græme in 1822 that the Joint Commissioners had been misled into believing that the settlement was more orderly and systematic than the reality proved it to be. The Brahman Jinnea's statement had set forth that so many measures of seed sown produced so many rupees, and so many fruitful trees produced so many more rupees. The Joint Commissioners thereupon judged that the Mysore settlement had been fixed at certain money rates per measure of seed sown and per fruitful tree respectively, which rates they ascertained by dividing the total revenue from wet lands and the total revenue from gardens by the number of measures of seed sown and by the number of fruitful trees respectively. Mr. Græme in 1818-22 found, however, by comparing Jinnea's account with certain others subsequently prepared, that the discrepancies in regard to "seed sown" and "fruitful trees" were enormous.

The Joint Commissioners, in 1792-1793, were misled by a Brahman called Jinnea.

Mr. Græme pointed out the inconsistencies in Jinnea's account.

In South Malabar except Palghat.	Number of paras of seed sown.	Outturn multiple.	Gross produce.
As per Jinnea's account ..	704,645	10	7,046,450
As per the Jamabandi of 1800-1 founded on Jinnea's account.	782,194	10	7,821,940
As per the Janmi Pymaish account given in by the people themselves in 1805-6.	1,865,040	about 6	11,262,125

So also with cocoanut trees.

In South Malabar, excluding Palghat and Temmalapuram.	Number of productive trees.
As per Jinnea's account ..	733,591
As per English Surveys made between 1793-4 and 1800-1.	1,273,138
As per Major Macleod's Survey, 1801-2 ..	1,452,816
As per the account which regulated the collections up to the end of 1804-5.	1,306,735
As per the Janmi Pymaish account prepared by the people themselves in 1805-6.	2,033,905

It is unnecessary to go into further details regarding the other garden productions, except to say that the Joint Commissioners' calculations as to the rates of assessment were equally erroneous regarding them. Mr. Græme, after satisfying himself that "it would be delusive to regard the principles of assessment pointed out in that Report" (Joint Commissioners' Report, 1793) "as correct," proceeded on a four years' tour through the different districts of Malabar and collected most of the details which will be found below relating to the period prior to 1823.

8. It may be stated as the general result of Mr. Græme's enquiries that he found Jinnea's account to be as misleading as he at first suspected it to be; and he found that the rates which had been deduced therefrom by the Joint Commissioners had been applied to "a factitious seed of assessment" and to "an artificial tree of account" respectively. The Mysorean officials, it would seem, imposed an apparently severe tax on the "seed of assessment" and "fruitful tree" respectively, probably for the sake of throwing dust in the eyes of the people at headquarters in Mysore, while in reality, in distributing the lump sums thus assessed on particular districts, they found congenial and remunerative employment in fixing the assessments on individuals. The rates were so heavy that, even when an attempt was made to assess the lands fairly, the quantity of seed sown and the number of productive trees *had to be understated* in order to find an assessment which the lands could bear. And of course this under-estimating of the capabilities of the land was not procured for nothing. Individuals who could manage to square the officials got off with comparative immunity, while those who could not do so had their lands excessively assessed. Much has been done since to equalize the assessments, but the commutation rates have since become so favourable to the cultivators that many inequalities which would otherwise have come to the surface (so to speak) have remained hidden, and it is only when local investigations are made into existing facts that the immense differences which do really still exist, especially as respects the wet lands, are laid bare.

9. Notwithstanding, then its great inequalities in regard to individuals, it was Arshad Beg Khan's so-called Jamabandi which was adopted by the Bengal and Bombay Joint Commissioners. In the Southern Districts, it continued to be the standard to which all partial revisions of assessments were made to approximate, until Mr. Græme's elaborate

Arshad Beg
Khan's so-called
Jamabandi was
adopted by the Joint
Commissioners,

and it continues down to the present day to influence materially the land revenue in South Malabar.

In North Malabar the system in force was understood by the Joint Commissioners to lead to the same results, and it, too, is to some extent in force down to the present day.

investigation (1818-22) put fresh materials into the hands of Government. As regards wet lands, it will be seen in the course of this narrative that the so-called Arshad Beg Khan's settlement continues even down to the present day to be the standard in the southern portion of the district, while in the north the settlement adopted under orders of the Joint Commissioners (Report paragraph 459), though differing in details from Arshad Beg Khan's was, understood to lead to the same results, and it, too, remains to a considerable extent to influence down to the present day the collections from wet lands in North Malabar.

9a. It only remains to add that the revenues of North Malabar

North Malabar was managed by its chieftains as *quasi-Zemindars* under the Mysoreans.

This system continued under British,

but owing to accumulation of arrears it was gradually abolished.

The Joint Commission.

The Supravisors.

The second Commission.

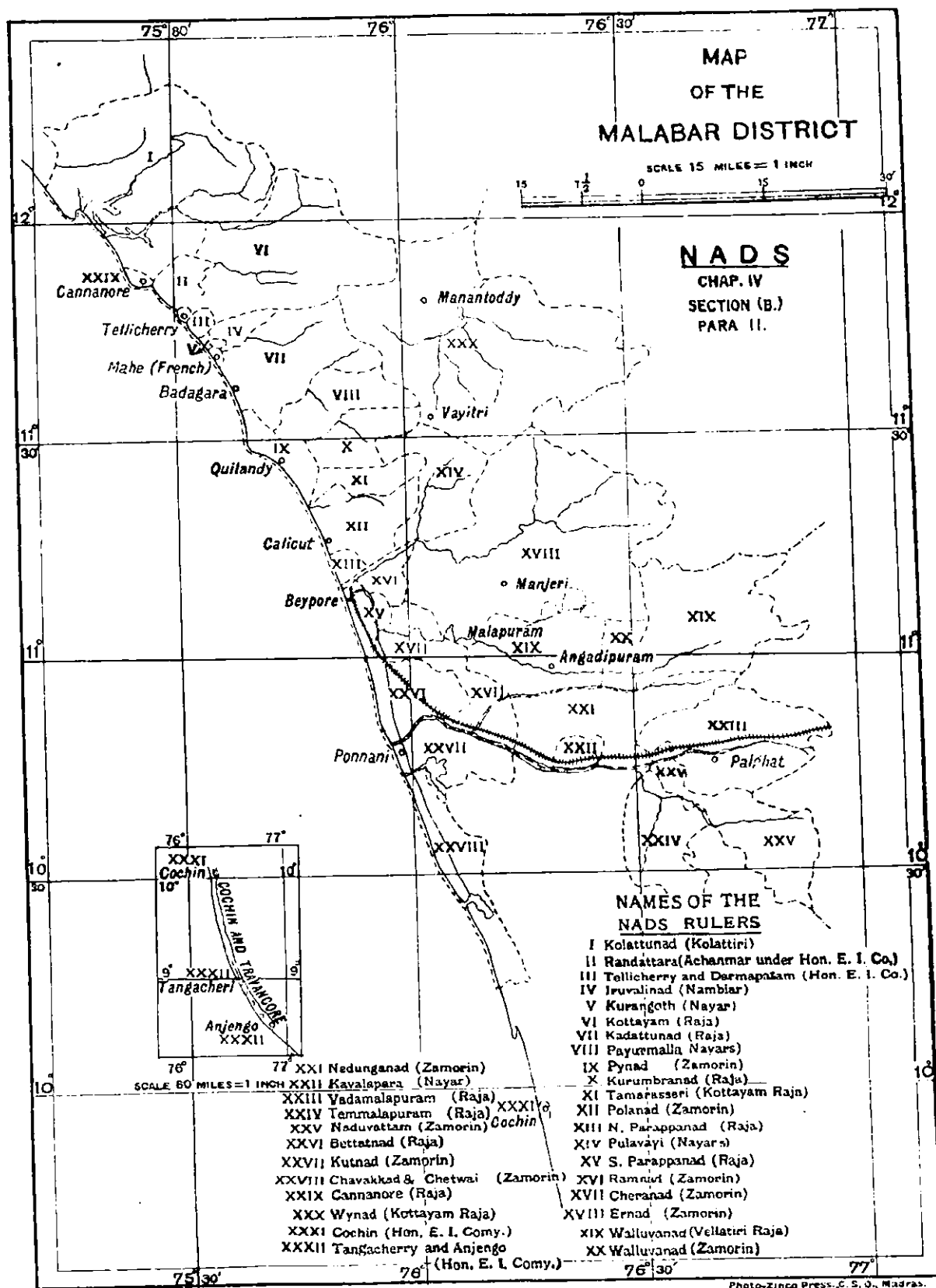
Transfer from Bombay to Madras. Major Macleod the first Principal Collector.

Scheme of arrangement for the historical details which follow.

were to a great extent managed by the respective chieftains of that part of the country as *quasi-Zemindars* during the Mysorean occupation, while South Malabar was more or less directly under the management of Mysorean officials. During the first years of the Honourable Company's Government, each Nad was respectively managed for longer or shorter periods by its hereditary chieftain. Owing, however, to the accumulation of arrears of revenue, which on 30th September 1801 had reached the large amount of over Rs. 11,40,000, this system of management was gradually abolished. On the winding up of the first or Joint Commission of Bengal and Bombay Officers who controlled the district during 1792 and part of 1793, a Supravisor with two Superintendents under him constituted the executive authority. This system remained in force till May 1796, when a second Commission was sent down to execute the office of Supravisor. This Commission continued till Malabar was transferred from the Bombay to the Madras Presidency, and Major Macleod was appointed the first Principal Collector in 1801.

10. In arranging the following historical details it will be best to adopt a uniform scheme, and the one that seems best to suit the subject is--

(a) To take up one by one, proceeding from north to south, the different Nads or districts into which Malabar was divided at the time of the Mysorean conquest, and to set out in regard to each, as briefly as possible, the series of measures which were introduced therein, first under the Mysore and afterwards under the British Government, down to the year 1805-6, after which year the low-country portion of the district was treated on an uniform and systematic plan as regards land revenue.



(b) The measures adopted subsequently to 1805-6 in the low^r country taluks will then be detailed.

(c) The exceptional cases of (1) Cannanore and the Laccadive Islands, (2) Wynad, (3) Cochin, (4) Tangacherry and Anjengo will finally be dealt with.

Moreover, in order to secure clearness, it will be necessary, in treating of each Nad, to detail under the separate heads of—

- I. Wet Lands,
- II. Garden Lands,
- III. Miscellaneous Lands,

the measures adopted in regard to each. This plan will lead to some repetition, but it is impossible otherwise to prevent confusion in detail.

SUB-SECTION II.—HISTORICAL FACTS DOWN TO 1805-6 RELATING TO THE LOW-COUNTRY.

Sketch Map of Nads. 11. The accompanying rough sketch map will enable any one to pick out, at a glance, the particular portion of the district dealt with.

(1) KOLATTUNAD.

12. The domain in which the Kolattiri or Chirakkal family was regarded as the suzerain comprised the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Chirakkal, viz. :—

Limits of Kolat-
tanad.

Payyannur.	Kurumattur.	Kalliasseri.
Vellur.	Taliparamba.	Moraya.
Karuvellur.	Pattuvam.	Kayaralam.
Korom.	Elom.	Kuttiyattur.
Eramam.	Cherutalam.	Maniyur.
Kuttur.	Kunynyimangalam.	Munderi.
Kuttiyeri.	Madayi.	Cheleri.
Chulali.	Mattul.	Kannadiparamba.
Kanyileri.	Cherukunnu.	Chirakkal.
Kalliad.	Kannapuram.	Alikod.
Malapattam.	Irinava.	Pulati.
Koyyam.	Pappinisseri.	Elayavur.

Wet Lands.

13. In 1731-32 the Kolattiri dominions were invaded by the Bodnur Raja's forces, and the Kolattiri Raja had in consequence to impose a tax of 20 per cent. of the pattam (rent) on all rice-lands.

14. From this time forward the Kolattiri Raja was in straits for money to settle the Bodnur Raja's demands, and the country seems to have been twice at least invaded afterwards.

Invasion of the
Bodnur Raja.

15. In 1765-66 Hyder Ali descended into Kolattunad. The country was in a distracted state : sometimes in 1765-66. Hyder's possession, sometimes in the Raja's, and sometimes in the hands of the Cannanore Bibi, and 30 per cent. of the pattam (rent) was imposed.
16. This continued till 1776-77, when Ramalinga Pillay, an officer of Hyder's, sent one Koonjamaram Pillay, 1776-77. his gumasta or deputy, who fixed an assessment on each field at the rate of 50 per cent. of the pattam.
17. In 1777-80 Hyder exacted an annual tribute or Nuzzur of Rs. 4,00,000, and people say that 100 per cent. of 1777-80. the pattam (rent) was taken to make good the demand.
18. In 1781-83 the Raja exacted 50 per cent. 1781-83. of the pattam (rent), taking the paddy in kind.
19. In 1783 one Harpenhully Venkappa made 1783. some alteration, but what it was, is not clear.
20. In 1785-88 Tippu, while the country was in possession of the Raja, sent a Commission to make a survey 1785-88. and to detect frauds, and the assessment was fixed at 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent), commuted into money at Rs. 40 per 1,000 seers of paddy. This commutation rate was increased to Rs. 41½ per 1,000 seers because of the substitution in the revenue collections of the Sultani fanam (3½ to the rupee) for the fanam current in the country.
21. In 1788-89 the people deserted the 1788-89. country owing to Tippu's attempts at wholesale Islamism.
22. In 1790-92 the revenue was managed by the Raja, and the assessment was 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent), 1790-92. taken in kind for rice-lands.
23. In 1792-93 a survey was made by the Company's and Raja's servants, and the Raja alleged that he collected only 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent). 1792-93.
24. A deficiency occurring in the collections, 1798-99. The Hon'ble Company assume direct management. the Company in 1798-99 assumed the direct management.
25. In 1799-1800 Mr. Hodgson, the Sub-Collector, made a settlement on the principle of taking 50 per cent. 1799-1800. of the pattam, commuted into money at Rs. 41½ per 1,000 seers of paddy.
26. It had been customary for the inhabitants to give 10 seers 1799-1801. per Potipad (Poti = 30 seers ; Potipad = land requiring 30 seers to sow it), under the denomination of Potipattu (literally, 10 per poti), for the use of the Devas-vam or Hindu temples. In 1799-1800 or 1800-1 half of this

Potipattu, or (say $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the pattam) was assumed on behalf of Government at the ordinary commutation of Rs. $41\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000 seers.

27. It had also been customary for the proprietors to give for
 1799-1801. every 100 seers of pattam (rent) 16 seers, under
 the names of Veli nellu (paddy for hedges) and
 Kythee nellu (grain for ropes), for raising hedges and providing
 ropes for keeping out and fastening up cattle which strayed into the
 rice-fields. In 1799-1800 or in 1800-1 half of this also was assumed
 by Government at the ordinary commutation rate (Rs. $41\frac{1}{2}$ for
 1,000 seers).

28. In 1801-2 Major Macleod, the first Principal Collector of the
 1801-2. district, made a survey. Owing to the rebellion
 which arose, the survey was rescinded and
 Mr. Rickards, the second Principal Collector, reverted to the assess-
 ment of 1800-1.

29. In 1805-6 Mr. Warden, the third Principal Collector, for the
 1805-6. purpose of carrying out the scheme of assessment
 proposed by Mr. Rickards and approved by
 Government (see Appendix XV), obtained a return from all pro-
 prietors of the seed, produce, etc., of all their fields. This return is
 usually known as the Janmi Pymaish of 981 M.E. On receipt of
 the returns for this Nad, the assessments, which were found to fall
 short of the proper proportion (50 per cent.) of the pattam (rent),
 were raised, but excesses similarly ascertained were not similarly
 reduced.

Garden Lands.

30. It will be unnecessary to do more than refer to the following
 A.D. 1731-92. dates and paragraphs of this note for a description
 of the circumstances under which the revenue
 share of the pattam on gardens was, like that on rice-lands, assessed
 at the following rates :—

1731-32, paragraph 13	..	20 per cent.
1731-65, do. 14		
1765-66, do. 15	..	30 per cent.
1776-77, do. 16	..	50 per cent.
1777-80, do. 17	..	100 per cent.
1781-83, do. 18	..	50 per cent. (Pepper was taken in kind).
1783, do. 19		
1790-92, do. 22	..	50 per cent. (Taken in money.)

31. Between 1792 and 1798-99 the Raja, who continued at this
 1792-99. period to collect the revenue, had increased the
 percentage of assessment on garden produce to
 60 per cent, of the pattam, except on pepper, which remained at

50 per cent. The pattam was ascertained by taking 20 per cent. of the gross produce as the tenant's share, except as regards pepper, the tenant's share of which was not properly ascertained. The commutation rates for the produce were—

Cocoanuts	.. ..	Rs. 10-0-0 per 1,000 nuts.
Betel-nuts	.. ..	Re. 0-6-4 do.
Jacks	.. ..	Six-tenths of pattam, whatever the number of trees might be.
Pepper	.. ..	Rs. 130-0-0 per candy of 640 lb.

32. In 1805-6 (as in the case of wet lands, paragraph 20 above) ascertained deficiencies in the proper proportion (50 per cent.) of the pattam (rent) on garden lands were raised on receipt of the Janmi Pymaish account of 981 M.E., but similarly ascertained excesses were not similarly reduced.

Miscellaneous Lands.

33. In 1776-77 *Pattada* crops (rice grown on uplands, similar to the Modan of South Malabar) were assessed in 1776-77. Modam. the Elom, Madayi, Cherutalam and Kunyimangalam Amsams at 30 per cent. of the gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 35 per 1,000 local seers, and in the other portions of the Nad at 40 per cent. of gross produce commuted at the same rate.

34. And in the same year (1776-77) *Punam* crops (rice and other grains and pulses, and occasionally some cotton grown on jungle lands felled annually for the purpose) were similarly assessed at 30 per cent. of the gross produce in the Elom, Madayi, Cherutalam and Kunyimangalam Amsams, and at 40 per cent. of the gross produce in the rest of the Nad; and the commutation rate was the same throughout, viz., Rs. 35 per 1,000 local seers as in the case of *Pattada*.

35. Likewise, in the same year (1776-77), *Ellu* crops (gingelly-oil seed) were assessed throughout the Nad at 1776-77. Ellu. 20 per cent. of the gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 40 per 1,000 local seers.

(2) RANDATARA.

36. *Randatara* (or, as it is sometimes called, *Poyanadu* in reference to the tradition that it was from this Nad that Cheraman Perumal took his final departure on his journey to Mecca) comprised the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Chirakkal :—

Limits of Randatara.

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| 1. Edakad. | 5. Anjarakandi. |
| 2. Chembilod. | 6. Mavilayi. |
| 3. Iruveri.* | 7. Mulappilangad. |
| 4. Makreri. | |

It originally formed part of the Kolattunad under the Kolattiris, but it had come in the course of time to be treated as a separate Nad owing to the English factory at Tellicherry having taken the four ruling families of Achanmar and the 500 Nayars of the Nad under their special protection in the year 1741. The intention of this measure was "to give the Honourable Company authority over the Achanmar, as also to interpose with the Prince" (Kolattiri) "if he should oppress them by extravagant taxes, which has heretofore happened"—an allusion to the exactions which followed upon the Bednur irruption into Kolattunad in 1731 and following years. The transaction took the form of a mortgage for 60,000 fanams of the Nad, which was rich in pepper. This was the beginning of a long series of transactions, which ended on the 26th April 1793 in an agreement between the Achanmar and the Joint Commissioners in allowing to the former a deduction in the amount of the revenue payable by them for their own lands equivalent to the 20 per cent. of the revenue allowed to the other chieftains of Malabar as Malikhana.

Its connection
with the Honourable
East India Com-
pany's Settlement
at Tellicherry.
A.D. 1741-93.

Wet Lands.

37. In 1765, collections were made by the Honourable Company at 15 per cent. probably of the pattam or rent on rice-lands, and this share of produce was taken in kind. In the agreement with the Achanmar cited in paragraph 36, this arrangement is alluded to as having been in force from 1741, but, owing to disturbances in the country, the arrangement had evidently been broken through and it was renewed on 16th May 1765.

38. In 1792, the assessment was raised by the Commissioners to 50 per cent. of "the produce", commuted into money at Rs. 43 per 1,000 seers. "The produce" here seems to mean the "pattam" (rent).

39. In 1793, the agreement alluded to in paragraph 36 was made with the Achanmar, whose wet lands were permanently assessed at 15 per cent. of "the pattam (rent)," commuted into money at Rs. 45 per 1,000 seers. In addition to the private estates of the Achanmar, those of the Bibi of Cannanore and of the Raja of Chirakkal were also similarly assessed. The agreement itself is very indefinite in its terms, but the above has been ascertained to be the actual settlement. The lands of other proprietors continued to be held on the footing detailed in paragraph 38.

A permanent
assessment of the
Achanmar's private
estates.

Garden Lands.

40. In 1765, collections were made by the Company at 20 per cent. probably of the pattam or rent on gardens, the produce of which was generally commuted into money probably at current market rates. The terms of the agreement of 16th May 1765 are very indefinite.

1765.

41. In 1792 the Commissioners raised the assessment to 50 per cent. of "the produce" (which seems to have here meant pattam or rent calculated on the customary share at the customary pattam rates for produce), except on pepper. The rates were—

	A.	P.
Cocoanut tree	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Betel-nut tree	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jack tree	3	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Pepper-vine	2	0 $\frac{5}{16}$

42. In 1793, under the agreement alluded to in paragraph 36, the gardens on the private estates of the Achanmar were *permanently* assessed at 20 per cent. of the pattam (rent), commuted into money at the following rates:—

	RS.	A.	P.	
Cocoanuts	10	0	0	per 1,000 nuts.
Betel-nuts	0	8	0	do.
Jacks	0	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	per tree.

In addition to the private estates of the Achanmar, those of the Bibi of Cannanore and of the Chirakkal Raja were also similarly assessed. The agreement itself is very indefinite in its terms, but the above has been ascertained to be the actual settlement. The lands of other proprietors continued to be held on the footing detailed in paragraph 41.

Miscellaneous Lands.

43. Puttada, Punam and Ellu (see paragraphs 33, 34, 35) were assessed alike at 25 per cent. of the gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 40, Rs. 40 and Rs. 80 per 1,000 seers respectively, but it is not certain when this assessment was fixed.

(3) THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT AT TELLICHERRY AND DHARMAPATTANAM ISLAND.

Limits of the Honourable East India Company's settlement. 44. The settlement consisted of the following modern amsams of the Kottayam taluk:—

Dharmadam.	|	Mailanjanmam.
Tellicherry.	|	Tiruvangad.

The settlement also originally formed a portion of the ancient Kolattunad. The Honourable Company sent agents to Tellicherry about 1683–84. In 1708 a formal grant was obtained from the northern regent of the Kolattiri family to erect a fort at Tellicherry, which thenceforth remained uninterruptedly in British occupation. The island of Dharmapattanam, lying adjacent to Tellicherry on the north, was acquired by agreements from the Kolattiri and Kottayam

Rajas and the Bibi of Cannanore, who all had claims on it, in the years 1734-35, and remained from that time forward, with one short interruption (1788-89), in British occupation. The factory became a Residency in 1776, as, owing to the Mysore occupation, it was not continuing to pay. But the chiefship was afterwards restored.

Wet Lands.

45. Those belonging to the Company were assessed at 100 per cent. the pattam (rent), equivalent to about 40 per cent. of the gross produce, and commuted into money at Rs. 45 per 1,000 seers.

46. Those belonging to private individuals in Tellicherry were free of assessment till 1772, when they were rated at 10 per cent. of the "produce." This continued till 1776, when 25 per cent. of the "produce"—here, however, intended to mean the pattam or rent—was taken and commuted into money at Rs. 43 per 1,000 seers, which rate was subsequently raised to Rs. 45 per 1,000 seers.

47. Those belonging to private individuals in Dharmapattanam Island were assessed at 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent), commuted into money at Rs. 45 per 1,000 seers.

48. Those belonging to temples in Dharmapattanam Island were assessed at 35 per cent. of the pattam (rent), commuted into money at Rs. 45 per 1,000 seers.

Garden Lands.

49. Those belonging to the Honourable Company in Tellicherry were, prior to 1793-94, rated at 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent), and in that year the rate was increased to $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. of the pattam (rent).

50. Some of those belonging to private individuals in Tellicherry had, prior to 1772, been rated at 25 per cent. of the "produce," and in that year all of them were so rated. This continued till 1776, when the following rates were imposed:—

	A.	P.	
Cocoanuts	1	$7\frac{1}{2}$	per fruitful tree.
Betel-nuts	0	$9\frac{1}{2}$	do.
Jacks	6	$4\frac{1}{2}$	do.
Pepper-vines	3	$2\frac{1}{2}$	per fruitful vine.

But what constituted a "fruitful tree" or "fruitful vine" is not known. If the customary share of produce was taken and commuted into money at the customary pattam rates of produce, then it would appear as if it had been meant to take 50 per cent. of pattam on cocoanuts, 100 per cent. of pattam on betel-nuts, and 100 per cent. of pattam on jacks.

51. In Dharmapattanam Island all garden lands, whether belonging to the Honourable Company, to private persons, or to temples were assessed alike at 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent).

Miscellaneous Lands.

52. In Dharmapattanam Island, Puttada and Ellu (*vide* paragraphs 33 and 35) on all lands were assessed at Year uncertain. 25 per cent. of the gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 40 and Rs. 80 per 1,000 seers respectively. It is not certain when this assessment was fixed.

(4) IRUVALINAD.

53. Was also a portion of Kolattunad under the suzerainty of the Kolattiri Raja. When the English factory was established at Tellicherry it was held by six families of Nambiar, viz., (1) Kunnumal, (2) Chandrott, (3) Kilakkedatta, (4) Kampuratta, who were known collectively as the Kulatta Nambiar, and by (5) Narangoli Nambiar and (6) Kariyad Nambiar. The Kurangott Nayar's possessions also probably formed part of the original territory of Iruvalinad, but this portion will be more conveniently treated separately.

Iruvalinad proper consisted of the following Their limits. modern amsams of the modern taluk of Kottayam, viz. :—

- | | | |
|-------------------|--|-----------------|
| 1. Panur. | \| | 4. Panniyannur. |
| 2. Puttur. | \| | 5. Perinkulam. |
| 3. Triprangottur. | \| | 6. Kariyad. |

Owing to the position of their territory, these Iruvalinad Nambiar were early brought into relations with both of the neighbouring settlements of the English at Tellicherry and of the French at Mahe. There were accordingly many engagements entered into between the Honourable Company's Factors at Tellicherry on the one hand and the Nambiar on the other. The Nambiar are also frequently referred to in engagements between the English and French settlements, and between the English Company and other Native chieftains. It does not seem, however, that the Nambiar were in any way subject to the Honourable Company till 1782, when, owing to the successes attending the raising of the Siege of Tellicherry, the Nambiar and two other country powers agreed to become tributary to the Company. Whether this agreement was carried out is doubtful, because it was followed soon after by the Mangalore treaty of peace with Tippu Sultan in 1784, and by a return to the mutual positions held by the respective parties before the war.

Wet Lands.

54. In Hyder Ali's time (1765-82) this Nad was managed by the Raja of Chirakkal, who took 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent), payable either in kind or commutable into money at Rs. 40 per 1,000 seers.

55. In Tippu's time the rate continued the same, the revenue being collected in kind.

56. To prevent illicit trade with the French at Mahe the Nad was taken under the direct management of the Company at the rupture with Tippu Sultan in 1790-91; 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent) was collected.

57. In 1793 the commutation rate was raised from Rs. $41\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000 seers to Rs. 45 per 1,000 seers on the
1793. Narangoli Nambiar's private estate; it remained at the former rate elsewhere.

58. In 1793-94 the Nambiar's were entrusted with the management of the Nad, and in 1794-95 they fixed the
1793-94. assessment at 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent).

59. In 1795-96 the assessment on all lands was raised to 60 per cent. of the pattam (rent) at the same commutation rates.
1795-96.

60. In 1799-1800 the assessment was further raised to 72 per cent. of the pattam (rent), except on the Narangoli Nambiar's private estate, and except in four desams of Panur amsam.
1799-1800.

Garden Lands.

61. Under Hyder Ali (1765-82) the Chirakkal Raja collected
1765-82. an assessment at the following rates:—

	A.	P.	
Cocoanuts	1	$7\frac{1}{5}$	per fruitful tree.
Betel-nuts	0	$9\frac{3}{5}$	do.
Jacks	3	$2\frac{2}{3}$	do.

62. In Tippu's time these rates were altered as follows:—

	A.	P.	
Cocoanuts	2	$3\frac{3}{7}$	per fruitful tree.
Betel-nuts	0	$9\frac{1}{7}$	do.
Jacks	4	$6\frac{6}{7}$	do.

But these rates being found burdensome, the whole jama (demand) on the Nad was reduced from Rs. 34,000 to Rs. 30,000, and the people were themselves allowed to regulate the rates.

63. The Nad being under the direct management of the Honourable Company in 1792 (*vide* paragraph 56), the
1792. rates were raised so as to take 50 per cent. of the pattam.

64. In 1793 the rates were again altered as follows:—
1793.

	A.	P.	
Cocoanuts	1	$7\frac{1}{5}$	per fruitful tree.
Betel-nuts	0	$9\frac{3}{5}$	do.
Jacks	6	$4\frac{4}{5}$	do.
Pepper	2	$0\frac{8}{25}$	per fruitful vine.

These rates were, however, subsequently reduced as too high.

1793-94. 65. The Nambiar's were in 1793-94 entrusted with the management of the Nad.

1794-95. 66. The Nambiar's in 1794-95 fixed the assessment at 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent). The assessment on pepper seems to have remained at this rate of 50 per cent. of the pattam, commuted into money at Rs. 120 per candy of 640 lb., down to the final abolition of the assessment in 1806-7.

1795-96. 67. In 1795-96 the assessment was raised to 60 per cent. of the pattam (rent).

1796-97. 68. In 1796-97 Narangoli Nambiar's lands were assessed at 100 per cent. of the pattam (rent), probably for misconduct in intriguing with the rebellious Pychy Raja.

1799-1800. 69. In 1799-1800 the assessment was again raised (except on Narangoli Nambiar's lands and except in four desams of Panur amsam) to 72 per cent. of the pattam (rent).

Miscellaneous Lands.

1790-91. 70. In 1790-91 the assessment on Puttada, Punam and Ellu (see paragraphs 33, 34, 35) was fixed at 25 per cent. of the gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 35, Rs. 35 and Rs. 80 per 1,000 seers respectively.

1792-93. 71. In 1792-93 the assessment on these crops was professedly raised to 40 per cent. of the gross produce, much too high a rate, leading to extensive concealment of produce.

1806-07. 72. In 1806-7 the assessment was extended, on the same principles, to Puttada and Ellu crops raised on land already assessed for garden produce.

(5) KURANGOTT NAYAR'S NAD.

73. For remarks, see paragraph 53 above. This Nad lay directly between the English and French settlements at Tellicherry and Mahe respectively, and consisted of the following amsams of the modern taluk of Kottayam:—

- (1) Olavilam.
- (2) Kallayi.

From the position of his Nad, the Nayar was early brought into relations with both the English and French Companies, and he tried his best to play off the one against the other, not without loss to himself. He was the first chieftain who tried conclusions with the arms of the Honourable Company. This was in 1719, and he came out of it worsted, and was obliged to cede to the

His relations with the English and French and Mysoreans.

Company the desam of Mailam in the modern amsam of Mailanjanmam. After this he remained more under French than under English influence till 1766, when, on Hyder Ali's descent into Malabar, he was the only chieftain¹ besides Cochin permitted to retain his district. He was, however, subsequently compelled to pay tribute to Hyder Ali. In 1779 he assisted the English Company at the taking of Mahe, and in 1782 he was in turn taken prisoner by the English Company at the successful sortie which closed the siege of Tellicherry. Remaining a prisoner at Tellicherry, he paid tribute to the Company for his Nad till 1785, in which year he was again claimed by the French as their ally. In 1787 Tippu caught and hanged him and annexed his Nad to the Iruvalinad Revenue Cutcherry. In 1790 the English Company drove the Mysoreans out of this Nad, and reinstated the Nayar, who again turned to the French alliance, in consequence of which he was arrested and sent a prisoner to Calicut in 1793. In 1797 the Nayar was reinstated in his Nad, which he managed down to 1805-6.

Wet Lands.

74. There is nothing to show on what principles the Nayar collected the revenue between 1795 and 1805-6.
1795-1806. In the latter year he resigned the management and received a Malikhana.

75. In 1805-6 the assessment was fixed at 60 per cent. of the pattam (rent) as entered in the Janmi Pymaish account of 981 (1805-6), and commuted into money at Rs. 45 per 1,000 seers. Whether the pattam (rent), of which 60 per cent. was taken, was the actual pattam (rent) being paid to the Janmis, or whether it was the pattam (rent) calculated on Mr. Rickards' plan (see paragraphs 226, 226a, 226b below) is not known. It was probably the latter, because the garden assessments were fixed on Mr. Rickards' plan.

Garden Lands.

76. In 1805-6 the assessment was fixed at 50 per cent. of the pattam (formed of two-thirds of the gross produce on Rickards' plan, *vide* paragraphs 226, 226a, 226b below) and the commutation rates were fixed as follows:—

				RS. A. P.		
Cocanuts ..	..	..	10	0	0	per 1,000 nuts.
Betel-nuts ..	..	..	0	6	4½	do.
Jacks ..	..	..	0	3	2½	per tree.
Pepper ..	..	..	1	0	0	per fruitful vine.

It is not known, however, what this "fruitful vine" was expected to yield in produce.

Miscellaneous Lands.

77. No details are available.

¹ The Randatara Achanmar being under the protection of the Honourable Company were likewise at first undisturbed.

(6) KOTTAYAM OR COTIOTE.

78. Was also formerly a portion of Kolattunad. The Cotiote or Kottayattu Rajas, who are also styled Puranattu (i.e., foreign Kshatriya) Rajas, received their territory from the Kolattiri. This event took place some centuries ago, and when the English settlement was formed at Tellicherry, "the Cotiote" (as the Raja was generally called) was one of the first with whom the Honourable Company came into formal relations. The Raja steadily supported the Honourable Company in the conflicts with Hyder and Tippu, first in 1780-82 and again in 1791-92. On the cession of Malabar to the British in 1792 some unfortunate misunderstandings arose, and the Palassi or Pychy Raja, the *de facto* head of the house, rose in rebellion, and maintained a sort of independence so long as Wynad (which was claimed both by Tippu Sultan and by the Honourable Company) was at hand for him to flee to. On the fall of Seringapatam in 1799 Wynad was formally ceded to the Honourable Company, and a struggle immediately commenced with the Palassi or Pychy Raja. The conflict lasted till near the end of 1805, and was terminated on 30th November 1805 by the death, in a skirmish, of the Palassi Raja. The Kottayam country, omitting Wynad, which will be considered separately, consisted of the following modern amsams in the modern taluk of Kottayam, viz. :—

Kudali.	Mulakkunnu.	Sivapuram.	Pinarayi.
Pattannur.	Gannavam.	Palassi.	Nittur.
Chavasseri.	Manatana.	Kandamkkunnu.	Katirur.
Veliyambra.	Kannavam.	Paduvilayi.	Kottayam.

Wet Lands.

79. It will be gathered from the above that this Nad was in a more or less unsettled state both under Mysore and under British rule until 1805-6, but a settlement was concluded between the Mysoreans and the Raja some time after Hyder Ali's second invasion, and its principles were to take 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent), commuted into money at Rs. 41-8-0 per 1,000 scers. There was supposed to be an annual survey, and if this was properly conducted, the assessment would not, according to the recognised customs of the country as regards deductions for cultivation expenses, etc., have amounted to more than 25 per cent. of the gross produce.

80. The above principles were professedly followed down to 1805-6, when, on the receipt of the Janmi Pymaish accounts (*vide* paragraph 29 above), the assessment was raised in the cases in which it fell short of the proper proportion of pattam (rent) as returned in the said accounts, but similarly ascertained excesses were not similarly reduced.

Garden Lands.

81. The Mysorean settlement with the Raja was on the principles of taking 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent) and of commuting it into money at the following rates :—

Cocanuts	Rs. 10-0-0	per 1,000 nuts.
Betel-nuts	„ 0-6-4½	do.
Jacks	The pattam was ascertained as precisely as possible.	
Pepper	Rs. 130-0-0	per candy of 640 lb.

82. These rates remained professedly unaltered down to 1805-6, when, as in the case of wet lands, on receipt of the 1805-6. Janmi Pymaish accounts (paragraph 29 above) ascertained deficiencies were raised and ascertained excesses were not reduced. The commutation rates remained as before, except that betel-nuts were rated at 8 annas per mille and jacks at 6 annas 4½ pies per tree.

Miscellaneous Lands.

83. *Puttada* and *Punam* (*vide* paragraphs 33, 34, above) were assessed at 40 per cent. of the gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 35 per 1,000 seers, and *Ellu* (*vide* paragraph 35 above) was assessed at 25 per cent. of the gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 80 per 1,000 seers. It has not been ascertained when this settlement was made. It was very severe, and it must have led to extensive concealment of produce.

(7) KADATTANAD.

84. This was also formerly a portion of Kolattunad : it in fact formed the chief portion of the territory under the jurisdiction of the Tekkalankur (Southern Regent), or second Rajasthanam of the Kolattiri. When the English Company settled at Tellicherry, Kadattanad was subject to the ancestors of the present Raja of Kadattanad, who was at that time usually known as the “Boyanore” or “Baynor” of Badagara,¹ from the chief port of the Nad, and who, tradition says, was connected in the male line with the Kolattiris. It was composed of the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Kurumbranad, viz. :—

Aliyur.	Valayam.	Kummangod.
Muttungal.	Velliyod.	Ponneri.
Eramala.	Kunnummal.	Arakkilad.
Karttikapalli.	Kavilumpara.	Vadakara.
Purameri.	Kuttiyadi.	Memunda.
Edacheri.	Velam.	Palayad.
Iringannur.	Cherapuram.	Putuppanam.
Tuneri.	Kottappalli.	Maniyur.
Vellur.	Ayancheri.	Tiruvallur.
Parakadavu.	Kadameri.	
Chekkiyad.	Kuttiipuram.	

¹ Corrupt transliterations of “Valumavar” = ruler.

The amsams of Kavilampara and Kuttiyadi belonged, when the Honourable Company acquired Malabar in 1792, to the Kottayam or Cotiote Raja, but it will be more convenient in the present narrative to include them in Kadattanad.

Kavilampara and
Kuttiyadi.

Wet Lands.

85. In 1766-67 the Kadattanad Raja agreed to become tributary to Hyder Ali for his Nad in the sum of Rs. 50,000.
- 1766-67.
86. No levy was made from the people on the above account till 1768-69, when, in order to defray arrears, a survey of gardens was made, but no assessment was imposed on rice.
- 1768-69.
87. Hyder Ali's forces having retired, no collections were made between 1768 and 1773.
- 1768-73.
88. It was only in 1778-79 that rice-lands were first assessed by the second Raja, acting under the orders of Bulvunt Row, Hyder Ali's general. The assessment was at the rate of 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent), commuted into money at Rs. 40 per 1,000 seers.
- 1778-79.
89. This continued in force till 1781, the Raja having meanwhile been relieved from management by Sirdar Khan, who took charge in 1780-81.
- 1780-81.
90. In 1781 no revenue was paid.
- 1781.
91. From 1782-83 till 1786-87, under Arshad Beg Khan's governorship, the collections continued at the former rate of 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent).
- 1782-87.
92. In 1787 the Raja was directed¹ by Parvana from Tippu Sultan to take 50 per cent. of the gross produce as the Sirkar's share, but the arrangement was never carried into effect.
- 1787.
93. In 1788 Ramalinga Pillay, an agent, who was originally appointed by Hyder Ali, and who had made sundry settlements in South Malabar, completed a survey of the Nad and assessed the rice-lands as follows :—Each local para (10 local seers), of seed was assessed at 3 Cunteray fanams, but whether this assessment per para of seed was imposed on the actual number of paras required to sow all the wet lands in the Nad, or whether it was only imposed (as in South Malabar) on a certain proportion of the actual number of paras so required, has not been ascertained.
- 1788.
94. The above assessment (whatever it was) was collected by Tippu Sultan's officers, who, in the absence of by the Raja, managed the district in the years 1789-90 and 1790-91.
- 1789-91.

¹ *Treaties, etc.*, i. CXLVIII.

95. The Raja having returned to his Nad on the expulsion of the Mysoreans, it is not clear on what principles the assessment was levied by him between 1791 and 1798.

96. In 1798-99 a survey was made and 60 per cent. of the pattam (rent) was assessed on rice-lands, and commuted into money at Rs. 40 per 1,000 soers.

Garden Lands.

97. See paragraphs 85 and 86 above. In order to defray the arrears of tribute which had accrued, 100 per cent. of the pattam on gardens was levied in 1768-69.

98. In 1773-74 arrears had again accrued to the extent of Rs. 3,00,000, and to defray this an estimate of the number of gardens was made, excluding unproductive and waste. It came to 15,000, and on this number a rate was levied at Rs. 10 per garden. This was made at the instance of Burki Srinivas Row, Hyder's Civil and Military Governor, who had descended into Malabar with an army.

99. In 1774-75 a contribution per garden of Rs. 5 was levied.

100. In 1775-76 the contribution per garden was again raised to Rs. 10.

101. This continued till 1777-78.

102. In 1778-79 the second Raja, as already alluded to in paragraph 88, aided by an auxiliary force of 500 Mysoreans, whose pay he had to defray in addition to the tribute, made a survey of the gardens and fixed the assessment at two-thirds of the gross produce (*i.e.*, 100 per cent. of the pattam), the commutation rate for cocoanuts being Rs. 8 to 10 per 1,000 nuts.

103. This continued in force under the Raja and under Sirdar Khan till 1782, in which year Sirdar Khan having been taken prisoner at Tellicherry, no revenue was raised beyond Rs. 2 per garden levied by the Raja to defray his military charges.

104. From 1782-83 till 1786-87, during Arshad Beg Khan's governorship, the collections were made on the principle of taking 100 per cent. of the pattam (rent) on gardens.

105. In 1787 Tippu Sultan's Parvana to the Raja prescribed certain rates for gardens, which, however, as they were never enforced, need not be detailed.

106. In 1788 Ramalinga Pillay (mentioned in paragraph 93 above) made a survey of the gardens and assessed them at the following rates :—

	Cunteray fanam.
Each cocoanut tree	$\frac{1}{2}$
6 Betel-nut trees	1
1 Jack tree	1

Pepper gardens were inspected, the produce in dry pepper estimated, and each seer of dry pepper was assessed at $12\frac{1}{2}$ annas of a Cunteray fanam, equivalent to about Rs. 75 per candy of 640 lb.

107. The assessment remained at these rates during 1789-90 and 1790-91.

108. The Raja having been reinstated in his Nad, managed it from 1791 till 1798, but it has not been ascertained on what principles he collected the assessment.

109. In 1798-99 a survey was made and the assessment fixed at 60 per cent. of the pattam (rent) on gardens, commuted into money at the following rate :—

	Per 1,000 nuts.
Cocoanuts	10 rupees.
Betel-nuts	6 annas $4\frac{1}{2}$ pies.

The pattam (rent) of four productive betel-nut trees was assessed at 3 annas $2\frac{2}{3}$ pies, but it is not clear how this was fixed, and whether trees yielding small produce were classed as unproductive.

Jacks : 6 annas $4\frac{1}{2}$ pies was taken as the pattam (rent) per tree.

Pepper was assessed at "half of the produce brought to account," and, as in the calculation of produce customary deductions were made on the following accounts, viz. :—

20 to 25 per cent. for loss by falling off of grapes between inspection and harvest,

10 to 12 per cent. for plucking the pepper, and about

20 per cent. for cultivation expenses,

it follows that the Government share was never more than about one-third of the gross produce. Whether the money valuation exceeded or fell short of that proportion could only be known by a comparison of the commutation rate (Rs. 150 per candy of 640 lbs.) with the actual market prices, which cannot now be ascertained.

Miscellaneous Lands.

110. In 1798-99 Puttada, and Punam (see paragraphs 33 and 34) were assessed at 40 per cent. of the gross produce commuted into money at Rs. 40 per 1,000 seers ; and in the same year Ellu (see paragraph 35) was assessed at 20 per cent. of the gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 60 per 1,000 seers, and the assessment was extended to garden lands where this kind of cultivation was carried on, although the gardens might also be bearing a garden assessment.

- (8) PAYYORMALA ; (9) PAYANAD ; (10) KURUMBRANAD ;
(11) TAMARASSERI,

111. It will be convenient to group these Nads together in this narrative because the principles of the original assessment under Hyder Ali were identical in all.

Reasons for grouping these Nads.

112. *Payyormala* was subject to the Nayars (Paleri, Avinyat and Kutali) of Payyormala. They were independent chieftains, with some theoretical dependence on the Kurumbranad family and also on the Zamorin.

Payyormala Nayars.

Limits.

The Nad was composed of the following modern amsams of the modern Kurumbranad taluk, viz. :—

Paleri.	Kayanna.
Cheruvannur.	Karayad.
Meppayur.	Iringatt.
Perambra.	

113. *Payanad* was subject to the Zamorin, being part of the ancient kingdom of Kollam which he annexed.

Zamorin's acquisition.

Limits.

It was composed of the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Kurumbranad, viz. :—

Kilariyur.	Meladi.	Melur.
Mudadi.	Viyyur.	Chemancheri.
Pallikkara.	Aikkulam.	Tiruvangur.

114. *Kurumbranad* was subject to the Kurumbranad family, connected with that of Kottayam. It consisted of the following modern amsams of the modern taluks of Kurumbranad and Calicut, viz. :—

Kurumbranad Raja's Limits.

Kottur.	Kavuntara.	Nediyana.
Trikkutisseri.	Iyyad.	Kilakkot.
Naduvannur.	Panangad.	Madavur.

115. *Tamarasseri* was subject to the Kottayam or Cotioto Rajas (regarding whom see paragraph 78 above). It consisted of the following modern amsams of the modern taluks of Kurumbranad and Calicut, viz. :—

Kottayam Raja's District.

Limits.

Ulleri.	Kunnattara.	Namminda.
Kokallur.	Annasseri.	Nediyana.
Edakara.	Naduvallur.	Kudattayi.

Wet Lands.

116. In 1776-77 an account of the pattam of the different lands having been taken by the inhabitants to Hyder's durbar, and the price of paddy having been stated at Rs. 35 to 40 per 1,000 local seers, an order was received in reply, directing that 30 per cent. of the pattam should be taken and commuted into money at 3 old Viray fanams (12 annas modern

money) for each of the local paras (10 local seers), of which there were more than one. As they varied in capacity the commutation rates per 1,000 Macleod seers varied likewise as follows :—

				RS. A. P.		
In 38	Desams in Nad	IX	}	68	2	10 $\frac{10}{11}$
„ 40	do. do.	XI				
„ 65	do. do.	VIII	.. ..	62	8	0
„ 11	do. do.	IX	.. ..	57	11	0 $\frac{12}{13}$
„ 13	do. do.	IX	}			
„ 60	do. do.	X		56	9	7 $\frac{19}{53}$
„ 40	do. do.	XI				

117. In 1782–83 Arshad Beg Khan, Tippu Sultan's Governor, on receipt of complaints, reduced the jama (demand) 20 per cent. all round on wet lands and gardens, but left the distribution of this reduction on individuals to be carried out by his subordinates. To what extent this reduction was ever carried out in regard to individuals, it is impossible to say. This reduction took effect in these Nads and in the whole of South Malabar except in Nads XXIII, XXIV and XXV.

118. In 1786–87 Tippu Sultan ordered a coinage of Sultani fanams, and the collections were afterwards made in these instead of in old Viray fanams. As old Viray fanams were worth four to the rupee, and as Sultani fanams, though of higher value originally, had in 1788–89 fallen in value to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per rupee, the substitution of Sultani fanams for old Viray fanams had the effect of raising the revenue at least 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. all round on wet lands, gardens, and miscellaneous lands. This increase, as in the case of Arshad Beg Khan's reduction, had effect in these Nads and in nearly the whole of South Malabar. When the Zamorin, on his restoration in 1790–91, recommenced the coinage of fanams, called new Viray fanams, he adhered pretty closely to the standard of Tippu Sultan's Sultani fanams, viz., 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ to the rupee. The assessment, therefore, at this time suffered no change on this account.

119. In 1792–94 a kind of survey was made in consequence of a request preferred by the inhabitants to the Bengal and Bombay Commissioners that half of the “ rice produce ” (*sic, vide* paragraph 459 of their report) should be taken as revenue. It is extremely doubtful that this was their request, and it is more probable they meant the Government share to be 50 per cent. of the pattam (rent); but however this may be, what was actually done was by adherence to the old principles to endeavour, as far as possible, to keep the revenue at the old amount.

120. The second Commission, following a practice which had to some extent elsewhere been introduced by the Mysoreans and by the Joint Commissioners, added 10 per cent. to the jama (demand) in order to defray collection charges. The Mysoreans never, however, included this 10 per cent. in the permanent jama as

the Commissioners did. The exact date is not known, but it was between 1796 and 1801.

Garden Lands.

121. The original assessments in these Nads were nominally the same as those in South Malabar districts generally, viz. :—

One old Viray fanam	per two cocoanut trees.
One do.	per six betel-nut trees.
One do.	per jack tree.
Three do.	per pepper-vine estimated to yield 15 seers of green pepper.

But the settlement really proceeded on the principle of taking 100 per cent. of the pattam (rent), ascertained partly by inspection of trees, partly by deeds, and partly by information obtained from the people. The commutation rates were, however, the customary rates between Jannis and Ryots in fixing the pattam rates, which were admittedly below the market prices of produce. These customary rates were—

RS. A. P.				
Cocoanuts	..	..	7 8 0	per 1,000 nuts.
Betel-nuts	..	..	0 4 0	do.
Jacks	..	..	0 4 0	per tree.

If Jannis chose to break through the ancient customs and regulated their dealings with their Ryots at market prices, these rates left a margin for payment of some pattam (rent).

122. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent. on the jama (demand), Tippu Sultan's increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the second Commissioner's increase of 10 per cent. (*vide* paragraphs 117, 118, 120 above) affected the garden assessments in these Nads likewise.

Miscellaneous Lands.

123. *Modan* and *Ellu* (*vide* paragraphs 33 and 35 above) were assessed by orders from Mysore in Hyder Ali's time at 20 per cent. of the produce, commuted into money, the *Modan* produce at Rs. 35 to 40 per 1,000 local seers, and *Ellu* at Rs. 50 to 55 per 1,000 local seers.

- (12) POLANAD (VADAKKAMPURAM AND KILAKKAMPURAM);
 (13) BEYPORE OR NORTHERN PARAPPANAD; (14) PULAVAYI.

124. These Nads, which constitute the greater portion of the modern taluk of Calicut, will be best taken together, as they seem to have been managed as regards revenue on an uniform plan.

Reasons
grouping.

for

125. *Polanad* was one of the districts immediately subordinate to the Zamorin, who took it originally by stratagem from the Porlatiri Rajas. It was the Nad in which Calicut, the Zamorin's headquarters, was situated.

Limits. It consisted of the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Calicut, viz. :—

Elattur.	Padinnyattumuri.	Kottuli.
Talakkulattur.	Kerannur.	Chevayur.
Makkada.	Edakkad.	Mayanad.
Chattamangalam.	Kacheri.	Kovur.
Kunnamangalam.	Nagaram.	Perumanna.
Tamarasseri.	Kasba.	Peruvayal.
Kuruvattur.	Valayanad.	Iringallur.
		Olavanna.

126. *Beypore* or *Northern Parappanad* was subject to the Beypore branch of the Parappur family of Kshatriyas under the nominal suzerainty of the Zamorin. In consisted of the following modern amsams in the modern taluk of Calicut, viz. :—

Panniankara.	Beypore.
Cheruvannur.	

127. *Pulavayi* was ruled by its own Nayars, and owned a kind of nominal dependence on the Zamorin and also on the Kurumbranad family. It comprised the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Calicut, viz. :—

Kodavur.	Kanniparamba.
Tiruvambati.	Chulur.
Puttur.	Manasseri.
Nilosvaram.	Pannikkot.
Koduvalli.	

Wet Lands.

128. In 1776-77 Sirdar Khan, Hyder Ali's Civil and Military Governor, prepared certain accounts and sent them to Hyder Ali's durbar, where they were revised, and upon them an assessment was founded, which has usually been designated as the Huzzur Niguti, or assessment fixed at the seat of Government. Neither in Sirdar Khan's accounts nor in those received back from the durbar was it specifically expressed what proportion of the pattam (rent) or of the gross produce was intended to be taken as the Government share.

129. But Mr. Graeme ascertained on local inquiry that the Government share varied in these Nads on wet lands from 25 per cent. of the pattam (rent) in Nads XIII and XIV and in six Desams of Nad XII to 30 per cent. in the remaining fifty-seven Desams in Nad XII. This proportion of the produce came to be known as the *Niguti Vittu*

or assessed seed. Each local para (10 local seers) of Niguti Vittu or assessed seed was commuted into money at 3 old gold fanams, but on complaint of the severity of this rate, Sirdar Khan reduced the commutation rate in the fifty-seven Desams of Nad XII [where 30 per cent. of the pattam (rent) was taken] from 3 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ old gold fanams. The commutation rate, therefore, varied from 10 to 12 annas per local para (10 local seers) of Niguti Vittu, or, to state the matter differently, for the purpose of general comparison, from Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 per 1,000 Macleod seers.

130. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent. and Tippu Sultan's increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (see paragraphs 117, 118 above) were applied to the rice-lands in these Nads.

131. In 1791-92 to 1793-94 a return was gradually made
1791-94. to the jama (demand) at the above rates.

132. The 10 per cent. for charges of collection (*vide* paragraph 120 above) was also added to the demand.

133. In 1793-94 there was a sort of a survey, but the old principles were adhered to, and the main point kept in
1793-94. view was not to exceed the aggregate of the former jama (demand).

Garden Lands.

The Huzur Niguti. 134. The Huzur Niguti (see paragraph 128 above) fixed the rates of assessment on garden produce as follows :—

		A. P.	
Cocoanuts	.. $\frac{1}{2}$ old Viray fanam or	2	0 per productive tree.
Betel-nuts	.. $\frac{1}{6}$ do. or	0	8 do.
Jacks	.. 1 do. or	4	0 do.
Pepper-vines.	3 do. or	12	0 per productive vine.

These rates, however, were perhaps never as matter of fact applied in practice. The Mysore Government, it is understood, meant to appropriate the whole of the Janmi's share of the produce, or in other words 100 per cent. of the pattam (rent). In order to do this and at the same time to preserve some uniformity in the principle of taxation, their officers entered in the accounts as "productive" only the number of trees or vines which, at the above rates, it took to make up the total jama (demand). All other trees, whether productive or not, were classed as "unproductive." For example, 10 fanams of pattam (rent) would be reckoned as 20 productive cocoanut trees. In some localities this number of trees might produce 10 fanams of

pattam (rent), but in other localities it would take 30 or 40, or, perhaps, 60 really productive trees to make up 10 fanams of pattam (rent); in these cases 20 trees only would be returned as productive, while the balance of 10, 20 or 40 trees respectively, though really productive, would be returned as "unproductive." And so with pepper-vines, the 3 fanams per productive vine was not an assessment on each vine, or even (as was sometimes thought) on each standard tree supporting a number of vines, but upon any number of vines—varying, as it necessarily must have done, with the fertility of soil and congeniality of climate—that were estimated to yield 15 seers of green pepper (or 6 seers of dry pepper). The whole of the pattam (rent) thus taken as revenue was, however, commuted into money at rates which still left the Janmi (if he chose to break through the ancient customary rule and take it) a small share of the produce. The customary commutation rates in these Nads were as follows :—

RS. A. P.				
Cocoanuts	..	..	..	7 8 0 per 1,000 nuts.
Botel-nuts	..	..	..	0 4 0 do.
Jacks	..	..	..	0 4 0 per tree.

which were considerably below market prices.

135. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent. and Tippu Sultan's increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the Commissioner's increase of 10 per cent. for establishment charges (see paragraphs 117, 118 and 120 above), were applied to the garden assessments in these Nads.

Miscellaneous Lands.

136. *Modan* (see paragraph 33 above) was only assessed by the Mysoreans in Nads Nos. XIII and XIV, and there at the rate of 20 per cent. of the gross produce at current market prices. *Ellu* (see paragraph 35) was unassessed by the Mysoreans, except when it was sown *instead* of Modan in Nads Nos. XIII and XIV. In the latter event the Mysore Government took in some places 5 Sultani fanams ($3\frac{1}{2}$ to the rupee) for every Macleod seer of seed sown, and in other places 20 per cent. of the gross produce at current market prices.

137. In 1801–2 Major Macleod, the first Principal Collector, included in the permanent jama (demand) of these
1801–2. Nads 20 per cent of the gross produce in that year of Modan and Ellu lands [commuted into money assessments at 1 new Viray fanam ($3\frac{1}{2}$ to the rupee) and $2\frac{1}{2}$ new Viray fanams respectively per para (10 seers)], dividing the amount thus arrived at into three portions, and collecting one-third annually, the lands being cultivated only once in three years. These commutation rates were equivalent to Rs. 28–9– $1\frac{1}{4}$ and Rs. 71–6– $10\frac{2}{7}$ per 1,000 Macleod seers respectively. To the above he also added the 10 per cent. for charges of collection (see paragraph 120).

- (15) SOUTHERN PARAPPANAD ; (16) RAMNAD ; (17) CHERNAD ;
(18) ERNAD.

138. As the Huzzur Niguti (see paragraphs 128, 129 and 134) was the rule of assessment in these four Nads, and as these Nads constitute nearly the whole of the modern taluk of Ernad, it will be convenient to take them together, although the modes of applying the Huzzur Niguti varied greatly in each of them.

139. *Southern Parappanad*, under the Parappur family with the Zamorin as nominal suzerain (see paragraph 126), consisted of the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Ernad, viz. :—

Palanchannur.	"	Vallikunnu.
Mannur.		Parappanangadi.
Tenyipalam.		Nannambra.
Neduva.		

140. Ramnad, Chernad and Ernad all acknowledged the Zamorin as direct ruler. They consisted of the following modern amsams of the modern taluks of Ernad and Ponnani :—

<i>Ramnad.</i>		
Nallur.	Karad.	Karippur.
Alinyilam.	Karumarakad.	Chelembra.
Cherukava.		
<i>Chernad.</i>		
Vadakkumpram.	Parutur.	Urakam Melmuri.
Valiyakunnu.	Olakara.	Puttur.
Kattiparutti.	Trikkulam.	Kottakkal.
Atavanad.	Koduvayur.	Indiannur.
Ummattur.	Vengara.	Valakkulam.
Irimbiliam.	Kannamangalam.	
<i>Ernad.</i>		
Mappram.	Porur.	Iruvetti.
Chikkod.	Vandur.	Kavannur.
Urngattiri.	Tiruvali.	Chengara.
Mambat.	Trikalangod.	Puliyakod.
Nilambur.	Karakunnu.	Kulimanna.
Kolattur.	Arimbra.	Payyanad.
Nediyirippu.	Valluvambram.	Elankur.
Kilmuri.	Irimbuli.	Ponmala.
Melmuri.	Mancheri.	

Wet Lands.

141. Mr. Graeme ascertained that the Huzzur Niguti (see paragraph 128), as assessed in these Nads in 1776-77, bore the following proportions to pattam (rent)

at the following commutation rates calculated in the manner detailed in paragraph 129 above :—

				Percentage of pattam taken as assessed seed, Niguti vittu.	RS.	
Southern Parappanad, No. XV.	33½ per cent.	at	62½			} per 1,000 Macleod seers.
Ramnad, No. XVI	25 do.	at	75			
Chernad, No. XVII—						
In 10 desams	10 do.	at	250			
„ 60 Do.	10 do.	at	125			
„ 31 Do.	25 do.	at	75			
„ 1 Do.	33½ do.	at	75			
Ernad, No. XVIII	20 do.	at	75			

142. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent. Tippu Sultan's increase of 12½ per cent., and the 10 per cent. addition for collection charges (see paragraphs 117, 118 and 120) all took effect on the wet lands of these Nads.

143. The old jama (demand) was gradually worked up to in 1791-92 to 1793-94, and collected as far as possible up to 1800-1.

144. Major Macleod made a sort of survey or inspection and increased the jama (demand) in 1801-2, without, however, presumably altering the principles of the assessment. Owing to the rebellion which ensued, the old jama (demand) of 1800-1 was reverted to by Mr. Rickards in 1802-3.

145. In 1803-4, however, Mr. Warden, third of the Principal Collectors, directed one-fourth of the increase to the jama (demand) made by Major Macleod to be collected in Nad No. XV and in one desam—Puttur—in Nad No. XVII. To this increase he superadded 10 per cent. for charges of collection (*vide* paragraph 120).

Garden Lands.

146. The Huzzur Niguti (see paragraph 134) was introduced by Ramalinga Pillay (Hyder Ali's agent) in all these Nads on the same footing as in the Calicut Taluk Nads, viz., that 100 per cent. of the pattam (rent) was taken and commuted into money at the customary rates prevalent in all of these Nads, viz. :—

				RS. A. P.
Cocoanuts	7	8	0	per 1,000 nuts.
Betel-nuts	0	4	0	do.
Jacks	0	4	0	per tree.

These rates were admittedly below the market prices, and left a small margin as pattam if the Janmi thought right to take it.

147. It appears, however, that in the assessment of the gardens in Nad No. XV and in Bettatnad (Nad No. XXVI), some small additional share was left over for the Janmi in manner following. The trees were divided as usual into productive, unproductive, and young, and a pattam (rent) calculated in money was arrived at (after making a deduction of one-third, it is supposed, as the Ryot's share). From the pattam (rent) so ascertained a deduction of 2 old viray fanams in 10 (i.e., 20 per cent.) was made for the benefit of the Janmis,¹ and the residue, viz., 8 fanams in 10, was then entered in the accounts as 16 productive cocoanut trees in accordance with the rule of the Huzzur Niguti (paragraph 134).

148. In Nad No. XV and in one Desam—Puttur—of Nad No. XVII also one-fourth of Major Macleod's increase 1803-4. appears to have been levied by Mr. Warden in 1803-4 as in the case of wet lands (paragraphs 144 and 145). To this increase was superadded 10 per cent. for collection charges.

149. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent., Tippu Sultan's increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the 10 per cent. for collection charges (see paragraphs 117, 118, 120) also affected the gardens in these Nads.

Miscellaneous Lands.

150. The Nads were treated somewhat differently in the assessment of Modan (see paragraph 33). Punam (paragraph 34) and Ellu (paragraph 35) were not assessed in these Nads.

151. *Modan* in Nad XV. The Mysore Government applied the 1801-2. same rules as in Nads XIII and XIV (*vide* paragraph 136), i.e., they took 20 per cent. of the gross produce in years when the crop was cultivated and commuted the share into money at current market prices, and Major Macleod, in similar fashion as in the Nads XIII and XIV, took one-third of the assessment of the year 1801-2 and included it in the permanent jama (demand) of the Nad (*see* paragraph 137).

152. *Modan* in Nad XVI was exempt from assessment till Major Macleod's time, 1801-2, in which year he assessed it as follows:—One local para (10 local seers) in every seven paras of gross produce was selected as the Government share, and of this selected share one para in five (i.e., $\frac{1}{5}$ of the gross produce or $2\frac{2}{5}$ per cent.) was taken and commuted into a money assessment at 6 new Viray fanams (Rs. 1-11-5 $\frac{1}{2}$) per para. The assessment thus fixed was collected in three years at one-third per year (*see* paragraph 137.)

153. *Modan* in Nad XVII was exempt from assessment till Major Macleod's time in 1801-2, in which year he assessed the crop as follows:—20 per cent. of the gross produce was selected as the Government share, and out of every five paras (50 seers) of the share thus selected one para (10 seers) (i.e., $\frac{1}{5}$ or 4 per cent.

¹ Mappillas (Muhammadana) predominated then as they do still in these parts.
² $\frac{1}{5}$ of $\frac{1}{5}$ = $\frac{1}{25}$.

of the gross produce was taken and assessed at 3 new Viray fanams (As.-13-8 $\frac{1}{4}$) per para (10 seers). This assessment was likewise spread over three years.

154. *Modan* in Nad XVIII. In assessing the Huzzur Niguti in this Nad in 1776-77, additions were made to the permanent jama (demand) in 99 Desams out of 116 in the following fashion ;—

(a) On every para (10 seers) of assessed seed of wet lands (see paragraph 141).

(b) On every 3 fanams of garden assessment (see paragraph 146),

one-half of a fanam was imposed on account of Modan, and Major Macleod in 1801-2 completed the Modan assessment (wherever it had already been imposed) in the manner and on the principles described for Nad No. XVII (paragraph 153).

(19) VELLATTRI (WALLUVANAD PROPER); (20) WALLUVANAD;
(21) NEDUNGANAD; (22) KAVALAPPARA.

155. As these Nads constitute the modern taluk of Walluvanad and as the Huzzur Niguti (paragraphs 128, 134) was the mode of assessment adopted in them in 1776-77, it will be convenient to take them together. Prior to 1776-77 these Nads were subjected by the Mysoreans to violent and irregular collections under the name of Nuzzurs or Perumbuddy.

156. *Vellattiri* or Walluvanad proper was the sole remaining territory of the Walluvanad Raja (Valluva Konatiri), who once exercised suzerain rights over a large portion of South Malabar. His territory had been gradually broken up by the Zamorin. At the time of the Mysore conquest there remained to him the following modern amsams of the modern taluks of Walluvanad and Ernad, viz. :—

Kodur.	Valambur.	Vettattur.
Kuruva.	Karyavattam.	Kottapadam.
Pallipuram.	Nenmini.	Arakurissi.
Mangada.	Melattur.	Tachambara.
Arakkuparamba.	Panga.	Anamangad.
Chettanallur.	Kolattur.	Paral.
Angadipuram.	Kuruvambalam.	Chembrasser.
Perintalmanna.	Pulamantol.	Pandikkad.
Pulakkattiri.	Elankulam.	

157. *Walluvanad* was apparently the latest acquisition by the Zamorin at the expense of the Walluvanad Raja. It consisted of the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Walluvanad :—

Tuvur.	Karimpula.
Tiruvalamkunnu.	Tachanattukara.
T'enkara.	Aliparamba.
Kumaramputtur.	

158. *Nedunganad* had for some time been under the Zamorin. It consisted of the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Walluvanad, viz. :—

The Zamorin's territory.
Limits.

Elambulasseri.	Cherppullasseri.	Netirimangalam.
Vellinali.	Naduvattam-	Pallipuram.
Srikrishnapuram.	karalmanna.	Kalladipatta.
Kadambalipuram.	Kulukkalaur.	Vallapula.
Kalladikod.	Chundampetta.	Kotakurissi.
Vadakkumpuram	Vilayur.	Eledattamadamba.
Muttedattama-	Pulasseri.	Chunangad.
damba.	Naduvattam.	Mulanyur.
Trikatiri.	Mututala.	Perur.
Chalavara.	Perumudiyur.	

159. *Kavalappara* under its own Nayar chief owed a sort of nominal allegiance both to the Cochin Raja and to the Zamorin. The Commissioners eventually decided in favour of his independence. His territory consisted of the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Walluvanad, viz. :—

The Kavalappara Nayar.

Limits.

Mundakodkurissi.	Karakkad.
Panamanna.	Kulappalli.
Kunattara.	Mundamuka.

Wet Lands.

160. Mr. Græme ascertained that the Huzzur Niguti (paragraph 128), as assessed in 1776-77 in the Nads¹—in Nad No. 19 by Mohidin Muppan and in Nad No. 22 by Haidros Kutti Muppan—bore the following proportions to pattam (rent) and at the following commutation rates :—

Nads.	Percentage of Pattam (rent) taken as Niguti Vittu (assessed seed.)	Commutation Rates of the Niguti Vittu into Money. Per 1,000 Maabod seers.		
		RS.	A.	P.
Vellattri (Walluvanad proper)	10 per cent.	125	0	0
Walluvanad	10 do.	125	0	0
Nedunganad—				
a. 89 Desams	} 10 do.	100	0	0
b. 9 do.		111	1	9½
Kavalappara	10 do.	100	0	0

But as regards the commutation rate for Kavalappara between 1776 and 1790-91 see paragraph 161 below regarding the Modan assessment.

¹ The names of the officers who settled Nads Nos. 20 and 21 have not been handed down.

161. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent., Tippu Sultan's increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the 10 per cent. for collection charges—the latter cess levied as early as 1778–79 in Nads 19 and 22—all affected the wet lands of these Nads (see paragraphs 117, 118 and 120 above).

Garden Lands.

162. In all of these Nads the whole of the pattam (rent), calculated in money and founded upon a valuation of the gross produce existing for a long time back between Janmis and Ryots was taken and converted into an assessment of account in the manner already described for other Nads (see paragraph 134). The customary rates for produce prevalent in all of these Nads were as follows :—

				RS.	A.	P.	
Cocoanuts ..	..	..	..	7	8	0	per 1,000 nuts,
Betel-nuts ..	..	..	..	0	4	0	do.
Jacks ..	..	..	..	0	4	0	per tree.

which rates were considerably below the actual prevailing market prices, and left to the Janmi (if he cared to break through custom and take it) a portion of the actual produce of the gardens.

163. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent., Tippu Sultan's increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the 10 per cent. levied for collection charges (*vide* paragraphs 117, 118 and 120 above) all affected the garden assessments in all of these Nads.

Miscellaneous Lands.

164. The assessment of *Modan* (see paragraph 13) in these Nads was made at different times and in different manners, and *Ellu* (paragraph 35) was assessed in only one of the Nads.

165. *Modan* in *Vellattiri* (Walluvanad proper) was assessed in 1776–77 on the following principles. The “produce” having been ascertained, 30 per cent. of it was selected as the *Niguti Villu* (see paragraph 129), and a money assessment fixed on it at the rate of half old Viray fanam (2 annas) per local para (10 seers), which, as the para in use was equal to a standard para, gave a commutation rate of Rs. $12\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000 Macleod seers. In 1796–97 to 1800–1 the whole of the *Modan* assessment of this Nad was remitted under orders of Mr. Stevens, the Supervisor, as he was then styled. In 1801–2, Major Macleod (first Principal Collector) revived the assessment, taking 20 per cent. of the gross produce and commuting it into money at a rate equivalent to Rs. $16-5-2\frac{3}{4}$ per 1,000 Macleod seers. In 1815, in a portion of this Nad, the *Modan* assessment of 1801–2 was apportioned at various rates on the wet land assessments and consolidated with them. In the rest of the Nad the previous system continued to prevail, but the jama fixed in 1801–2 had always to be realized. If the assessments exceeded the jama no action was taken, but, if they fell short, then the assessments

were raised to the requisite pitch by increasing the commutation rate so as to bring the assessments for the year up to the level of the jama (demand) of 1801-2.

166. *Modan* in *Walluvanad* and *Nedunganad* was apparently not assessed till 1801-2, when Mr. Drummond, Sub-Collector, fixed it at 20 per cent. of the gross produce, commuted into money at rates equivalent in some parts to Rs. 19-0-9½, and in other parts to Rs. 16-5-2¾ per 1,000 Macleod seers.

167. *Modan* in *Kavalappara* was assessed in 1776-77 at the rate of one-fourth old *Viray fanam* per local para of Niguti Vittu (see paragraph 129) on all *wet lands*, that is, in effect the wet lands assessment was increased from 4 to 4½ old *Viray fanams* per local para of Niguti Vittu. Owing to this the commutation rate on wet lands was raised from Rs. 100 to Rs. 106-4-0 per 1,000 Macleod seers. On this increase 10 per cent. for collection charges was also levied. In 1790-91 to 1795-96, under the Honourable Company's rule, the *Modan* assessment seems to have been revised with reference to the arrangement prevailing in Nad No. 19. Instead, however, of taking 30 per cent. of the produce as in Nad No. 19, only 20 per cent. was taken, and the remaining 10 per cent. was remitted on behalf of the Jannis. On the above 20 per cent. of produce a rate was fixed of 1 fanam 5½ annas per 2 paras (20 seers) or 1½ paras (15 seers) per fanam, or Rs. 16-10-8 per 1,000 Macleod seers. It would also seem as if the permanent demand for *Modan* assessed on the wet lands was also at the same time remitted.

168. *Ellu* in *Vellattiri* (*Walluvanad* proper) was assessed from 1776-77 on the same principles as *Modan* (see paragraph 165), viz., from 1776-77 till 1796-97 at 30 per cent. of the ascertained produce; between 1796-97 and 1800-1 the assessment was relinquished altogether; and after 1801-2 the shares of the produce taken as Niguti Vittu (*vide* paragraph 129) was 20 per cent. The commutation rates varied similarly, viz. :—

		Per 1,000 Macleod seers.
		RS.
From 1776-77 to 1789-90	..	37½
„ 1790-91 to 1795-96	..	50 to 62½
„ 1801-2	.. ..	62½

(23) PALGHAT OR VADAMALAPURAM; (24) TEMMALAPURAM;
(25) NADUVATTAM.

169. These Nads, constituting the present taluk of Palghat, may be conveniently considered together, because in revenue matters, after the Mysore occupation, they were treated, with one exception, on an

Reasons
grouping.

for

uniform plan, and because a few remarks are required regarding their political and revenue history at and about this time (1765-66).

170. The following appears to be the political history of this part of the country at the above time. Some time previously to 1757 the territories of the Palghat Rajas had suffered by severe inroads on the part of the Cochin and Walluvanad Rajas and of the Zamorin. The former had possessed himself of the Chittur territory lying east of Palghat. The Walluvanad Raja had obtained a nominal sovereignty over the three Nayarships of Kongad, Edattara, and Mannur, lying in the north-west of the present taluk, and the Zamorin had possessed himself of the division of the country called Naduvattam (Nad No. 25). To protect his territory from further dismemberment, the Palghat Raja had offered to become, and had been accepted as, a tributary of the Mysore Rajas, still best known in Malabar as the Rajas of Kongu or Kongunad. The tribute was 12,000 old Viray fanams per annum, was designated as Rakshabhogam, and was met, without assessment of land tax, from the ordinary revenues of the country. In 1757 or thereabouts the Zamorin seems to have overrun the remaining territory of the Palghat Raja and imposed a land-tax, called Kavalphanam upon it similar to one already in force in the Naduvattam Nad No. 25, and designed to meet the expenses of the force required as a defence against Mysore. It amounted to one-fourth old Viray fanam per local para (10 seers) of seed-land, i.e., land required to sow one para (10 seers) of seed in a single crop. But the Raja of Palghat applied to Hyder Ali, then Foulidar of Dindigul, in the service of Chick Deo Raj, the nominal sovereign of Mysore. On this application Hyder Ali sent a force under his brother-in-law, Muckh doom Sahib, who drove back the Zamorin's Nayars, and the Zamorin thereupon sought to compromise matters by agreeing to pay Rs. 12,00,000 as a military contribution, and by restoring the conquests he had made from Palghat, from which, however, the Naduvattam Division (Nad No. 25) seems to have been exempted. Hyder Ali afterwards made over his right to the Rs. 12,00,000 to one of the ministers of the puppet Raja of Mysore and when Hyder Ali at last usurped the Government of Mysore this claim became one of his pretexts for invading the country. After the invasion (1765-66) the Naduvattam Nad (No. 25) seems to have been managed, along with Nads 23 and 24, by the Palghat Raja's nephew as an agent of Hyder Ali.

171. *Palghat or Vaidmalapuram* comprised the following modern amsams in the modern taluk of Palghat, viz. :—

Cheraya.	Elapalli.	Vadakuntara.	Pallanchattanur.
Kongad.	Polpalli.	Koduntirapalli.	Kannadi.
Mundur.	Pallatteri.	Edattara.	Kinasseri.
Kavalpad.	Puttur.	Kilakkumpuram.	Tiruvalattur.
Akattettara.	Koppam.	Tadukasserri.	Palattulli.
Putusseri.	Yakkara.	Mattur.	

The Division of Southern Palghat. 172. *Temmalapuram* comprised the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Palghat, viz. :—

Chulanur.	Kannanurpattola.
Vadakkettara.	Ayakkad.
Kattusseri.	Mangalam.
Kavasseri.	Vadakkancheri.
Tarur.	Chittalancheri.

The Zamorin's territory. 173. *Naduvattam* comprised the following modern amsams in the modern taluk of Palghat, viz. :—

Kottaya.	Tannisseri.	Erimayur.	Kilakketara.
Mangara.	Peruvemba.	Kunisseri.	Padinynyaretara.
Kuttanur.	Koduvayur.	Pallavur.	Vattekad.
Kulalmammam.	Kakkayur.	Kudallur.	Panangattiri.
Vilayanchattanur.	Vilayannur.	Pallassana.	Mutalamada.
Tenkurissi.	Manynyalur.	Vadvannur.	

Wet lands.

174. In 1765-66 Itti Kombi Achan, Palghat Raja's nephew, as an agent of Hyder's on his invasion of the country in that year, increased the rate of assessment to one old Viray fanam per para (10 seers) of seed land (see paragraph 170).

175. In 1773-74 Sullayad Khan (commonly called Darogha Sahib) Hyder Ali's Dewan, raised the assessment to $1\frac{1}{2}$ fanams per local para (10 local seers) of seed-land, but on complaint of its oppressiveness he reduced it in Nads 23 and 24 in the following manner. When the land yielded 5 paras (50 seers) of pattam (rent) for each para (10 seers) of seed sown, the rate was maintained; but, when the land yielded a less pattam, he preserved the rate, but assessed it on a proportionately smaller quantity seed, e.g. :—

10 paras of seed-land yielding 50 paras or pattam (rent) were entered in accounts as 10 paras.					
10	do.	40	do.	8	do.
10	do.	30	do.	6	do.
10	do.	20	do.	4	do.

On these 10, 8, 6 and 4 paras respectively, he assessed his rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ fanams per para. The paras of seed-land shown in the accounts were therefore here, as well as elsewhere in the Southern Districts, factitious measures of assessment quite unconnected with the quantity of grain required to sow the land.

176. Calculating on these figures, it therefore seems that the rate of assessment in Nads 23 and 24 was 20 per cent. of the pattam (rent), converted into money at Rs. 53-9-15 per 1,000 Macleod seers; but of course the assessment falls heavier than this in

Nad 25. What ratio it bears to pattam in that Nad, it is impossible to say. Moreover in Nad 24 Modan and Ellu (paragraphs 33-35) were assessed at 8 annas per head on all persons paying wet land assessment. This increased also to some extent the wet land assessments in that Nad (*vide* paragraph 183).

177. In 1781-82 Palghat was transferred from the Mysore Cutcherry of Calicut to that of Seringapatam.

178. Consequently Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent. in the jama (demand) did not extend to these Nads (see paragraph 117).

179. But on the other hand Tippu Sultan's increase of 12½ per cent. (paragraph 118) did affect the wet lands in these Nads.

180. Moreover in Darogha Sahib's time (paragraph 175) Itti Kombi Achan established a Parbutti Menon (Accountant) and two or three Kolkars (Peons) in each Desam to collect the revenue, and imposed for the purpose of paying them, an additional tax of 5 per cent. in some places, and somewhat less in others. Under the Company's Government this was increased to 10 per cent. (see paragraph 120).

Itti Kombi
Achan's 5 per cent.
cess for establish-
ment.

Increased to 10
per cent. under
Honourable Com-
pany.

Garden Lands.

181. Were unassessed under the Mysore Government.

182. In 1801-2 Major Macleod (the first of the Principal Collectors) for the first time imposed taxes on garden produce at the following rates, with 10 per cent. added (see paragraph 120) for collection charges :-

One new Viray fanam on 8 productive Coccanut trees.
One do. on 24 do. Betel-nut trees.
One do. on 4 do. Jack trees.
Three-quarter do. on each do. Pepper-vine.

What a "productive" tree or vine was supposed to mean is not now to be ascertained but supposing that the trees actually assessed were really productive trees, and accepting as the average produce per productive tree the exceptionally low rates given in the Janmi Pymaish account of 981 (see paragraph 29 above), then it becomes possible to calculate the ratio between assessment and gross produce, and between assessment and pattam (rent); if the pattam be hypothetically taken as two-thirds of the gross produce on Mr. Rickards' plan (*vide* Appendix XV). The assessment, including the 10 per cent. for collection charges, may be taken as varying.

From about 62½ per cent. of the pattam (rent) on trees yielding an average of 10 nuts per tree at a commutation rate of Rs. 9-6-0 per 1,000 nuts, to about 67½ per cent. of the pattam (rent) on trees yielding an average of 10 nuts per tree at a commutation rate of Rs. 8-12-0 per 1,000 nuts on cocoanuts.

And from about $74\frac{2}{7}$ per cent of the pattam (rent) on trees yielding an average of $38\frac{6}{13}$ nuts per tree at a commutation rate of 11 annas per 1,000 nuts, to about $81\frac{3}{7}$ per cent. of the pattam (rent) on trees yielding an average of $38\frac{6}{13}$ nuts per tree at a commutation rate of 10 annas per 1,000 nuts on betel-nuts.

And 25 per cent of the pattam (rent) on trees yielding an average pattam (rent) of 4 annas $6\frac{2}{7}$ pies per tree on jacks.

As to pepper, assuming that the same principle was observed in these Nads as elsewhere, and that the assessment was fixed on any number of vines, which were calculated to yield 15 lbs. of green or 6 lb. of dry pepper, the percentage of the assessment to the gross produce would be about $62\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Miscellaneous Lands.

183. *Modan* and *Ellu* (see paragraphs 33 and 35) were assessed by the Mysorean Government only in Tenmalapuram (Nad No. XXIV), and there the assessment was not on produce or rent, but at the rate of 2 old Viray fanams (8 annas) per individual paying wet land revenue.

(26) VETTATNAD.

184. This Nad was subject to the Vottatta Raja, over whom the Zamorin also claimed certain nominal suzerain rights. The family—a Kshatriya one—became extinct on the death of the last Raja, on 24th May 1793, while the Joint Commissioners were proceeding with the settlement of the Nad. It consisted of the following modern amsams in the modern taluk of Ponnani:—

The Vettatta
Raj extinct.

Death, 24th May
1793, of last Raja.

Limits.

Pariyapuram.	Ponmundam.	Trikkandiyur.
Rayirimangalam.	Tanalur.	Iringavur.
Olur.	Niramarutur.	Klari.
Kalpakanthori.	Talakkad.	Chonnara.
Melmuri.	Vettam.	Triprangod.
Anantavur.	Pachattiri.	Pallipuram.
Kanmanam.	Mangalam.	Purattur.

Wet Lands.

185. In 1777 Ramalinga Pillay, an agent of Hyder Ali's Government, upon an inspection of the Janmi's pattam (rent) accounts of rice-lands, assumed for the whole taluk, for the purpose of introducing the Huzzur Niguti (see paragraphs 128, 129), one local para (10 local seers) of Niguti Vittu (paragraph 129) for every 4 paras of pattam (rent) (i.e., 25 per cent), and applied to it a tax of 3 old Viray fanams (i.e., Rs. 75 per 1,000 Macleod seers).

186. But Mr. Graeme ascertained that the actual shares of the pattam taken as *Niguti Vittu* varied greatly as per particulars below :—

In 65 Desams 25 per cent.	} at the uniform rate of Rs. 75 per 1,000 Macleod scors.
In 38 Desams $22\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.	
In 8 Desams 20 per cent.	
In 7 Desams $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.	

187. In 1782–83, in the time of Arshad Beg Khan, a complaint was made of the severity of the assessments, but 1782–83. no attention was paid to it. and, on the contrary, two of his subordinates (Venkappa and Venkaji) levied an additional contribution of 15 per cent of charges for collection in all the Desams (compare paragraph 120). Arshad Beg Khan's order regarding reduction of 20 per cent extended to this Nad, but whether it was ever acted on is extremely doubtful (see paragraph 117). T.ppu's increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent affected this Nad (paragraph 118).

188. Between 1790–91 and 1793–94 the full revenue at the 1790–91. above rates was gradually revived and collected with some balances till 1800–1.

189. Major Macleod's survey or rather inspection in 1801–2, 1801–3. followed by an attempt to collect the increased revenue, resulted in a rebellion, and Mr. Rickards in 1802–3 reverted to the settlement of 1800–1.

190. In 1803–4, however, Mr. Warden, the next of the Principal 1803–4. Collectors, directed one-fourth of the increase to the assessment fixed by Major Macleod's survey to be collected. This increase, it may be presumed, did not affect the principles of the settlement in force.

191. To this increase was superadded 15 per cent. for charges of collection (see paragraph 187).

Garden Lands.

192. In introducing, in 1777–78, the Huzzur Niguti (paragraph 134) in this Nad, Ramalinga Pillay left a small 1777–78. margin for the proprietor, viz., 20 per cent. of the pattam (rent), in the manner already described in paragraph 147, so that only 80 per cent of the pattam (rent) was taken as assessment in this Nad. There is no record of what the customary commutation rates between Janms and Ryots were in this Nad, but it is likely they were the same as in the neighbouring Nads; and in all other Nads in South Malabar except Nos. 23, 24 and 25, viz. :—

	RS. A. P.			
Cocoanuts	7	8	0	per 1,000 nuts.
Betel-nuts	0	4	0	do.
Jacks	0	4	0	per tree.

193. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent. and Tippu Sultan's increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (paragraphs 117, 118) were applied to the garden lands in this Nad.

1790-94. 194. In 1790-91 to 1793-94 the full assessment at the above rates was gradually revived.

195. Major Macleod, in 1801-2, increased the assessment on gardens as on wet lands (paragraph 189). Mr. Rickards also reverted to the previous settlement of 1800-1 (paragraph 189), and Mr. Warden likewise, in 1803-4, levied one-fourth of Major Macleod's increase (paragraph 190).

196. The establishment charges percentage was likewise 15 per cent. on gardens as on wet lands (paragraph 187), and was levied on the one-fourth of Major Macleod's increase by Mr. Warden.

Miscellaneous Lands.

197. Under the Mysore Government the same rules were applied in this Nad as in Nads Nos. 13 and 14 to the assessment of *Modan* (paragraph 33), viz., 20 per cent. of the gross produce, valued at current market rates, wherever that crop was cultivated (see paragraph 136).

1801-2. 198. In 1801-2 Major Macleod took the actual revenue of that year as the standard of a permanent demand and included it in the regular jama (demand), spreading the collection of it over three years; but in applying this procedure two different modes were adopted, viz.:—

In 62 Desams 20 per cent of the gross produce was taken as the pattam (rent), and of this pattam (rent) 25 per cent (or, say, 5 per cent. of the gross produce) was taken as assessment and commuted at the rate of Rs. 85-11-5- $\frac{1}{4}$ per 1,000 Macleod seers.

In 7 Desams every para (10 seers) of seed sown was assessed at one now Viray fanam. Assuming the outturn to be five-fold, the assessment would be 20 per cent. of the gross produce, valued at Rs. 28-9-1- $\frac{5}{7}$ per 1,000 Macleod seers.

199. In the 62 Desams the crop was further assessed at 15 per cent. for collection charges (see paragraphs 120, 187) and in the 7 Desams at 10 per cent.

1801-2. 200. After 1801-2 fresh assessments continued to be levied on the Mysore principles, viz., 20 per cent. of gross produce at current market rates.

201. The cultivation of *Ellu* (paragraph 35) being very inconsiderable was not assessed in this Nad.

(27) KUTNAD ; (28) CHAVAKKAD AND CHETVAI.

202. The Zamorin at the time of the Mysore invasion possessed suzerain rights over both of these Nads, except over the island of Chetvai, consisting of the following amsams of the modern taluk of Ponnani, viz. :—

Chetvai Island.	Vadanapalli.	Kaippamangalam.
Limits.	Nattika.	Pappinivattam.
	Pallipuram.	Panangad.
	Edattirutti.	

This island had from 1717 been in the possession of the Dutch, from whom, however, it was taken by Hyder Ali in 1776, and in turn from the Mysoreans by the Honourable Company in 1790.

The above two Nads consisting of the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Ponnani :—

Kutnad.

Tavanur.	Isvaramangalam.	Nagalasseri.
Kaladi.	Pallapuram.	Tirumittakod.
Kodanad.	Ponnani.	Otalur.
Melattur.	Kanyyiramukku.	Kappur.
Chekkod.	Edappal.	Alangod.
Anakkara.	Vattamkulam.	Pallikkara.
Kilmuri.	Kumaranallur.	Eramangalam.
Pottanur.	Kotachira.	Vayilattur.

Chavakkad and Chetvai.

Veliangod.	Guruvayur.	Chavakkad.	Edattirutti.
Ayirur.	Iringapuram.	Orumanayur.	Kaippamangalam.
Kadikkad.	Annakara.	Vadanapalli.	Pappinivattam
Punnayur.	Brahmakulam.	Nattika.	Panangad.
Edakaliyur.	Mullasseri.	Pallipuram.	
Palayur.	Venkidanga.		

Wet Lands.

203. In 1765-66 Hyder Ali paid a visit to these Nads, and his agents and his tributary, the Coimbatore Raja (Maha Deo Raj, usually styled Madavan in Malabar), afterwards till 1767-68 managed the country and levied irregular and violent contributions both on the personal and on the real property of the inhabitants.

204. From 1767-68 till 1773 these Nads were again under the Zamorin.

205. In 1773 Chunder Row and Sreenivas Row came with troops and wrested the country from the Zamorin. By their orders the Nads were rented to Mohidin Muppan and Hajdros Kutti, who collected 100 per cent. of the

pattam (rent), but finding that insufficient to enable them to meet their engagements, they imposed further contributions and seized personal property. Finding this means also fail, they carried some of the inhabitants to Seringapatam with whatever accounts of the pattam (rent) were extant.

206. On their return in 1777-78 they commenced to collect what they called the Huzzur Niguti (paragraphs 128, 1777-78. 129) upon an actual reaping and measuring of the crop, taking two-thirds of the gross produce as the Government share on rice-lands and leaving one-third to the cultivator. The consequence was the people fled and the lands lay uncultivated.

207. About this time Ramalinga Pillay came under orders from Hyder Ali and made a survey, but the amount fell short of the Huzzur Niguti (see paragraphs 128, 129).

208. In 1779-80 Jumien Subahdar was sent by Hyder Ali in consequence of the outcry of the people to equalize the assessment. He ascertained the probable landlord's rent, styled the Mudalalinra pattam (headman's rent), and took

			Per 1,000 Macleod seers.		
			RS.	A.	P.
In 282 Desams	..	60 per cent at	31	4	0
In 24 do.	..	60 do. at	25	0	0

209. To the above was added 10 per cent., as Chelluvari (charges of collection) (see paragraph 120).

210. In 1781-82 the British possessed the country for a short time and the restored Rajas had the management of it.

211. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent. and Tippu's increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (see paragraphs 117, 118) affected the assessment on the wet lands.

212. In 1785-86 Krishna Achari, appointed by Arshad Bog Khan to the management, added two-sixteenths of an old Viray fanam, or $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., to the jama (demand) under the designation of Hecha Niguti.

213. In 1790-91 the Honourable Company allowed the Rajas to manage these Nads, the Chetvai Island being made over to the management of the Raja of Cochin, who continued, with a short interruption, to manage it till 1801, paying a revenue of Rs. 40,000 per annum.

214. In 1791-92 three-fourths and in 1792-93 six-tenths of the old jama (demand) were collected in the Nads, excepting Chetvai Island.

215. In 1793-94 the Honourable Company's servants and the
 1793-94. Rajas collected the full jama (demand) on all
 cultivated lands, and added another 10 per cent.,
 for charges of collection (see paragraphs 120, 209), and this continued
 till 1799-1800.

216. In 1800-1 Mr. Drummond, Sub-Collector, increased
 1800-1. the revenue by adding an assessment on the
 uncultivated lands.

217. In 1801-2 the jama (demand) was regulated by Major
 1801-2. Macleod's survey, but Mr. Rickards in 1802-3
 annulled it and reverted to that of 1800-1.
 However, in some places the increase made by Major Macleod was
 allowed to remain.

Garden Lands.

218. The principles of the Huzur Niguti (paragraphs 128, 134)
 were applied to the garden lands, viz. : 100 per cent of the pattam
 (rent) was taken at the customary rates usual between Janmis and
 Ryots in these Nads, which rates were, as usual in South Malabar,—

			RS.	A.	P.	
Coco-nuts	..	..	7	8	0	per 1,000 nuts.
Betel-nuts	..	..	0	4	0	do.
Jacks	..	..	0	4	0	per tree.

considerably below market prices.

219. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent. (paragraph
 117) extended to the garden assessments.

220. The Mysore Government, and afterwards the Honourable
 Company, seem both to have imposed 10 per cent. (or 20 per cent.,
 in all) for collection charges (see paragraphs 120, 209 and 215).

221. The Hecha Niguti of Krishna Achari, or a further addition
 of 12½ per cent., seems also to have been imposed on gardens.

222. Moreover, Major Macleod's increase in
 1801-2. 1801-2 on the garden assessments was not
 apparently removed.

Miscellaneous Lands.

223. No assessments were imposed on *Modan* or *Ellu* (para-
 graphs 33 and 35), the cultivation of which was inconsiderable.

SUB-SECTION III.—RETROSPECTIVE SUMMARY AS FOR THE YEAR 1805-6 IN THE LOW COUNTRY.

224. Before proceeding to deal with the subsequent measures
 taken for adjusting the land revenue assess-
 ments, it will be as well to summarise retrospec-
 tively the measures already described, so as to
 bring, as far as possible within one view, the position of affairs as
 existing in the year 1805-6.

Necessity for the
 summary.

225. Before giving the results of this proposed retrospect, it will be necessary to describe the method in which it is proposed to work them out.

226. The year 1805-6 has been selected as a convenient point of time for doing this, because, following on the insurrection of 1803 (consequent on Major Macleod's ill-advised innovations). Mr. Rickards, the Principal Collector, with a view to remedying the extreme inequalities of assessment as well as to establish some fixed principles on which to base a new assessment, was at considerable pains to ascertain from the chief Jannis what mode of sharing the produce of the land would be most acceptable to them. Having ascertained this (29th June 1803), he recommended the scheme for adoption (1st July 1803), and it was sanctioned by Government (Board of Revenue to Principal Collector, 5th May 1804) and embodied in a proclamation and published throughout the district (21st July 1805)—see Appendix No. XV.

Mr. Rickards' plans for establishing principles of assessment.

The principles he recommended were finally sanctioned, 5th May 1804.

The shares of produce thus sanctioned.

226 a. The shares of the produce thus ascertained as being acceptable to the chief Jannis were as follows :—

Wet Lands.

Deduct from the gross produce the seed and a similar quantity for expenses of cultivation, allot one-third of the balance to the cultivator for profit, divide the remainder in the proportions of 60 per cent. and 40 per cent. between the Government and the Janmi respectively, and commute the Government share into money "under a consideration to local value of the several articles in the different districts."

Illustration.

Quantities of Seed.	Outturn Multiple.			Gross Produce.
				PARAS.
5 paras	×	15	=	75
				PARAS.
Deduct—				
Seed	..	..	..	5
Expenses	..	..	..	5
				— 10
				—
			Balance paras	.. 65
One-third to cultivator for profit		..	..	.. 21 $\frac{2}{3}$
"				—
Remainder, being the share available as				
pattam (rent) or two-thirds net produce ..				.. 43 $\frac{1}{3}$
60 per cent. of 43 $\frac{1}{3}$ paras to Government—paras.				26
40 per cent. of 43 $\frac{1}{3}$ paras to Janmi = do.				17 $\frac{1}{3}$
				— 43 $\frac{1}{3}$

Garden Lands.

Cocoanuts and Arecas.—The pattam (rent) was to be divided between the Government and the Janmi half to each, the Government share being commuted into money at local rates.

Illustration.

	Nuts.
Gross produce	100
Deduct cultivator's one-third share	33 $\frac{1}{3}$
Remainder, being the share available as pattam (rent) or two-thirds gross produce	66 $\frac{2}{3}$
50 per cent. to Government	33 $\frac{1}{3}$
50 per cent. to Janmi	33 $\frac{1}{3}$
	— 66 $\frac{2}{3}$

Jacks.—The same principle was adopted as in the case of other garden produce, namely, 50 per cent of the pattam (rent) was to go to Government and the remaining 50 per cent. to the Janmi but the pattam (rent) stated in money was not fixed at any prescribed share of the gross or of the net produce.

Pepper.—It is unnecessary to state what the sanctioned shares of the pepper produce were as the assessment was in 1806-7 taken off the land and an export duty levied instead.

The sanctioned standard shares of Government in the produce. 226 b. The standard shares of Government in the produce, that is, the revenue assessments, were therefore fixed at—

60 per cent. of the pattam (rent) for wet lands.

60 do. do. do. garden lands.

227. But this pattam (rent) was, it will be observed to be calculated in peculiar methods, whence it got its name of the *Vilachchal meni pattam*, that is, in the case of wet lands two-thirds of the net produce to be ascertained in a certain manner; and, in the case of cocoanuts and areca-nuts, two-thirds of the gross produce in nuts only. In the case of jacks no estimate of produce was to be made, but the money pattam (rent) was to be ascertained. How this was usually done will be alluded to presently when considering Verumpattam.

228. And here it will be as well, before going further, to elucidate and distinguish this *Vilachchal meni pattam* from the other two kinds of rent (pattam) alluded to by Mr. Graeme and differently determined. And there is all the more reason for this, because in the foregoing account no distinction has been drawn between the different kinds of rent (pattam) referred to, when treating of the various Nads. The three kinds of rent (pattam) alluded to in Mr. Graeme's report are—

I. *Vilachchal meni pattam*, which has just been described.

II. *Verumpattam* or actual rent received by Janmis from Ryots.

(a) the *Verum-* Mr. Graeme was most unfortunately prevented
pattam. (paragraph 1131 of his report) from pursuing detailed inquiries into the ratios which the *Verumpattam* (actual rent) bore to gross produce or to net produce. He was consequently obliged to have recourse to the statements submitted to Mr. Warden, the Principal Collector, by Janmis in the year 981 (1805-6). These statements were found by him on examination to give in most cases grossly false accounts of the rent (*pattam*) receivable by Janmis, so they served very little purpose beyond furnishing facts to show how false they were on this point. It will be seen in the sequel that lack of precise information as to what the actual rents were, not only vitiated Mr. Graeme's proposals in regard to wet lands and diverted his attention away from points in regard to the position of sub-tenants, to which the Court of Directors had turned their earnest attention, but precipitated the collision between the parties interested in the land, and indirectly led to the Mappilla fanatical outrages and other evils (*Section A of this Chapter*). The general information on which he relied was defective, because it did not enable him to distinguish between rent paid by intermediaries and rent paid to intermediaries by sub-tenants. Whether, therefore, the facts which follow relate to rents paid direct by the Ryots to the Janmis or by intermediary Kanakkar to the Janmis, it is now impossible to say. The general information he received was to the following effect:—

On *wet lands* the *Verumpattam* varied from 10 per cent. of the "average available gross produce;" in particular places, where accidents were liable to happen from wild beasts, etc., to 33 and 45 per cent. of the same; and "even as high as 50 per cent. of the same when the settlement with the tenant is only for one year." By this use of the word "available" reference was made to the customary deduction of 20 per cent. of the gross produce for the expenses of reaping, threshing and winnowing, and for fees to carpenters, smiths, and other petty proprietors, who, like the Janmi himself, had Janmam rights in the land. This deduction of 20 per cent. did not in Mr. Graeme's time, and, it may be noted in passing, does not even now in many cases enter into any calculations of gross produce.

Garden lands.—In the case of *coconuts* and *areca-nuts*, the *Verumpattam* was the balance of the *produce*¹ in *nuts* after deducting for the cultivator's share 20 per cent. of the same in North Malabar, and 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. of the same in South Malabar; but as the customary commutation rates were respectively Rs. 10 and Rs. 7-8-0 in the two divisions, the real customary shares of the cultivators were as Rs. 20² and Rs. 25² respectively on every 10,000 nuts.

¹ The gross produce was taken to be the whole number of nuts of all sizes on the trees at one time, less one-third for accidents, loss by rats, windfalls, etc.; but see also, "*Koyilmeni*" in the Glossary, Appendix XIII.

² Take two gardens in North and South Malabar, respectively producing each 10,000 nuts gross produce; then—

In North Malabar the cultivator's share of produce is 2,000 nuts, which, at Rs. 10 per millo, the customary rate, are worth Rs. 20.

In South Malabar the cultivator's share is 3,333 $\frac{1}{3}$ nuts, which, at Rs. 7-8-0 per millo, are worth Rs. 25.

This leaves out of account the other produce of these gardens, such as cocoanut husks, from which coir fibre is made, leaves for thatching, branches, wood, etc., all of which fell to the cultivator's share for profit (*labham*), and was excluded from any estimate of produce in fixing the *Verumpattam*. Moreover these shares, Mr. Graeme noted, were sufficient remuneration to the cultivator only when the gardens were fully planted up and in bearing, but they were insufficient remuneration if the garden was not in full bearing, and would not enable the cultivator to keep up the garden in good style. These remarks, which still continue true, have a most important bearing on the relations between Janmis and Ryots of garden lands.

In the case of *Jack trees* it has never been customary to estimate the produce (either gross or net) except at its money value, and its money value depends entirely on whether there is a market for the produce or not, within reasonable distance. The fruit, from its bulkiness, is not easily carried to any great distance and it readily spoils. The money value of the produce is determined in a rough sort of way upon inspection. So many of the trees—having regard to quality and distance from a market—are judged to be capable of yielding one fanam of pattam (rent). In some places where the trees are in bad order, or the market is distant, a great number of trees may be required to yield one fanam of pattam (rent), and in other places any number of trees would be insufficient, the trees not being capable of bearing even one fanam of pattam (rent) from the lack of demand for the produce. Under such circumstances the customary *Verumpattam* was probably, as in the case of cocos and arecas, one-third of the gross produce; but, unlike cocos and arecas, estimated in money at no fixed rate per fixed quantity of produce.

III. The *Niguti Pattam*.—Mr. Graeme found, on proceeding to inquire into details, that the divisional (Hobali) accounts specified in the case of each wet land what the number of paras (each 10 seers) of *Niguti Vittu* (assessed seed) (paragraph 129) was, but they were silent (as already noticed, paragraph 128) in regard to the proportion which the *Niguti Vittu* (assessed seed) bore to the gross or to the net produce. Under these circumstances Mr. Graeme resorted to information from “the principal inhabitants,” and learning from them, first in the case of the Calicut Taluk Nads (Nos. XII, XIII, XIV) and afterwards in the case of the other Nads in South Malabar, as they were taken up one by one, what proportion the *Niguti Vittu* (assessed seed) bore to the pattam (rent) shown in the accounts sent by Sirdar Khan to Seringapatam, he worked back in this way to a pattam (rent) which, to distinguish it from the others just above described, he called the *Niguti pattam*, or pattam on which the assessment (*Niguti*) was fixed. Moreover the people, on being questioned, readily admitted that the pattam shown in the accounts sent to Seringapatam by Sirdar Khan was incorrect. The *Verumpattam* or actual rent was, they continued, in some places concealed,

(b) The Mysorean
Niguti pattam.

and in other places understated with the connivance of the Mysorean officers owing to favor, intrigue, or local causes. This third kind of pattam extended only to the Nads in which the Huzzur Niguti (see paragraphs 128, 131) was in force, and in them it extended to all lands, both wet and garden. It will be seen from what has been stated that it represented no fixed share of the produce in kind, but the share in kind, whatever it was, was commuted into money at fixed rates.

229. Now, on referring back to the historical details given in the preceding narrative, it will be seen that in the year 1805-6 the revenue assessments were regulated in the various Nads in the following manner :—

What *pattam* regulated the assessments in what Nads in 1805-6.

(a) On both wet lands and garden lands in Nads I, V and VI, partly by the *Vilachchal meni pattam* and partly by the *verumpattam* ;

(b) On both wet lands and garden lands in Nads II, III, IV, and VII, and on wet lands only in Nads XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVII and XXVIII, by the *verumpattam* ; and

(c) On both wet lands and garden lands in Nads VIII to XXII and XXVI, and on garden lands only in Nads XXVII and XXVIII, by the *Niguti pattam*.

The garden land assessments in Nads XXIII, XXIV and XXV have, for purposes of comparison in the foregoing narrative, been taken as shares of the *Vilachchal meni pattam*, though, of course, that *pattam* was not a standard in force anywhere at the time (1801-2).

230. Bearing in mind, then, the differences which existed between

The actual assessment shares of produce will be compared with the standard assessment shares of produce,

and the comparison will be extended (in the inverse ratio) to the actual commutation rates so as to obtain a fair approximation to the actual incidence of the assessments in the various Nads in 1805-6.

these various *pattams* (rents), it will be found possible to compare the standard rates of assessment (viz., 60 per cent. of pattam on wet lands and 50 per cent. of pattam on garden lands, paragraph 226) with the actual rates originally assessed and afterwards more or less modified in the respective Nads, and this comparison will, when extended to the commutation rates for produce (in the inverse ratios, of course), give a fair approximation to the comparative incidence as in 1805-6 of the assessments on the respective Nads. The approximation will, of course, be more or less unreliable as between Nads in which different standards of pattam prevailed, but nothing more precise is available. An example will best illustrate what is intended.

In Nads XII, XIII, XIV the percentages of *Niguti pattam* taken

Illustration of what is intended.

as revenue on wet lands were 30 and 25, at commutation rates of Rs. 50 and Rs. 60 per 1,000 Macleod seers respectively (paragraph 129). After deducting from these commutation rates 20 per cent. for Arshad Beg Khan's reduction (paragraph 130), and after adding 12½ per cent. for Tippu's increase by the substitution of Sultani fanams for old

Viray fanams (paragraph 130), and after adding 10 per cent. for establishment charges imposed under the Honourable Company's Government (paragraph 132), the sequence of these events being in the order in which they have been placed, the commutation rates come out at Rs. 49-8-0 and Rs. 59-6-4½ per 1,000 Macleod seers respectively. Then, in order to ascertain the equivalents of these rates at the 60 percentage standard assessment the following calculation has to be made :—

Standard Assess- ment.	Actual Percentage taken.			Actual Commu- tation Rate.			Equivalent Commutation rate at 60 per cent.		
				RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.
60 ;	30 ;	2 ;	1 ;	49	8	0	24	12	0
60 ;	25 ;	12 ;	5 ;	59	6	4½	24	12	0

That is to say, the equivalent of 30 per cent. of the *Niguti pattam* (rent) at a commutation rate of Rs. 49-8-0 and of 25 per cent. of the *Niguti pattam* at a commutation rate of Rs. 59-6-4½ is, at 60 per cent. of the *Niguti pattam*, a commutation rate of Rs. 24-12-0. It will thus be seen that although different percentages of pattam (rent) were taken as revenue assessments in different parts of these Nads, still the actual result was that the money assessment imposed was uniform throughout.

The sub-joined table shows :—

231. Worked out in the method above described the following table has been prepared. It shows

(a) The actual assessments, as in 1805-6 [varying percentages of pattam (rent) commuted into money at varying rates], worked out to their equivalents in the standard assessments [60 per cent. of pattam (rent) on wet lands and 50 per cent. of pattam (rent) on garden lands, see paragraph 226b] at the commutation rates which appear in columns 2, 4, 6 and 8, and

(b) The commutation rates for produce adopted by Mr. Graeme in 1822, no earlier figures being available.

(b) The commutation rates for produce adopted after full inquiry by Mr. Graeme in 1822 there being no earlier figures available.

Taluks and Nad numbers.	Wet Lands.		Cocoanut Trees.		Areca-nut Trees.		Jack Trees.	
	Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Produce.		Per 1,000 Nuts.		Per ,000 Nuts.		Per Pattam Tree.	
	Assessment Commutation Rates as in 1805-6.	Græme's Commutation Rates in 1822.	Assessment Commutation Rates as in 1805-6.	Græme's Commutation Rates in 1822.	Assessment Commutation Rates as in 1805-6.	Græme's Commutation Rates in 1822.	Assessment Rates as in 1805-6.	Græme's Rates in 1822.
Chirakkal .. { I	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
	34 9 4	29 1 11	12 0 0	10 0 0	0 7 7	0 8 0	0 7 8	0 6 4
	35 13 4	31 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 6 4	0 6 4
	11 4 0		4 0 0		0 3 2		0 2 6	
Kottayam .. { II	75 0 0							
	37 8 0	31 8 0	13 5 4	10 0 0	0 12 9	0 7 2	0 12 9	0 11 2
	26 4 0		10 0 0		0 8 6		0 9 7	
	18 12 0				0 6 4			
Kurumbranad and Calicut. { III	49 12 9		20 0 0	10 0 0	0 12 9	0 6 4	0 12 9	0 6 4
	45 0 0	29 9 5	14 6 4	10 0 0	0 9 2	0 6 4	0 9 2	0 6 4
	41 8 0		12 0 0		0 7 8		0 7 8	
	45 0 0	32 3 8	10 0 0	10 0 0	0 6 4	0 6 4	0 3 2	0 6 4
Ernad and part of Ponnani. { IV	34 9 4	30 15 10	10 0 0	10 0 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 6 4	0 8 0
	40 0 0	32 0 1	12 0 0	10 0 0	0 7 8	0 6 4	0 7 8	0 6 4
	33 12 0	25 14 5		10 0 0				0 4 1
	30 15 0	25 0 8		9 9 3	0 7 11	0 6 4	0 7 11	0 4 0
Ernad and part of Ponnani. { V	28 8 11	25 0 0	14 13 7	8 12 0				0 5 4
	28 0 3	24 14 2		10 0 0				0 5 0
		22 13 0	14 13 7	9 13 9	0 7 11	0 8 0	0 7 11	0 4 3
		21 6 10		8 12 0				
Ernad and part of Ponnani. { VI	41 4 0	20 0 9						
	34 6 0	18 14 9	14 13 7	8 15 3	0 7 11	0 9 0	0 7 11	0 4 2
	30 15 0	18 8 3	11 13 8	8 12 0	0 6 4	0 8 0	0 6 4	0 4 0
	24 12 0	18 4 11						
Ernad and part of Ponnani. { VII	20 10 0							
Ernad and part of Ponnani. { VIII, IX, X, XI.								
Ernad and part of Ponnani. { XII, XIII, XIV.								
Ernad and part of Ponnani. { XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII.								

Taluks and Nad Numbers.	Wet Lands.		Coconut Trees.		Arecanut Trees.		Jack Trees.	
	Per 1,000 Macleod Soers of Produce.		Per 1,000 Nuts.		Per 1,000 Nuts.		Per Pattam Tree.	
	Assessment Commutation Rates as in 1805-6.	Græme's Commutation Rates in 1822.	Assessment Commutation Rates as in 1805-6.	Græme's Commutation Rates in 1822.	Assessment Commutation Rates as in 1805-6.	Græme's Commutation Rates in 1822.	Assessment Rates as in 1805-6.	Græme's Rates in 1822.
	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
Walluvanad .. { XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV.	{ 20 10 0 18 5 4 16 8 0 22 2 2	{ 15 10 2 14 7 6 12 14 3 10 2 2 17 6 10 15 2 0	{ 14 13 7	{ 8 12 0	{ 0 7 11	{ 0 11 0 0 10 0	{ 0 7 11	{ 0 4 6
Palghat .. { XXV ..	{ The assess- ment fell somewhat more heav- ily than in Nads	{ 17 10 5	{ 12 8 8	{ 9 0 0	{ 1 1 10	{ 0 10 4	{ 0 2 6	{ 0 4 6
	{ XXIII, XXIV, but the ratio cannot be precisely stated (see para. 176).							
Ponnani .. { XXVI ..	{ 32 5 6 28 12 0 25 14 0 21 9 0	{ 19 14 0	{ 12 6 9	{ 9 13 6	{ 0 9 11	{ 0 10 0	{ 0 9 11	{ 0 4 6
	{ XXVII, XXVIII.	{ 18 12 11 17 9 1	{ 18 5 11	{ 10 0 0 9 1 8	{ 0 9 9	{ 0 8 0	{ 0 9 9	{ 0 4 0

Miscellaneous Lands.

232. No agreement was come to in 1803-5 regarding the proper mode of sharing the produce of lands not per-

manently assessed to revenue, that is to say, Puttada or Modan, Punam and Ellu lands (see paragraphs 33, 34, 35); but, as most of the materials are available, it will be useful to institute

a comparison similar to the above in respect of such assessments also as for the year 1805-6. And the assessment share of produce with which they may most suitably be compared is that which prevailed generally both under the Mysore

and under the Honourable Company's Governments in South Malabar, and which Mr. Græme subsequently recommended for adoption (para-

graph 1273 of his report), viz., 20 per cent. of the gross produce.

Nads.	Puttada or Modan.		Punam.		Ellu.	
	Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Produce.		Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Produce.		Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Produce.	
	Assessment Commutation Rates as in 1805-6.	Græme's Commutation Rates in 1822.	Assessment Commutation Rates as in 1805-6.	Græme's Commutation Rates in 1822.	Assessment Commutation Rates as in 1805-6.	Græme's Commutation Rates in 1822.
	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	
I .. {	70 0 0	29 1 11	{ 70 0 0	29 1 11	40 0 0	Not on record so far as known.
II .. {	52 8 0	31 0 0	{ 52 8 0	31 0 0	100 0 0	
III .. {	50 0 0	31 8 0	{ 60 0 0	20 0 5	100 0 0	
IV .. {	70 0 0	29 0 5	{ 70 0 0	30 15 10	100 0 0	
V .. {	70 0 0	32 0 1	{ 80 0 0	32 0 1	60 0 0	
VI .. {	80 0 0	25 14 5				
VIII, IX, X, XI. {	30 3 7	25 0 8			42 5 0	
XII, XIII, XIV. {	28 0 1	25 0 0			71 6 10	
XV .. {	28 0 1	21 6 10				
XVI .. {	21 7 10	20 0 9				
XVII .. {	17 2 3	18 8 3				
XVIII .. {	17 2 3	18 14 0				
XIX .. {	10 5 2	18 4 11				
XX, XXI .. {	10 0 0	14 7 6			62 8 0	
XXII .. {	10 5 2	10 2 2				
XXIII .. {	10 10 8	12 14 3				
XXIV .. {	8 annas per head on persons paying wet land revenue.	15 10 2				
XXV .. {					8 annas per head on persons paying wet land revenue.	
XXVI .. {	28 0 1					
XXVII, XXVIII. {	21 6 10	19 14 0				

N.B.—Græme's commutation rates for low ground paddy produce have been taken as the market prices for Modan and Punam paddy, although, as a rule, these grains do not fetch so much in the market.

233. These figures confirm what had all along been recognized as a fact, viz., that the assessments (especially on wet and miscellaneous lands) in North Malabar were comparatively heavier than those in South Malabar. This fact had influenced the Supervisor, and afterwards the second Commissioners, not to extend to North Malabar the 10 per cent. establishment cess (paragraph 120) which they imposed on lands in the south. At the same time, it should be noticed that in the calculations made in preparing these tables, the full deduction has been allowed for Arshad Beg Khan's remission of 20 per cent. all round; while, as matter of fact, it is extremely doubtful (as already noticed, paragraph 117) if any such deduction ever really took place. The remission probably went into the pockets of the officials. This fact must be constantly borne in mind when comparing the assessments of South Malabar with those of the north.

234. Whilst, however, the assessments were comparatively heavier in the north, they were at the same time less oppressive individually, that is to say, the burden was more evenly divided. This is to be accounted for, first, by the fact that the assessments in the north were based on the *Vilachchal menī pattam* and on the *Verumpattam*, that is to say, on certain fixed proportions of the gross or net produce; and secondly, by the fact that the assessments were made by the chieftains themselves, who, as tributaries first of Mysore and afterwards of the Honourable Company, were not easily deceived as to the capabilities of the land, and who had every inducement to make the assessments heavy on all lands but their own; whereas, in the south, the assessment was chiefly the work of Mysorean officials, who, as strangers to the province, were more easily imposed upon, and who were, perhaps, more ready to be complacent or severe according as inducements were held out to them or refused. The result of course was that in the south the *Niguti pattam* represented no certain share either of the net or of the gross produce (paragraph 228) and individual assessments were very unequal. For example, in Nads VIII, IX, X and XI, Mr. Græme found that in one instance the garden assessment was 4,085 per cent. of the pattam, in two instances over 2,000 per cent., in three instances over 1,000 per cent., and in other instances less than 1,000 per cent., but far in excess of the proper proportion of the pattam.

Wet Lands.

235. An examination of the figures discloses the following fact in regard to wet lands:—It is not to be presumed that the

The actual assessment commutation rates of 1805-6 are, with three exceptions, higher than the market rates adopted by Mr. Graeme in 1822, and the excess is a measure of the excess of actual assessments over the standard assessment.

market prices of produce should have fallen between 1805-6 and 1822, and yet Mr. Graeme's rates, adopted in 1822, are (with three exceptions occurring within the territory administered by the Honourable Company's Factors at Tellicherry) below the assessment commutation rates prevalent in 1805-6. The extent to which the rates of 1805-6 exceed, as noticed, the rates of 1822 is the measure of the extent to which the actual assessment in 1805-6 exceeded the standard assessment of 60 per cent., of the pattam (rent) if it is assumed that the market prices did not vary meanwhile. If, on the other hand, the market prices were rising between 1805-6 and 1822 (as may safely be assumed to have been the case under regular British rule), the actual assessments of 1805-6 must have still more exceeded the standard assessment of 60 per cent.

Garden Lands.

236. Similar remarks to the above occur under garden lands but more particularly as regards cocoanut trees. Similarly, the cocoanut garden assessments exceeded the standard assessments, but arecas seem to have been exceptionally favoured in many places.

It was in the territory lying round the Tellicherry factory that the cocoanut tree rates of 1805-6 approximated to, and in one instance ran lower than, Mr. Graeme's rates of 1822. The cocoanut tree rates generally were much too high. Areca-nut trees seem to have been less severely taxed than other produce in the district generally, for in many of the Nads, Mr. Graeme's rates of 1822 are higher than the assessment rates of 1805-6. As regards jack trees, the assessments seem to have been, with a few exceptions, too high. It is unnecessary, however, to go into more detail regarding the garden assessments, because the garden land assessments were subsequently revised throughout the district.

While, on the other hand, jacks were too highly assessed nearly everywhere.

It was in the territory lying round the Tellicherry factory that the cocoanut tree rates of 1805-6 approximated to, and in one instance ran lower than, Mr. Graeme's rates of 1822. The cocoanut tree rates generally were much too high. Areca-nut trees seem to have been less severely taxed than other produce in the district generally, for in many of the Nads, Mr. Graeme's rates of 1822 are higher than the assessment rates of 1805-6. As regards jack trees, the assessments seem to have been, with a few exceptions, too high. It is unnecessary, however, to go into more detail regarding the garden assessments, because the garden land assessments were subsequently revised throughout the district.

Miscellaneous Lands.

237. The *Modan*, *Punam* and *Ellu* rates were excessive in the north; indeed, it is difficult to understand how even an approximation could be made towards levying them. It is quite certain that if they had been rigorously exacted the cultivation must have ceased to exist. The fact seems to have been that a large portion of the produce was concealed, an end easily to be attained through the difficulty, in the case of these fugitive modes of cultivation, of checking what was the actual produce. Even at the present day, *Modan* and *Ellu* crops, which, being cultivated in the open

The assessments were very severe in the north,

but the fact probably was that there was a large concealment of produce.

This is probably why *Modan* and *Ellu* are so little cultivated in the north,

and why Punam is more extensively cultivated there.

In the south, though the rates were more moderate, they were still too high.

country, are better capable of being properly assessed, are of far less extent in the north than in the south; while, on the other hand, Punam crops, cultivated in the jungle country, where the cultivation is not so easily checked, is still one of the principal crops in the north, while it is comparatively of small extent in the south.

These facts are easily accounted for on examining the commutation rates in force in 1805-6. In South Malabar, the rates, though more moderate than in the north, were still too high for those days. These assessments have all since been revised, so it is unnecessary to enter into more detail.

SUB-SECTION IV.—THE SYSTEM OF LAND REVENUE MANAGEMENT ADOPTED IN MALABAR, 1805-18, AND THE POSITIONS OF THE "RYOT" AND OF THE "ACTUAL CULTIVATOR" CONSIDERED.

238. Having passed in review the measures adopted from the earliest times for assessing particular portions of the district, and having attained as complete a view as circumstances will permit of the exact state in which those measures left the matter, it now becomes necessary to relate the particular steps, taken to deal with the district as a whole. The measures up to this time (1805-6) had been fragmentary and of local application; it remains to relate what steps were taken to treat the low-country portion of the district in the aggregate.

239. A word or two may, however, first of all be fittingly introduced in regard to the part which Malabar played in the great battle of the tenures, which at this time (1805-6) had begun to attract attention. It is unnecessary to say much about it, because it never at any time seems to have been in doubt that Ryotwari was the system best adapted to the district, though it was a Ryotwari with a difference from that understood by Sir Thomas Munro.

240. The characters of labourer, farmer, and landlord were generally understood as being united in the ryot. It was also generally assumed that the ryot could not have sub-tenants so long as Government waste land of good quality existed for any one to cultivate who felt so disposed. Moreover, the laws of inheritance in force in eastern districts have a constant tendency to break up properties and to cause the subdivision of landed estates.

241. But suppose, on the contrary, that there were portions of districts so highly cultivated that no waste land lay within convenient reach of the man willing to till it,—suppose that the waste land, if it did exist within convenient reach, was held

This definition quite inapplicable to the state of the facts in Malabar.

(whether rightly or wrongly does not at present matter) to be the property, not of the State, but of private individuals,—suppose the laws of inheritance directly tended to keep property together,—and suppose the classes of labourer, farmer, and landlord were distinct and separate,—then clearly the district where such a system prevailed was not a Ryotwari one, and this was (and it still is) the case of Malabar.

242. Looked at, however, from a different point of view, and when the question at issue is whether the Government land revenue shall be paid by a Zamindar or farmer of the Government land revenue in many villages, by the Mouzawar or headman of one village, or by the cultivator himself, then, understanding by the word "ryot" the actual cultivator of the soil, the Malabar District revenue system was originally under the Mysoreans, and it still continues to be, to a great extent, a Ryotwari one. How this came about is easily explained by the fact that "the terror of Hyder Ali's and of his son Tippu's subsequent administration prevented the major part of these Brahman landholders, as well as many of the Nayars, from ever trusting their persons at the Muhammadan cutcheries of their new sovereigns" (Joint Commissioners' Report, paragraph 196), and the Mysoreans had therefore no choice left but to conclude the land revenue settlement with the Kanakkar or the actual cultivators.

243. It is manifest, however, that the meaning attached by Sir Thomas Munro to the word Ryotwari, is one that will not apply permanently to any one particular district, supposing that that district progresses in population. Waste land, under such circumstances, becomes scarcer and scarcer and more and more difficult to till as the worst lands are taken up, and long before the time when the last acre of waste is appropriated, it must of necessity have arisen that many of the original "ryots" attending to their own interests, have become proprietors and have dropped the other characters of labourer and farmer. Moreover, under a settled government, money acquired in trades and professions is naturally often invested in land by persons who have not the slightest intention to cultivate it. And further the laws of inheritance have been considerably affected by the power of testamentary succession. All these considerations force one to the conviction that Sir Thomas Munro's ideal Ryotwari settlement is not a thing of permanence, and that sooner or later, even in the model Ryotwari districts, a state of things will be brought about similar to what has existed in Malabar from the very first.

Sir Thomas Munro's Ryotwari system not a thing of permanence. Reasons for thinking so.

This state of things has existed in Malabar from the first.

244. The fact that private property in land already existed in Canara and in Malabar, attracted attention at an early

The fact of the existence of private property in land in Malabar and Canara exercised an important influence in the debates on the merits of the rival tenures.

The village community was also supposed not to exist in Malabar.

The Court of Directors' despatch of 16th December 1812, ordering the introduction of the Ryotwari system in all unsettled districts.

to caution the Government against introducing into Malabar "an intermediate class of persons (call them Zemindars, Mootahdars, or what we may) between the Government and the Jelmkaars or hereditary proprietors of the soil;" but it was not till the 5th

The final orders were issued by the Board of Revenue on the 5th January 1818.

wound up their instructions to all Collectors in the following terms :—

The plan to be followed was to substitute the Ryotwari of the Western Coast for the old Carnatic, etc., Ryotwari.

Not to create, but to restore, landed property.

time the only districts classed as Ryotwari. All others were either managed by Zemindars or under the village lease system.

245. One radical defect and confusion of ideas was unfortunately imported into this, otherwise admirable, Minute

There was one radical defect and confusion of ideas in this minute of the Board of Revenue.

The Board's definition of Sir Thomas Munro's ideal ryot

period in the history of British rule in South India, and the fact is again and again referred to in the correspondence which took place while the merits of the rival systems were being debated, and it exercised a very material influence on the ultimate issue in favour of the Ryotwari system and of the special form which it took. The above, coupled with another fact, viz., that the village community was supposed not to exist in Malabar, seems to have prevented any attempt to introduce into the district, the system of village settlements which for a time found favour with the authorities. On the 16th December 1812, the Court of Directors finally ordered the introduction of the Ryotwari system in all unsettled districts, and they were careful in their despatch of the December following

January 1818, that the Board of Revenue issued instructions for "the abandonment of the existing system of revenue administration and the introduction of the Ryotwari mode of settlement and collection in all practicable cases," and in paragraph 307 of the same Proceedings the Board

"The Collectors, in entering on the new settlement, should ever recollect that the great object in view is not immediately, but by degrees, to substitute the Ryotwari of the Western Coast for the old Carnatic and Ceded District Ryotwari: not to create, but to restore, landed property, gradually to convert the bad farms of the Tamil country into good estates, and the landholders into land-owners, etc." Malabar, Canara, Coimbatore, Madura and Dindigul were at this

of the Board of Revenue. Sir Thomas Munro's ideal "ryot", whose position has been already alluded to (paragraphs 240 to 243), was defined by the Board of Revenue in paragraph 17 of their instructions quoted above to mean "that particular class only among them" ("the cultivators of the soil in general") "who employ, superintend, and sometimes assist the labourer, and

applied to Malabar.

The mistake was in lumping Janmis, Kanakkar, and Pattakar all together under the head of ryots.

and many Kanakkars also, and perhaps even some Pattakars, had no title whatever to be considered as "cultivators," or "farmers," or as the "creators," or even as the "payers," of the land revenue. Substantial grounds will be found set forth elsewhere [Section (A) of this Chapter] for dissenting altogether from the views entertained at that time in regard to Janmis, Kanakkar and Pattakar; but apart altogether from controversial matters, and accepting the relative positions assigned to the three classes by the

It is obvious that in Malabar there existed other classes interested in the land besides the ryot.

Classes whose interests did not receive sufficient consideration.

The person to whom the Government of this country should give the first consideration is the "actual cultivator," whatever he be, proprietor, farmer or labourer.

All others having interests in the soil are mere investors of their money.

The mistake made in 1818 was to drop the actual cultivator out of sight and to substitute for him an "ideal ryot."

246. It will be as well to continue the notice of the point here raised down to the time when it seems finally to have passed completely out of sight. On the 12th December 1821 the Court of Directors, in reviewing a letter, dated 6th February 1815 from the Board of Revenue, on the subject of the great

who are everywhere the farmers of the country, the creators and payers of the land revenue," and in paragraphs 21 to 39 of these same instructions, the Board went on to describe "the rights of the ryot" in Malabar. The mistake was in treating the rights of the Janmi, Kanakkar and Pattakar as equivalent to those of the "ryot," whereas, as matter of fact, many Janmis and many Kanakkars also, and perhaps even some Pattakars, had no title whatever to be considered as "cultivators," or "farmers," or as the "creators," or even as the "payers," of the land revenue. Substantial grounds will be found set forth elsewhere [Section (A) of this Chapter] for dissenting altogether from the views entertained at that time in regard to Janmis, Kanakkar and Pattakar; but apart altogether from controversial matters, and accepting the relative positions assigned to the three classes by the Board, viz., proprietors, mortgagees and tenants, it is obvious that there existed in Malabar other classes besides the "ryot" —classes whose position in regard to the land, either as landlords entitled to rent from under-tenants or as intermediaries liable to pay rent to landlords as well as to receive rent from under-tenants, should have received very careful consideration before treating them all on the footing of the "ryot" in the sense in which the Board used that word. The growing insolvent cottierism of the bulk of the cultivators in Malabar at the present day, might probably have been prevented, had the Board of Revenue been better informed as to the real relations subsisting at the time between the classes named. Situated as the Government of this country is, that is, as part landlord of the soil, it is obvious that the person to whom the first consideration is due is the *actual cultivator* of the soil, whatever he be, proprietor, farmer or labourer. It is he who, by his industry and skill, pays the Government revenue and contributes to the general welfare of the State. All others having interests in the land are mere investors of their money. The mistake made in 1818 (so far at least as regards Malabar) was to drop the actual cultivator out of sight, and to substitute for him an ideal "ryot."

The further history of this point.

The Court of Directors' despatch, 12th December 1821.

inequalities in the land assessments in Malabar, thus expressed themselves: "The Board of Revenue declare that our knowledge with respect to the ancient state of things in Malabar is extremely defective. To us it appears so defective that many

Defectiveness of information regarding ancient Malabar.

things which have been stated and re-stated as matters of fact are but objects of conjecture, conjecture founded upon hardly anything to which with propriety the term evidence can be applied." After noticing that the first accounts of ancient Malabar obtained from Rajas and leading men had been "exceedingly

The earliest accounts received from the parties most interested should have been accepted with great caution and distrust.

favorable to their interests and contrary to what prevailed in other parts of India", and should therefore have been received "with great caution and distrust," the Court of Directors went on to observe that it had been affirmed that "in Malabar the whole of the produce was the property of the landowner and that no portion of it was taken by the Government. In this one circumstance lies the difference between the supposed state of rights in Malabar and the state of them in the rest of India, and that difference is so great, that it

The exceptional position of Malabar in regard to the absence of a Government land assessment.

ought not to be admitted as a fact without distinct and specific evidence." The Court of Directors then stated certain reasons which led them to think that the circumstances noticed in regard to the demesne land of the Rajas, to the property of pagodas, and to jaghires held on the condition of military service, pointed rather to the opposite conclusion, and that Malabar was in no way singular from other parts of India in these respects, and they continued: "It was

The Court of Directors were sceptical as to the exceptional state of things in Malabar.

no doubt the interest of the landholders, in Malabar to persuade their new rulers—the English—if they could, that all land was holden under jaghires of this description. The wonder is that they succeeded.¹ One remarkable circumstance is that they succeeded with respect to the supposed demesne lands of the Rajas, which surely yielded

Cursory notice of Sir Thomas Munro's report of 4th July 1817.

revenue to Government, yet not even such part is discriminated." After a cursory notice of Sir Thomas Munro's very important report on Malabar of 4th July 1817 (of which notice will be taken presently), they commended the subject of the inequalities in the land assessment to the notice of the Government, which, by this time, had Sir Thomas Munro at its head, and wound up this portion of their despatch in the following words:—

"We observe with dissatisfaction that when you have assumed the existence of any peculiar ownership in the land as that of

¹ Major Macleod, the first of the Principal Collectors, did not credit the fact (paragraph 17 of his Jamabandi Report of 18th June 1802), but he remained too short a time in the district to succeed in elucidating his views.

The Court of Directors called for information regarding other classes of the agricultural population. Meocrassidars or Jelmkars, you afford us little information with regard to the condition of any other class of the agricultural population. In Malabar the number of occupants who pay the assessment on the land, mortgagees and lessees included, is estimated by the Collector at 150,000. The number of persons employed in the cultivation must exceed this number to an extent of which we have no means of forming an accurate judgment.

“Of the condition of these people we know hardly anything, and not more with respect to the other descriptions of the population. We are told, indeed, that Nothing known of the great body of actual cultivators, nor of the slaves. part of them (an article of very unwelcome intelligence) are held as slaves; that they are attached to the soil and marketable property. You are directed to obtain and to communicate to us all the useful information with respect to this latter class of persons which you possibly can; the treatment to which they are liable, the habits of their masters with respect to them, the kind of life to which they are doomed, the sort of title by which the property of them is claimed, the price which they bear, and more especially the surest and safest means of ultimately effecting their emancipation. We also desire to know whether these occupants, 150,000 in number, cultivate immediately the whole of the lands by their slaves and hired servants, or whether there is a class of inferior tenants to whom they let or sub-let a portion of their lands. If there is such an inferior class of lessees, you will inform us under what conditions they cultivate, what are their circumstances, and what measures, if any, have been employed for their protection.” The only report traceable in the records dealing with the question thus raised by the Court of Directors is a very short one from the Principal Collector, Mr. Vaughan, dated 24th August 1822, in which he stated that there was no necessity to interfere for the protection of under-tenants, as people of all castes and religion engaged in agriculture exactly as they felt inclined, and slaves too were under the protection of the laws. But the shortness and cursoriness of this report is probably attributable to the fact that Mr. Craeme, who had been Special Commissioner in Malabar from 1818 to 1822, had some months previously submitted his report on Malabar, which Sir Thomas Munro subsequently (10th July 1822) characterised as “on the whole the fullest and most comprehensive report ever received of any province under this Government.” Mr. Craeme was most unfortunately (as already alluded to in paragraph 228) prevented from pursuing detailed inquiries into the terms on which under-tenants held their lands, and he seems to have in consequence accepted the views of those who had preceded him in their

Mr. Vaughan's cursory report of 24th August 1822.

Its cursoriness probably due to the fact that Mr. Craeme had shortly before submitted his voluminous report on Malabar;

but Mr. Craeme had been most unfortunately prevented from inquiring into the state of the under-tenants, and had to accept the views of those who preceded him.

The Court of Directors were not quite satisfied, 18th May 1825,

investigations on this point. The Court of Directors were not quite satisfied, and in reviewing, on the 18th May 1825, the measures which had been adopted in consequence of Mr. Græme's inquiry, they concluded the portion of their despatch bearing on the subject in the following terms :—

“There appears to be in Malabar an intermediate class and called for between the cultivators and the Government, who further information come nearer to the situation of proprietors of land in England than any intermediate class in any other part of India. The information which we possess respecting this class of persons, their obligations to Government, and their powers over the more numerous classes whose subsistence is derived from the land, is exceedingly imperfect. Justice requires that such a portion of the rent of the land as this class have by custom enjoyed should be still reserved to them. But the questions which relate to the other descriptions of persons subsisting upon the land are more numerous and more difficult of decision. Are they tenants-at-will of the former class? Or have they, like the ryots in other parts of India, a fixed interest in the soil? If tenants under such conditions as the superior class may please to impose, what is the sort of treatment which they receive? and if their condition is miserable, what measures can be adopted for its improvement. To these points we particularly desire that your attention should be directed. The progress of the measures which you have in contemplation will bring evidence relating to them frequently before you and it is of the highest importance that it should not be neglected.” The records do not show that anything further was done to elucidate the points regarding which the Court of Directors had evinced so much anxiety for further information, and it is to be concluded that the actual cultivator having dropped out of sight in 1818 in favour of the “ideal ryot,” it became unnecessary to think about the former as soon as the land revenue assessments, aided by increasing prices, began to come in with increasing ease and regularity.

The condition of the under-tenants was to be kept constantly in view in the measures then in contemplation, but nothing further seems to have been done.

The actual cultivator dropped out of sight, in favour of the “ideal ryot” and did not again come into view owing to the increasing ease experienced in collecting the land revenue.

246a. In conclusion, it may be observed that the creation or restoration of property in the soil was a thing sufficiently easy of accomplishment. The Government had only to adhere to a policy of taking the half of the net annual produce, in order by a word to create property in the soil equal in value to the remaining half of the net annual produce. This was clearly seen at the time, but it may be asked was it wise thus to create a property and not endeavour to regulate its future management among a people to whom freedom

It was easy to create or restore property in the soil

The Government should have regulated its management when created.

and liberty were unknown words? Reasons will be found set forth in section (A) of this Chapter, for thinking that even in Malabar individual property in the soil, in the European sense of the word, was not in existence at the beginning of British rule. Custom, not competition, adjudged the shares into which the produce was to be divided. The grant of freedom to a community thus organised meant (as soon as custom had given way) freedom for the strong to oppress the weak; freedom for the newly created proprietor to take an ever increasing portion of the share of net

The drones have waxed fat and the working bees have waned lean.

produce left over after paying the Government dues. What wonder, then, that the drones in the hive have prospered and grown fat, or that the working bees have become famished and lean!

SUB-SECTION V. -SUBSEQUENT LAND REVENUE HISTORY OF THE LOW COUNTRY DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

247. After this digression on the system of land revenue management finally adopted for the district, it will be necessary to revert to a much earlier period—to the first attempt to treat the revenue assessment of the low country taluks on one uniform basis. For this purpose it is necessary to go back to the year 1803, when, at a critical time, with active rebellion still flaming in the Cotiote and Wynad countries to the north, Mr. Rickards came to the agreement with the senior Rajas and chief landed proprietors already fully described in paragraphs 226, 226*a*, 226*b* and 227.

Mr. Rickards' agreement with the chief landholders in 1803 regarding shares of produce.

248. On Mr. Warden, who succeeded Mr. Rickards, devolved the duty of carrying out the orders of Government for a revision of the assessments. As a first step, he, on 21st July 1805, called on all proprietors of land to send in under their respective signatures a detailed account of their landed property, his object being—

Mr. Warden as a first step called on all landholders for a return of their lands.

(a) to obtain the name of every field in the country, so as to serve as a ground for an actual survey; and

(b) to obtain an accurate numerical account of the assessable trees, so as to regulate the garden assessments.

The Janmi Pymaish account of 1805-6 was thus obtained.

The statements thus obtained are known in the district as the Janmi Pymaish of 981 M.E. (1805-6), and frequent references have already in this Section been made to these accounts.

249. He, at the same time, arranged through his Sub-Collectors (at that time four in number) "to ascertain the actual produce on different qualities of soil in different places," with a view to obtaining data for a classification of the soils in every taluk.

Mr. Warden also collected data for a classification of soils.

250. After being in due time furnished with all these documents, Mr. Warden proceeded to the laborious task of surveying the wet lands. He was assisted in this work by the Collector of Coimbatore, who sent him a number of surveyors, "all foreigners to this country."

Mr. Warden next proceeded to survey the wet lands, 1806-10.

"They entered on their duty in the year 1806. After four years' labor the work was completed and there it rests;" so wrote Mr. Warden, in his letter to the Board of Revenue, of 16th June 1813, and he continued: "The several changes which afterwards took place brought with them such an accumulation of duty and trouble upon me, with diminished means of getting through them, being left almost entirely to native assistance, that the new assessment, with every thing connected with it, has for some time back been laid aside and the revenues of the province have been continued to be collected on the Commissioners' Jama¹ of 976 (1800-1)." The accounts thus prepared in 1806-10

The accounts thus prepared are known as the *Alavu* or *Hindavi Pymaish*.

are known in the districts as the *Alavu Pymaish* or the *Hindavi Pymaish* from their being written in Mahratta: they are the most reliable of all the Pymaish accounts yet prepared, but in certain respects they are very defective.

251. The important proclamation published throughout the district at this time will be found *in extenso* in Appendix XV. It is dated 21st July 1805.

The Proclamation of 21st July 1805.

252. Matters remained in this state till 1817, when Sir Thomas Munro, then a member of the commission for revising establishments, paid a visit to Malabar, and, notwithstanding the shortness of his stay, wrote a most valuable report on the district (Revenue Selections, Vol. I, p. 838). He received many complaints regarding the assessments of garden and wet lands, not so much, however, directed against the general oppressiveness of the assessments, for these were at that time "in general very moderate," but against the continuance of assessments on lands which had been deteriorated or destroyed by natural causes, and on gardens which had also from natural causes gone to decay. The landholders being unable to pay such assessments, had had their holdings sold, and this practice of selling the land in satisfaction of arrears of revenue, formerly unknown in Malabar, had been viewed with a good deal of dissatisfaction. The balances of revenue thus realised were inconsiderable, but the number of individuals affected thereby was large.

No further steps taken till Sir Thomas Munro visited the district in 1817.

His report.

¹ This was not quite correct, see paragraph 271,

The Board of Revenue (22nd December 1817) proposed to depute one of their Members to Malabar, but the Government selected Mr. Græme (10th February 1818).

253. On the 22nd December 1817 the Board of Revenue proposed to depute a Member of their Board to Malabar to carry out Sir Thomas Munro's suggestions, but the Government, on the 10th February 1818, overruled this proposal and appointed Mr. Græme, one of the Judges of the Southern Court of Circuit—

(a) to introduce the new system of Police and Magistracy; and

His special commission.

(b) to consider what improvements might be introduced into the revenue administration of the district.

254. On the 14th January 1822 Mr. Græme completed his work and submitted to Government his report, already mentioned as having been considered by Sir Thomas Munro "on the whole the fullest and most comprehensive report ever received of any province under this Government." His proposals in regard to assessments were briefly as follows:—

Wet Lands (paragraphs 1244 and 1245 of his Report).

(a) To assess the revenue at 65 per cent. of the actual rent (*Verumpattam*, see paragraph 228), as ascertained from deeds and from the people themselves, instead of at 60 per cent of the *Vilachchal meni pattam* (see paragraphs 226, 22(a), 22(b) and 227), calculated on the plan proposed by Mr. Rickards and approved by Government in 1804 (see Appendix XV). The reason for departing from the letter of the proclamation issued, with Government sanction, by Mr. Warden in 1805 seems to have been that Mr. Græme ascertained, as the result of his general inquiries, that the Rajas and others who had assented to Mr. Rickards' plan for distributing the produce, had, by consenting to adopt the *Vilachchal meni pattam* as a standard, made it appear as if they were in the enjoyment of a considerably larger share of the produce than they were as matter of fact getting either at that time, or from that time up even to the time of Mr. Græme's inquiry. (See "*Vilachchal meni pattam*" in the Glossary, Appendix XIII). Mr. Græme therefore proposed (and his proposal was approved by Sir Thomas Munro, paragraph 9 of Minute, 16th July 1822, Revenue Selections, Vol. III, page 548) to discard the *Vilachchal meni pattam*, altogether and to take such a percentage of the actual rent (*Verumpattam*) as from his general inquiries he found would be equivalent to the share which Government had a right to expect in virtue of the proclamation of 1805, that is, equivalent to 60 per cent. of the *Vilachchal meni pattam*. Taking the share at 65 per cent. of the actual rent (*Verumpattam*), Mr Græme estimated there would still be a reduction in the actual revenue of Rs. 1,39,922 or about 13 per cent.

Garden Lands (paragraph 1258 of Report).

(b) To take 50 per cent. of the *pattam* of gardens.

(b) Mr. Rickards' plan of taking 50 per cent. of the *pattam* was adhered to.

(c) But in making his estimate of future revenue Mr. Græme departed to the following extent from the precise rule laid down by Mr. Rickards. That is, as already alluded to in paragraph 228, he found the Jannmis in North Malabar enjoying 80 per cent. of the produce in nuts from cocos and arecas and 80 per cent. of the money *pattam* from jacks, whereas in South Malabar the universal custom was to take only 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. of the same. Mr. Rickards, who, owing to the state of the rebellion in the north at that time, was dealing (with one solitary exception, the Chulali Nambiar) with South Malabar Jannmis had naturally followed the South Malabar plan of distribution. Mr. Græme proposed to follow the North Malabar plan of distribution in North Malabar, and the South Malabar plan (corresponding to that of Mr. Rickards) in the south only.

(c) But the *pattam* was to be differently calculated in the north and in the south.

(d) He devised a plan of his own for applying these principles.

The details of his plan.

(d) The details of his plan were then worked out as follows :—

I. He found from the Janmi Pymaish accounts (paragraph 248) the total number of trees existing in 1805-6.

II. He deducted all trees said to have been at that time unproductive, or too young to bear fruit.

III. He next made a further deduction (at 20 per cent.) for trees at that time productive, but which had since, it might be conjectured, gone out of bearing.

IV. He then took into account the number (75 per cent.) of the young trees which had, since that time, it might be conjectured, come into bearing.

V. In this way he arrived at the number of actually productive trees.

VI. And also at the number of unproductive trees.

VII. From the number of unproductive trees he next deducted the number (20 per cent.) which he thought might possibly be cut down and removed when his rates per tree came to be applied to all productive trees.

VIII. And in this way he arrived at the number of unproductive trees which would have to be dealt with when the assessment came to be made.

IX. He next added the number of unproductive trees thus arrived at (Clause VIII) to the number of productive trees (Clause V), and found what would be the total number of full-grown trees standing at the time when the assessment came to be made.

He then went on with his estimate as follows :—

(1) He applied the rates of gross produce in nuts per tree for coconuts and arecas, ascertained from the Janmi Pymaish accounts of 1805-6 (paragraph 248), to the number of productive trees (Clause V), and thus obtained the gross produce in nuts.

(2) To this gross produce of coconuts and arecas he next applied his locally ascertained prices of produce, and thus ascertained the money-value of the gross produce of those trees.

(3) Next applying to the money-value of the gross produce the principles mentioned in Clauses (b) and (c) above, he ascertained the customary pattam (rent for coconuts and arecas).

(4) To ascertain the customary pattam rent for jacks (Clauses b and c) he had only to apply the money pattam rates obtained from the Janmi Pymaish accounts of 1805-6 to the number of productive trees (Clause V).

(5) He then found what the Government share at 50 per cent. of the customary pattam (Clauses 3 and 4) was on all the trees.

And finally—

(6) He divided the Government share of the customary pattam (rent) thus arrived at (Clause 5) by the number of productive and unproductive trees which he expected to find standing at the time of assessment (Clause IX), and thus obtained certain rates per tree which he proposed to apply to all standing trees, except those that were too young to bear. These rates he further proposed not to alter for twelve years except under particular circumstances. The revenue estimated in this way, Mr. Græme thought, would fall short by about 7 per cent. of the revenue then being collected.

Miscellaneous Lands (paragraphs 1273, 1274).

Modan.—Mr. Græme recommended the continuance of the prevailing system in South Malabar of taking
 (e) To take 20 per cent. of the gross produce of Modan lands. not more than 20 per cent. of the gross produce of Modan lands (paragraph 33) in the case of all new assessments, to be spread over the period of years when the lands are alternately cultivated and lie fallow. Where gardens were cultivated with Modan crops, and where the garden assessment was less than the Modan assessment, the latter should, he thought, be paid till the gardens had sufficiently improved.

(f) He made no proposals in regard to Ellu or Punam. *Punam and Ellu.*—Mr. Græme made no specific recommendations regarding these.

255. On the 16th July 1822 Sir Thomas Munro, then Governor, minuted in favour of Mr. Græme's proposals, the only exception taken to them being that it was a defective principle of taxation which required a man to cut down a tree which was bearing
 Sir Thomas Munro's opinion on these proposals.

fruit (see Clause VII of last paragraph under gardens), and he suggested that "some method might perhaps be found in practice of making such a remission for old trees as would save them from being prematurely cut down without exposing the revenue to any material loss."

Exception taken to the principles which necessitated the cutting down of trees yielding fruit.

256. Mr. Græme was accordingly sent back to Malabar to carry his own proposals into practical effect.

Mr. Græme sent back to Malabar to carry out his own proposals.

The order in which they were to be taken up.

The order in which he was directed to take up the work was—*first*, to revise the revenue establishment; *second*, to revise the garden assessment; *thirdly*, to revise the wet land assessments; as that seemed to be the order in which the subjects required attention.

How far Mr. Græme carried out this programme.

257. He completed the first, he began the second, on the 20th May 1823 he left it and the third to be completed by the ordinary revenue establishment.

258. Mr. Græme began the revision of the garden assessments in the Calicut taluk, but, as matter of fact, he left the district before he had time to do

The garden assessments in Calicut taluk.

more than fix the *total* of the garden assessments on each village (Hobali) in that one taluk. The *individual* distribution of that total was left to the Collector, Mr. Vaughan.

259. Mr. Græme, however, sketched out a plan of operations and left instructions with Mr. Vaughan that that

Mr. Græme's plan of operations. Details of his plan.

plan was to be followed. What that plan was will now be described.

260 (a). He first of all obtained from the people themselves returns of the actual number of trees in each of their gardens and of the produce of the same.

(b) He next inspected some of the gardens and got the people to correct their returns when that was necessary.

(c) When he had satisfied himself of the correctness of the returns, he proceeded to calculate the resulting produce in gross, and took one-third as the share of Government, as recommended by Mr. Rickards and by himself for South Malabar. This one-third share he next commuted into money at certain fixed market rates for produce which he had ascertained by personal inquiry to be correct.

(d) In this way he arrived at the *total* assessment to be imposed on the village (Hobali).

(e) The next step in his plan of operations was to communicate to the people themselves the gross assessment thus fixed, and to allow them to distribute it rateably over all the trees in all the gardens of the village, which, for this purpose, were divided into Attu Veppu (river, or low-lying, damp, fruitful gardens), of which

there were two classes, and Kara Veppu [gardens on banks (Kara) and other high-lying localities, less productive], of which there were three classes.

(f) His object in doing this was to obtain certain fixed rates *per tree*, to be applied to all trees in the village according to the class of garden (Attu Veppu or Kara Veppu) in which they stood.

(g) The total village assessment might be increased if gardens had not been brought to account when preparing the estimate of total assessment [Clauses (a), (b) and (c)], and, on the other hand, if on distributing the rates the assessment fell short of the total estimate, the deficiency was made good by distributing the surplus rateably on trees in gardens of the Attu Veppu, first and second, and on the Kara Veppu, first classes only, that is to say, the rates on trees in the best classes of gardens in the village were in such a case *pro tanto* raised.

261. The advantage of having fixed rates per tree in each class of gardens for each village was that there was thus avoided all necessity for calculating *the gross produce of individual gardens*. The rates had merely to be applied to the existing state of the facts as ascertained by inspection of the soil and situation of the garden, and nothing was left in this way *in making individual assessments* "to the difficult and uncertain judgment of the gross produce of each garden."

262. Obtained in the above method, the Attu Veppu and Kara Veppu rates per tree were necessarily not uniform throughout any wide area, and it was only natural it should be so, for cocoanut trees, for instance, in inland villages require more care, are more expensive to rear, and yield when full grown a smaller produce than trees growing in low-lying localities near the coast; and hence it came about that in every taluk Attu Veppu rates and Kara Veppu rates shaded off the one into the other and were not uniform anywhere, not even sometimes in the same village (Hobali), because a Hobali was composed of many Desams, and the rates within the Hobali seem to have been fixed by the people themselves Desamwar and not Hobaliwar. The distinction, therefore, between Attu Veppu gardens and Kara Veppu gardens was (and is) by no means apparent, and though the distinction is still maintained in the accounts, it is doubtful if it is of much practical value, and, on the other hand, it has a tendency to mislead. Gardens fringing a river, even near its mouth, are frequently capable of being classed only as Kara Veppu, while other gardens at long distances from a river are justly classed as Attu Veppu.

263. It is unnecessary to follow in much detail the subsequent course of events, because the general principles laid down by Mr. Graeme were adhered to. In practice, however, some details of his scheme appear to have been altered. Effect was also given to Sir Thomas Munro's suggestion regarding the cutting down of trees, by exempting from assessment all trees that were really past-bearing.

Mr. Graeme's principles are still in force.

All really unproductive trees were exempted.

264. Mr. Vaughan finished the garden survey and put the result in operation in 1824-25, but it had been too hastily done, the classification of gardens was incorrect, and there was dissatisfaction with some of the executive arrangements. On the 15th November 1825, the Government directed "no

Mr. Vaughan finished the garden survey and put it in operation in 1824-25.

further collection

It had been too hastily done and great dissatisfaction arose.

to be made until a more correct survey had been effected, and until the accounts had received the sanction of the Board of Revenue and of Government." Meanwhile the dissatisfaction had rapidly increased. On 28th February 1826, Mr. Sheffield took charge of the district, and in the following month he proceeded to Tellicherry and organized a survey of the five villages (amsams) of Kottayam taluk, whose people had first raised the clamour. He next took up 21 villages (amsams) in Kadattanad,

Mr. Sheffield revised the assessment in the clamorous amsams, 1826-30.

the whole of Kurumbranad, and then the 22 "dissenting amsams" in Calicut taluk, 70 gardens in Puluvalinad, one amsam in Eranad, and 2 in Nedunganad, increasing or decreasing the assessments as he found it necessary. This completed the survey of those parts where the people had objected to Mr. Vaughan's settlement, and the results were put in operation in Kurumbranad in 1827-28, in Calicut in 1828-29, and in Kadattanad and Kottayam in 1829-30. It is probable that the assessments on the lands lying along the Mahe

A general survey of the gardens was undertaken and was continuously in hand from 1829-30 till 1840-41.

The net result, increase of Rs. 18,849 on 279,896 gardens.

river and on Dharmapattanam island were still too high, for the clamour did not altogether cease, and the revenue was, with difficulty, collected. The survey, however, had been far too hastily conducted and put in force even in places where no clamour was raised. From this time (1829-30) therefore on to 1840-41 the survey of the gardens was continuously in hand, and there resulted a small increase of revenue to the extent of Rs. 18,849 instead of the 7 per cent. deficiency which Mr. Graeme had originally anticipated. The actual number of gardens on which this small increase accrued was 279,896.

265. One part of Mr. Graeme's scheme had been to revise the garden assessments every twelve years. In due course, therefore, the question of periodicity in revisions came up for decision, and in his Jamabandi report of Fash 1253 (1843-44) Mr. Conolly pointed out that no fixed periods for revision

Mr. Graeme's proposal in regard to periodical inspections of gardens was not followed.

Mr. Conolly's views on this point. could be named, and that "the chief object of periodical revision was to counterbalance any extensive remissions which partial bad seasons or private misfortunes might render indispensable." He further observed that the landholders "are aware also that, though we do not think it desirable to bind ourselves to a permanency of aggregate amount of tax, we do so to a permanency of the proportion of the Government demand to the produce;" and, he continued, as uncertainty regarding inspection would curb garden industry, he thought it best to let things go on as they were and to examine only such gardens as their holders were "forced by their necessity" to submit for inspection. A general revision was necessary, he thought, only when the just rights of Government, owing to remissions, required it. In 1850-52, owing to general complaints of over-assessment of gardens, the whole of the old Kurumbranad Taluk was again surveyed, and a decrease in the assessment of only Rs. 366 was the result. In 1854 Mr. Conolly seemed to think that owing to considerable remissions in the three or four previous years a fresh survey was necessary, but Mr. Grant in 1858 pointed out that the losses referred to by Mr. Conolly had since, owing to favorable seasons, been resumed, and there was no longer a necessity for the fresh survey suggested, and an additional argument was that the regular scientific revenue survey seemed then on the point of being extended to the district. Since that time no extensive surveys have either been made or called for, and the rule has been that anyone claiming remission of assessment on one of his gardens must submit the whole of them for inspection.

The old Kurumbranad Taluk re-inspected in 1850-52.

A fresh survey thought necessary by Mr. Conolly in 1854 was afterwards (1858) considered unnecessary.

No extensive surveys have since been made or called for.

The rule followed is that a person claiming remission on one garden must submit all his gardens for inspection.

of his gardens must submit the whole of them for inspection.

Wet Lands.

266. Mr. Graeme's scheme for the revision of the wet land assessments did not progress so favorably. The result was graphically summed up in Mr. (now Sir William) Robinson's letter to the Board of Revenue of 5th August 1857, paragraphs 16 to 19, which are here subjoined:—

Mr. Graeme's scheme for revising the wet land assessments failed.

Sir William Robinson's graphic summary of the result.

"16. Mr. Graeme's operations were very limited indeed. He left the district in 1823, directing the Principal Collector, Mr. Vaughan, 'to continue the survey of the Province hitherto carried on under his own control.' He had himself, however, experienced 'that the account of the survey returns of gardens were so understated and suspicious, as to require greatest caution in accepting

The "plague spot" in Mr. Græme's scheme. them,'¹ and 'that the accounts of rice-land which had hitherto been rendered by the proprietors seemed by no means entitled to credit.' Mr. Græme did not indicate how this plague spot in his proposed scheme of survey was to be remedied.

" 17. The correspondence noted in the margin kept the Board acquainted with the failure of this almost ridiculous attempt. 'The Desadhikaris are excessively backward in the survey of the rice-lands and pay not the least attention to orders, demeaning themselves in such a way as evidently to prove their lukewarmness in the cause;' that he (the Principal Collector) had been unable to make the least impression on them (the Desadhikaris); that the accounts they give are 'grossly false beyond description;'

To Board,	22nd September	1823.
" "	4th February	1824.
" "	20th April	"
" "	3rd June	"
" "	3rd July	"
" "	16th July	"
From "	26th July	"
" "	3rd August	"
" "	12th October	"
" "	29th November	"
To "	19th December	"
" "	24th January	1825.
" "	5th March	"
From "	14th April	"
To "	9th June	"
From "	24th October	"

and that they sedulously conceal the deeds, 'making it next to impossible to ascertain the resources of the country.' In his letter 3rd June, paragraph 10, Mr. Vaughan speaks of his 'utter despair of being able to prepare any returns within reasonable time,' and of the 'hopelessness of the chance of getting any true deeds' through the Desadhikaris.

" 18. The ryots, too, naturally had recourse to every expedient to secure the easy defeat of the proposed settlement. Desadhikaris made large fortunes, the country 'teemed with fictitious deeds,' 'temporary deeds and agreements were executed to suit present purposes, and were prepared with a view of corresponding with a survey notoriously fallacious.' A number of returns and deeds was eventually obtained, 'but the great majority was of the most grossly fraudulent description.' Special and singular legislative provisions were proposed, penalties and rewards to informants were suggested, forfeiture of concealed land was threatened, and assessment to the full amount of the rental in cases of fraud was actually authorized by the Board,² but all in vain. In paragraph 5 of his letter, dated 12th October 1824, to the Board, Mr. Vaughan boldly calls on the Board 'to reflect on the effects of these collusions on the morals of the people in giving rise to innumerable disputes and feuds, as well as

Desadhikaris made large fortunes.	
The country teemed with fictitious deeds, temporary deeds, and deeds executed to suit present purposes.	
The returns obtained were grossly fraudulent.	
Special and singular provisions proposed to check fraud.	
Collusions, innumerable disputes, and feuds, and suits, beyond calculation in the Civil Courts.	

¹ Vide Mr. Commissioner Græme's letter to Principal Collector, dated 20th May 1827.

² Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 14th April 1825.

suits beyond calculation in the Civil Courts ;' adding 'that it is full time to adopt measures to check the pending evil.' A variety

Total failure of of futile endeavours to induce the Desadhikaris the attempt after and ryots to return faithful statements were two years' struggle, made, but on the 9th June 1825, after two year's 9th June 1825.

struggle to carry out Mr. Græme's Pymaish, Mr. Vaughan reported the 'total failure in the promises made by the inhabitants to revise and give in true and correct accounts.'

19. Such is the history of another period of five or six years wasted in futile exertion to get reliable revenue

The Utopian scheme died of its accounts from parties most interested in concealing the information, which was sought for through own corruption.

the corruptest, most suspicious and equally interested channels, viz., the Desadhikaris of Mr. Græme's appointment. The Utopian scheme of Desadhikaris' Pymaish and Azmaish died of its own corruption, and infinitesimal authority is attached to the bundles of imperfect returns which load our records under the name of 'Desadhikari Pymaish.' "

267. It would at all times have been a difficult operation for

The difficulties of Mr. Græme's scheme.

due to his having been prevented from making detailed inquiries into the condition of the ryots.

intelligent and trained officers to distinguish between what was true and what was false in the deeds produced (unstamped and unregistered cadjan leaves) and in the statements made by the people, on which Mr. Græme proposed to found his revised assessment ; but when this operation was made over for performance to the ignorant and interested heads of villages, failure was quite certain. If Mr. Græme had been permitted to pursue detailed inquiries into the relations between Jannis and Ryots (see paragraph 228), it might be safely hazarded that so experienced an officer would never have committed himself to such a scheme.

268. It is unnecessary to follow up in detail the steps which

The wet land survey postponed till after the completion of the garden survey.

Prices of produce rose meanwhile, and the revenue coming in easily the necessity for a survey did not crop up again.

were taken subsequently and which eventually led to nothing. It will be sufficient to say that the wet land survey was postponed till after the completion of the garden¹ survey, as suggested by Sir Thomas Munro, and that meanwhile prices of produce had increased so much as to enable the collections to be made with a facility hitherto unknown. The necessity for a revision, therefore, did not force itself into notice.

269. Nevertheless an important change was made, in conse-

The revenue accounts had, however, fallen into confusion.

quence of the want of accounts to show the particulars of the holding of each individual tax-payer. The want of such accounts began to be seriously felt in the year 1832-33. Holdings had been

¹ 1829-30 to 1841.

Holdings had changed in size, and the items of revenue had been distributed without any control being exercised.

enlarged, had been diminished in size, had been thrown together, and had been parcelled out afresh, and simultaneously the distribution of items of assessment had been tampered with, without any regard to the principles of the assessment by which they were at first fixed.

A landholder with good and bad land in his occupation, and under some ordinary obligation to part with a piece of it to meet his necessities, naturally enough parted with the bad land first, and there being no control over him (owing to a want of any accounts to show what he was doing), he naturally enough also assigned with the bad land an obligation to pay as much of the revenue assessed on the good and bad land together as he could get his assignee to accept. The principles of the assessment thus

Good land was assessed at less and bad land at more than they ought to have borne.

became completely changed: the good land was in future assessed with less, and the bad land with more, of the land revenue than they respectively ought to have borne. In this fashion great inequalities in the assessment had arisen, and to

remedy them a plan was instituted of preparing what has generally since been known as the *Pukil Vivaram Accounts*.

270. As if no experience had been gained of the value to be set upon accounts prepared by the interested heads of

The heads of villages were again entrusted with the duty of preparing the accounts.

villages (see paragraph 266), the old mistake was again made, and these officials were again entrusted with the duty of preparing returns of the lands within their respective limits. No measurements, no accurate description, nor classification of soils were called for. In fact it was as Mr. (now Sir William) Robinson described it, in his letter to the Board of Revenue of 5th August 1857, a

No measurements, nor accurate descriptions, nor classifications of soils were made.

repetition of the *Desadthikuris' Pymaish*, with fewer guarantees for fidelity or accuracy, and it was more carelessly conducted and supervised. The Tahsildars were to check the accounts and send them to the Huzzur, but after repeated reminders, etc., the accounts came in dribblets and without verification by Tahsildars. In 1843 a small

In 1843, when an attempt was made to use the accounts prepared, their worthlessness became at once apparent.

establishment was entertained, and about half of them were copied hastily into a form of Kulawar Chitta (individual account); but directly it was sought to verify or use them their worthlessness was seen and Mr. Conolly at once stopped further expenditure. Mr. (now Sir William) Robinson's opinion of these *Pukil Vivaram*

Accounts was expressed in his letter to the Board above quoted; he considered that they were not worth examining, as they recorded imperfectly certain particulars of the land as it existed in 1833-43.

271. The upshot of the matter was thus described by Mr. Robin-

The upshot was that Sir William Robinson determined to bring back the deranged revenue demand to the basis of the ancient Jamabandi

as embodied in the *Alavu Pymaish* of 1806-10.

(paragraph 22 of his letter), that of "Major Macleod's Jamabandi of 1802," nor yet even that mentioned in the quotation from

* This Jama was founded for the most part, on the Jamabandi made by the Commissioners in 1800-1.

son: "I determined that the only escape from the confusion was to face the question determinedly and to bring back the deranged revenue demand on each parcel or garden to the only certain and common basis that our land revenue accounts of the district admit of the ancient Jamabandi" as embodied in the *Alavu Pymaish* accounts of 1806-10 (see paragraph 250). These accounts showed the assessment on the wet lands as it existed at the time named, and that assessment was not, as described by Mr. Robinson (paragraph 22 of his letter), that of "Major Macleod's Jamabandi of 1802," nor yet even that mentioned in the quotation from Mr. Warden's letter (given in paragraph 250), "the Commissioners' Jama of 976 (1800-1)," but a Jama founded indeed for the most part, as may be gathered from the preceding narrative, on that of the Commissioners of 1800-1 but considerably modified in North Malabar by the steps taken there

after the receipt of the *Jummi Pymaish Accounts* of 981 (1805-6) (see paragraphs 29, 32, 75, 76, 80, 82, and 248). Moreover, it will be also seen from the above narrative that the reference by Mr. Robinson to the bringing back of the demand on gardens to the ancient jamabandi was also incorrect. It was probably a slip of the pen, because it is certain that what followed on Mr. Robinson's proposals related to the wet lands exclusively (Board's Proceedings, dated 12th November 1863, No. 7212).

Sir William Robinson's proposals sanctioned 11th January 1861, and carried out by Messrs. P. Grant and G. A. Ballard so that the table at paragraph 231 still embodies approximately the actual facts of the bulk of the wet land assessments.

272. Mr. Robinson's proposals were in due course sanctioned (G.O., Revenue Department, dated 11th January 1861, No. 82), and carried out by his successors, Messrs. P. Grant and Ballard, so that the table (in so far as it relates to wet lands) given at paragraph 231, may be taken as still embodying, as approximately as circumstances will permit, the actual facts relating to the principles of the bulk of the wet land assessment in the low-country taluks named therein.

272a. There will be some exceptions to this rule in regard to such *fresh* lands as have been since 1822 brought under

Exception to this rule.

Fresh land assessed at 65 per cent. of the pattam.

A proposal of Mr. Clementson's.

cultivation, and assessed at 65 per cent. of the pattam (rent) at local commutation rates. This was a plan adopted by Mr. Clementson in 1833, and afterwards sanctioned. Where, however, the local rates were excessive, he was at liberty to reduce them to the average market prices for ten years. Whether the Verumpattam or Mr. Rickards Vilachchal meni pattam was the standard is doubtful. The difference between these pattams was not well understood at that time. The matter

will be found treated of fully in connection with the Cochin wet land assessments (paragraph 306).

Miscellaneous Lands.

273. *Modan*.—Mr. Græme's proposals (paragraph 254) in regard to Modan lands (paragraph 33), occurring as they do in the midst of other matter in his report, probably escaped attention; at any rate they were only partially put into force. He proposed to take one-fifth of the gross produce, which seems to have been done. He said nothing about commutation rates for produce, so it cannot be gathered whether he meant to commute the one-fifth share at current market rates or not. So the actual practice, which was to take current market rates, may or may not have been part of his scheme. Finally he proposed to spread the demand then ascertained over the period of years in which the lands alternately lay fallow and were cultivated; this was not followed.

Mr. Græme's proposals in regard to Modan re-assessment perhaps escaped attention.

One-fifth of gross produce was taken at current market rates, but the demand was not spread over the period of years when the land lay fallow.

Mr. Sheffield revised the Modan assessment, 1827-28.

274. It was Mr. Sheffield, the Principal Collector, who in 1827-28 revised the Modan assessments. His plan was as follows:—

(a) He first of all classified the lands into three qualities according to their productive powers, viz:—

First class, yielding an outturn multiple of from $6\frac{1}{8}$ to $6\frac{3}{4}$ the quantity of seed sown.

Second class, yielding an outturn multiple of from $4\frac{2}{8}$ to $3\frac{1}{8}$ the quantity of seed sown.

Third class, yielding an outturn multiple of from $3\frac{1}{8}$ to $2\frac{9}{8}$ the quantity of seed sown.

(b) For each class of lands "a fair and moderate" quantity of seed was assumed as necessary for "100 square kolls" of land.

(c) The land was next measured and its "square contents found".

(d) The square kolls $\times$ quantity of seed $\times$ outturn multiple = gross produce.

(e) Government share = one-fifth or 20 per cent. of the gross produce.

(f) The Government share was finally commuted into a money assessment at rates "fixed for each taluk with reference to the average local prices". Mr. Sheffield took a great deal of trouble and found, on attempting to apply the existing commutation rates (see paragraph 232) to the exact share of Government, that the

cultivation would not stand it; indeed there was an extensive abandonment of the cultivation in the Ernad taluk directly he attempted it; so he was forced to commute at current

The old commutation rates were found to be very exorbitant.

market rates. He described the previous commutation rates as being "very exorbitant and arbitrary", a fact borne out by the table in paragraph 232.

275. For purposes of comparison with the rates in paragraph 232, it will be as well to insert here the following details as to current market rates both of Modan and Ellu in Messrs. Sheffield and Clementson's time, faslis 1239-43 (1829-34).

Taluks.		Prices of Modan paddy "per 1,000 seers."														
Present.	Former.	Fasli 1239.			Fasli 1240.			Fasli 1241.			Fasli 1242.			Fasli 1243.		
		RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.
Chirakkal ..	1. Cavay ..	22	0	0	17	12	3	21	8	0	20	11	10	18	13	0
	2. Chirakkal ..	23	0	0	20	5	2	23	8	3	25	3	5	23	6	5
Kottayam ..	3. Tellicherry.	24	0	0	20	0	0	25	0	0	22	2	5	20	8	11
Kurumbranad	4. Cartenad ..	28	9	2	24	0	0	25	0	0	28	9	2	30	0	0
	5. Coormenad.	28	9	2	24	0	0	27	0	0	28	9	2	30	0	0
Calicut ..	6. Calicut ..	28	9	2	20	0	0	20	10	0	28	9	2	30	0	0
Ernad ..	7. Shernad ..	22	1	8	17	4	4	18	2	1	21	6	1	23	8	0
	8. Ernad ..	19	0	9	15	10	0	17	13	8	19	0	9	22	0	0
Walluvanad.	9. Walluvanad.	17	13	9	11	6	10	13	2	3	17	13	8	20	0	0
	10. Nedunganad	16	13	2	11	6	10	12	11	5	16	13	3	19	8	3
Palghat ..	11. Palghat ..	17	13	9	14	4	7	15	8	7	17	13	8	30	0	0
	12. Temalapuram	16	13	2	12	0	8	14	3	11	16	12	11	27	0	0
Ponnani ..	13. Betatnad ..	21	6	10	12	8	7	18	0	1	21	1	9	23	5	4
	14. Kootnad ..	19	0	9	14	0	4	17	13	9	19	0	9	23	8	5
	15. Chowghat ..	19	0	9	16	5	4	19	12	0	19	0	9	23	0	0

Taluks.		Prices of Ellu "per 1,000 seers."														
Present.	Former.	Fasli 1239.			Fasli 1240.			Fasli 1241.			Fasli 1242.			Fasli 1243.		
		RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.
Chirakkal ..	1. Cavay ..	40	0	0	40	0	0	60	0	0	61	0	0	49	11	5
	2. Chirakkal ..	50	0	0	50	0	0	65	0	0	82	2	3	65	9	2
Kottayam.	3. Tellicherry.	50	0	0	50	0	0	70	0	0	100	0	0	73	0	11
Kurumbranad	4. Cartenad ..	71	6	10	65	0	0	88	1	10	100	0	0	80	0	0
	5. Coormenad.	71	6	10	50	0	0	58	2	2	75	0	0	82	8	0
Calicut ..	6. Calicut ..	71	6	10	40	0	0	57	10	8	96	6	10	60	0	0
Ernad ..	7. Shernad ..	57	2	3	35	11	5	58	5	10	79	9	2	56	10	0
	8. Ernad ..	71	6	10	50	0	0	62	8	0	125	0	0	73	15	4
Walluvanad.	9. Walluvanad.	57	2	3	35	11	5	57	2	3	92	13	9	47	4	0
	10. Nedunganad.	57	2	3	42	13	8	60	4	3	82	13	9	50	0	4
Palghat ..	11. Palghat ..	57	2	3	42	13	8	50	0	0	53	9	2	71	6	10
	12. Temalapuram	57	2	3	42	13	8	50	0	0	71	6	10	57	2	3
Ponnani ..	13. Betatnad ..	57	2	3	39	4	6	45	11	10	89	4	7	65	13	4
	14. Kootnad ..	57	2	3	30	2	1	52	2	5	6	6	10	71	6	10
	15. Chowghat ..	71	6	10	57	2	3	57	2	3	92	13	9	73	7	0

N.B.—Wh t seer was used is not certain, but it was probably the Macleod seer used in the table in paragraph 232.

276. The system thus instituted continued in force up to 1861, when it was abolished (G.O., Revenue Department, dated 1st November 1861, No. 2086). Mr. Grant, the Collector, at this time stated (paragraph 18 of his letter in Board's Proceedings, dated 14th September 1861, No. 5005) that the data on which the assessment rates then in force were fixed were not known, but it will be seen, on reference to column 5 of the table given in paragraph 17 of that letter, that Mr. Sheffield's plan of taking one-fifth of the gross produce was still in force. The commutation rates were not perhaps in 1861 fixed annually with reference to market prices, as had been the case down to 1845 at least. The Government fixed one uniform rate of assessment per acre on the area cultivated annually, viz., 12 annas. Calculating on the figures given by Mr. Grant in paragraph 17 of his letter above quoted, the commutation rates per 1,000 Macleod seers in each of the modern taluks were in 1861 as follows :—

Mr. Sheffield's system abolished 1st November 1861.

Mr. Grant, the Collector, at the time was unaware of the data on which the rates then in force were fixed.

The custom of fixing the commutation rates annually had perhaps ceased.

The new plan was to fix 12 annas per acre on the area cultivated annually.

					Per 1,000 Macleod seers.
1. Chirakkal	..	..	..	..	{ 21 14 5 22 2 9
2. Kottayam	..	..	..	..	24 7 3
3. Kurumbranad	..	..	..	..	{ 25 14 3 24 12 8
4. Calicut	..	..	..	..	20 8 8
5. Ernad	..	..	..	..	{ 15 10 9 19 14 8
6. Walluvanad	..	..	..	..	{ 12 4 3 14 2 2
7. Palghat	..	..	..	..	{ 14 3 6 14 10 0
8. Ponnani	..	..	..	..	{ 14 12 5 15 3 10 20 13 4

Taking the average of the Government share of produce in all taluks, as per Mr. Grant's figures, and applying to it the money rate of assessment fixed by Government in 1861, it appears that the existing assessment represents the very moderate commutation rate of Rs. 17-11-11 per 1,000 Macleod seers, assuming, of course, as in paragraph 232, that the Government share is one-fifth of the gross produce.

Assuming the Government share as one-fifth of the gross produce, the present rate per acre represents a commutation rate of Rs. 17-11-11 per 1,000 Macleod seers.

Mr. Graeme made no specific proposals regarding *Ellu*

but Mr. Sheffield assessed this kind of cultivation on precisely the same plan as he had applied to Modan.

Continued in force till 1861, and 9 annas per acre substituted.

277. *Ellu*.—Mr. Graeme made no specific recommendations in regard to lands cultivated with this crop, but Mr. Sheffield extended to it precisely the same system as that introduced for Modan and described above (paragraph 274). His plan (likewise as in the case of Modan lands) continued in force till 1861, when by the same Government order an acreage assessment was substituted, viz., nine annas on the breadth of land annually sown with *Ellu*. What was done at this time will be clearly seen by reference to the following figures.

The commutation rates per 1,000 Macleod seers, as per Mr. Grants' figures were in 1861—

					Per 1000 Macleod seers.
1. Chirakkal	..	..	..	..	{ 62 12 9 73 3 8
2. Kottayam	..	..	..	..	78 7 4
3. Kurumbranad	..	..	..	..	{ 75 0 0 60 9 0
4. Calicut	..	..	..	..	76 6 11
5. Ernad	..	..	..	..	{ 52 11 8 51 1 2
6. Walluvanad	..	..	..	..	{ 52 0 0 49 13 4
7. Palghat	..	..	..	..	{ 55 8 10 48 14 4 74 1 2
8. Pomani	..	..	..	..	{ 57 13 7 50 10 9

Assuming the Government share of produce at one-fifth of the gross, the rate per acre now in force represents a commutation rate of Rs. 63-15-8 per 1,000 Macleod seers.

This rate would have been too severe in 1829-34.

Assuming, as in paragraph 232, that the Government share is one-fifth of the gross produce, and calculating on the average of Mr. Grant's figures and on the money rate of assessment fixed by Government in 1861, the commutation rate now is very moderate, viz., Rs. 63-15-8 per 1,000 Macleod seers.

N.B.—This rate would not, however, have been a moderate rate in some taluks in 1829-34 (see paragraph 275).

278. *Punam*.—Mr. Graeme made no specific proposals regarding

Mr. Graeme made no proposals regarding *Punam*.

There is no record of any revision of assessment from 1805-6 till 1861,

this crop (see paragraph 34), and probably owing to the remoteness of the localities where it is chiefly cultivated, Messrs. Sheffield and Clementson also seem to have overlooked it. There is no record, so far as ascertained, of any revision of the principles of the assessment from 1805-6 down to

when money rates per acre, varying from 8 annas to 12 annas, were imposed.

1861, when the Government order quoted in paragraph 276 fixed an acreage assessment on the breadth annually cultivated of—

10 annas-per acre	in old Kavayi taluk (part of Chirakkal).
10 do.	in Kottayam taluk.
12 do.	in the old Kadattanad taluk (northern part of Kurumbranad).
8 do.	elsewhere.

Adopting for the purposes of comparison the gross produce out-turns in the several taluks as given in the table at paragraph 7 of Mr. Grant's letter on which the Government order was passed, the acreage rates *on the original principles of the assessment* would have been respectively—

Rupees 3 odd per acre	in the old Kavayi taluk.
Do. 3 do.	in the Kottayam taluk.
Do. 4 do.	in the old Kadattanad taluk.
Do 1 or 12 annas odd per acre	elsewhere,

as per the figures in the table at paragraph 232.

It may, therefore, be gathered from the figures given in the table at paragraph 7 of Mr. Grant's letter, that all attempt to work on the original principles of the assessment had been long ago abandoned—indeed it was inevitable (see the remarks in paragraph 237) —and that the assessments had fallen into the greatest confusion. There is no principle discoverable in Mr. Grant's figures. The assessment seems to have in course of time approximated to about 10 per cent. of the gross produce at from about Rs. 16 to Rs. 24 per 1,000 Macleod seers, which figures at the standard rate (adopted in paragraph 232) of 20 per cent. of the gross produce, give the very moderate commutation rates of about Rs. 8 to 12 per 1,000 Macleod seers.

seers.

Other Miscellaneous Lands.

279. In 1870 a proposal mooted by Mr. Ballard was finally sanctioned (Revenue Board's Proceedings, dated 24th February 1870, No. 1289), of assessing the following crops in the Palghat taluk, viz. :—

Other miscellaneous crops in Palghat Taluk were assessed at 12 annas, per acre in 1870.

1. Cholan,	6. Pulses,
2. Raggy,	7. Tobacco,
3. Chama,	8. Thomara,
4. Kambu,	9. Amarakay,
5. Horse-gram,	10. Castor-oil seed,

at the rate of 12 annas per acre on the annual breadth of land cultivated.

A similar proposal for other crops elsewhere was abandoned.

A further proposal by the Revenue Board to extend a similar assessment to other crops, such as pepper, ginger, etc., and to other parts of the district was finally abandoned (Revenue Board's Proceedings, dated 16th September 1873, No. 1846).

280. *Six Annas per Acre Rate.*—But in 1861 it was also thought

The 6 annas per acre on miscellaneous lands imposed in 1861.

16,000 acres thus hold at present.

politic to hold out inducements to people to take up such miscellaneous lands permanently so as to save the annual inspections and measurements by the Revenue subordinates, which are liable to so much abuse. Accordingly a rate of only 6 annas

per acre was sanctioned in the Government order already referred to (No. 2086, dated 1st November 1861), and some 16,000 acres are now hold on that assessment throughout the district.

Various money rates per acre were assessed on Palliyal, etc., lands in 1862.

280a. *Various Money Rates per Acre on Palliyal, etc.*—On 2nd September 1862 Mr. Ballard issued orders to assess permanently on the acreage certain classes of land known locally as—

(1) *Palliyal.*—Rice-lands intermediate between the ordinary low-lying paddy-flats and the high-lying Modan lands.

(2) *Vila nokki chartunna vaka.*—Lands somewhat similar to Palliyal and inspected annually for assessment. The Palliyal lands had hitherto been assessed like Modan lands at one-fifth of the gross produce; the *Vila nokki chartunna vaka* had hitherto been assessed like fresh paddy-lands. These principles were apparently adhered to in fixing the rates per acre, the average of four or five years being struck.

SUB-SECTION VI.—THE EXCEPTIONAL NADS, VIZ. (1) CANNANORE AND LACCADIVES, (2) WYNAD, (3) COCHIN, (4) TANGACHERRY AND ANJENGO.

The exceptional Nads. 281. It only remains to consider the exceptional cases of :—

Nad XXIX.—Cannanore and the Laccadive Islands.

Nad XXX.—Wynad.

Nad XXXI.—The Dutch Settlement at Cochin.

Nad XXXII.—The Dutch and English Settlements at Tangacherry and Anjengo.

NAD XXIX.—CANNANORE AND THE LACCADIVE ISLANDS.

281a. Little need be said regarding these territories, because any measures to be introduced for regulating the relations between Janmis and Ryots in Malabar would not, it is presumed, be extended to them. The Ali Rajas (Sea Rulers) hold only a small portion of territory on the mainland, comprising

Considered unnecessary to say much of Cannanore and the Laccadive Islands.

31 Desams in and about the town and cantonment of Cannanore in the modern Taluk of Chirakkal. They pay for their mainland territory a lump assessment of Rs. 3,801.

The *Laccadive Islands* now subject to the family are—

1. Agatti,	4. Kalpeni,
2. Kavaratti,	5. Minicoy,
3. Androth,	

with several other uninhabited small islands attached. These islands are among the "Scheduled Districts" (Act No. XV of 1874). The original assessment on them and their trade was Rs. 11,200, but that sum has since been reduced by Rs. 5,250 owing to some misunderstanding at the time of the Kirar of 1796 regarding some other territory on the mainland, which the Bibi thought she was to be allowed to retain, but which was eventually restored to its rightful suzerain, the Kolattiri Raja.

281*b*. The islands numbered 1 to 4 yielded annually during the ten years 1865–66 to 1874–75, during which period the islanders had broken loose from the Raja's control and exported their produce without any restriction, the following quantity of cocoanut produce, of which coir yarn alone is monopolised :—

	Value.
	RS.
Coir yarn, 6,335 cwts.	62,631
Cocoanuts, 1,534,121	23,011
Copra, 1,783 cwts.	16,200
Jaggery, 5,936 cwts.	27,423
Vendiah, a sweet-meat, 2,693 bundles and 13 cwts.	1,331
Total	1,30,599

And besides the above the same four islands yielded annually on the average of the ten years named the following quantities of the monopolised products, viz. :—

	Value.
	RS.
Cowries, 71 cwts.	859
Tortoise shell, 34 lbs.	192
Total	1,051

These four islands, therefore, yield monopoly produce which may be valued—but prices vary greatly—at Rs. 63,682.

281c. The Island of Minicoy is administered on a different system. There is no monopoly of the coir yarn, cowries, and tortoise shell produce as in the four northern islands. The following is an estimate of the revenue derived from this island :—

Cocoanuts (from *Pandaram* land), 550,000 number.

Coir Yarn (Poll Tax) 22 candies.

Sugar (Poll Tax) 900 adubalis (worth about Rs. 225 in Malabar).

Rice (Tax on large vessels trading with Bengal), 20 candies.

Maus fish (Tax on fishing boats), 350 fish.

Cowries—5 candies.

Maus fish (Hire of the *Pandaram* boat at 14 per cent. of the catch), 300 fish.

Money rents—Rs. 900.

This revenue, valued in Malabar at ordinary prices prevailing there, averages about Rs. 7,000 per annum *gross*.

281d. The *net* revenue, after defraying all charges of collection, comes to Rs. 9,750-0-11 on the five islands and on the territory at Cannanore.

NAD XXX. —WYNAD.

282. In paragraph 78 will be found as much of the political history of Wynad as it seems necessary here to refer to. Wynad consisted originally of the following modern amsams in the modern taluk of Wynad and in the Nilgiri Commission :—

Wynad Taluk.

1. Peria.	6. Putati.	11. Etannatassakur.
2. Edavaka.	7. Kurumbala.	12. Muppainad.
3. Nallurnad.	8. Porunnanur.	13. Ganapativattam.
4. Ellurnad.	9. Tondarnad.	
5. Kuppatod.	10. Vaitri.	

Nilgiri Commission.

- 14. Cherangod.
- 15. Munnanad.
- 16. Nambolakotta.

Wet Lands.

283. The constant disturbances which agitated this Nad prevented any fixed settlement being made till after the death of the Palassi or Pychy Raja, which event took place, as already related, on 30th November 1805.

No settlement till after the Pychy Raja's death, 30th November 1805.

284. Mr. Baber, the Sub-Collector, on 1st March 1806 reported to the Principal Collector, Mr. Warden, that in consequence of the devastating wars which had prevailed, the pattam (rent) was at the rate of double the quantity of seed sown, or on an average not more than one-fifth of the net produce, and that, to make such a pattam the basis of the revenue demand, as in the districts below the ghats, would be too low a standard.

Mr. Baber, Sub-Collector, on 1st March 1806 reported that the pattam was equal to double the quantity of seed sown.

Mr. Warden, the Principal Collector, eventually sanctioned the following scheme.

285. Mr. Warden eventually decided to adopt the following scheme of assessment :—

Details. (a) Ascertain the number of Potis (30 seers) of seed sown on each holding.

(b) Adopt as the fixed outturn multiples of the seed sown in the lands in the following taluqs the following figures :—

Wynad Taluk.

						Outturn Multiple.
1. Peria	..	..	..	..	..	13
2. Edavaka	..	..	..	..	..	
3. Nallurnad	..	..	..	..	..	
4. Ellurnad	..	..	..	..	..	11
5. Kuppato	..	..	..	..	..	
6. Putati	..	..	..	..	..	15
7. Kurumbala	..	..	..	..	..	
8. Porunnanur	..	..	..	..	..	13
9. Tondarnad	..	..	..	..	..	
10. Vaitri	..	..	..	..	..	13
11. Etanmatassakur	..	..	..	..	..	
12. Muppainad	..	..	..	..	..	9
13. Ganapativattam	..	..	..	..	..	

Nilgiri Commission.

						Outturn Multiple.
1. Cherangod	..	..	..	..	..	9
2. Munnanad	..	..	..	..	..	
3. Nambolakkotta	..	..	..	..	..	

(c) The number of Potis (30 seers) of seed $\times$ the respective outturn multiples = gross produce of the holding.

(d) Deduct from the gross produce, for expenses of cultivation, three Potis (90 seers) for each Pota (30 seers) of seed sown.

(e) Divide the balance thus left over of the gross produce in equal shares between—

1. The Government,
2. The Janmi and
3. The Ryot.

(f) Commute the Government share of the net produce into money at rates varying according to local circumstances.

286. Mr. Warden, however, left it to Mr. Baber's discretion to vary these rates in cases in which from local circumstances he thought that course necessary, and this discretion was apparently extensively utilized. Moreover, in recording these variations a peculiar device had to be resorted to, to preserve in the accounts the principles of the original assessment. For example, a land requiring $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 Potis (45 to 60 seers) to sow it, might be so subject to the devastations of wild beasts, etc., that it could not bear the local rate of assessment. In such a case, instead of showing in the accounts the actual quantity of seed required, a smaller quantity [say, 1 Poti (30 seers)] would be entered in the accounts, and the other calculations would be made as if that were the actual quantity of seed required for that land. Similar devices, it will be seen on reference to paragraphs 134 and 175, were favourite ones likewise with the Mysorean officials.

287. As soon as Mr. Warden's scheme began to be worked, it was probably discovered that a much simpler plan would effect the same end, and this was to assess certain money-rates directly on the Potis (30 seers) of seed sown on each land, instead of on the gross produce less deductions as in Mr. Warden's plan. The explanation of this is very simple.

In Mr. Warden's scheme the outturn multiple and the share of Government are *uniform* within local areas. It may also be assumed that the rates for commuting produce into money would also be once for all fixed by Mr. Baber for local areas, as he had no instructions to alter these rates annually to suit the market prices. Directly therefore the scheme began to be worked, it would be seen that it saved a lot of work and bother, if, instead of applying the *uniform* money commutation rate to the *uniform* Government share of the *uniform* net produce, the *uniform resulting money-rate* were applied at once and directly to the quantity of seed required to sow each holding, and this device would be followed within the local areas in which these *uniform conditions* held good. For example, take a land sowing 5 Potis of grain in the Ganapativattam amsam—

Potis.	Outturn Multiple.	Gross Produce.	Expenses of Cultivation.	Net Produce.	Government Share.
5	×	9	=	45	— (5 × 3 =) 15 = 30 = 3 ÷ 10 Potis.

At Rs. 1-2-9½ per Poti = Rs. 11-11-11.

But 5 Potis (the seed) at Rs. 2-5-7 = Rs. 11-11-11.

Therefore, by applying directly a rate of Rs. 2-5-7 to the number of Potis of seed sown, all the intermediate calculations would be saved. The advantages of this plan, where the quantity of land sown annually had annually to be ascertained, and the revenue assessment annually calculated thereon, are sufficiently manifest.

The advantages of this plan when the land revenue had annually to be assessed.

Mr. Græme did not interfere with Wynad and instructed Mr. Vaughan to follow the plan of annual settlements, 20th May 1823.

Similar determination of Government, 26th March 1862.

288. Mr. Græme decided not to interfere with the wet land assessments in Wynad, and instructed Mr. Vaughan, the Principal Collector, to adhere to the plan of "Annual Settlements" (paragraph 27 of his letter to Mr. Vaughan, dated 20th May 1823). And the Government, on a later occasion (G.O., Revenue Department, No. 662, dated 26th March 1862) came to a similar decision.

289. It will be seen on reference to the subjoined table that the money rates per Poti of seed sown have shifted somewhat since 1822. The figures are taken from Mr. Græme's report and from a statement recently prepared in the Collector's office :—

Amsam.	Rates per Poti (30 Seers) of Assessed Seed Niguti Vittu.		
	1822.		1881.
<i>Wynad Taluk.</i>			
	RS.	A.	P.
1. Peria	1	13	10
2. Edavaka	1	13	10
3. Nallurnad	2	2	1
4. Ellurnad	2	2	1
5. Kuppatod	2	5	3
6. Putati	2	5	3
7. Kurumbala	2	0	0
8. Porunnanur	2	0	0
9. Tondarnad	1	13	10
10. Vaitri	2	2	1
11. Etanattassakur	2	2	1
12. Muppainad	1	9	7
13. Ganapativattam	2	10	0
<i>Nilgiri Commission.</i>			
14. Cherangod	1	3	2
15. Munnarnad	1	3	2
16. Nambolakotta	0	15	0

N.B.—Fractions of a pie have been omitted in converting these rates into modern currency.

The phrase "assessed seed" is correct, for the "assessed seed" was not always the actual quantity of seed sown (see paragraph 286, also paragraph 129).

290. It will be seen from the above that it is difficult to compare the Wynad wet land assessments with those of the low country, for here there is a fourth kind of pattam (rent) to be dealt with. Being different from the three others it may appropriately be called, after its author, the Warden pattam. It approximates most to the *Vilachchal meni pattam* of Mr. Rickards (paragraphs 226, 226a, 226b and 227). For example :—

Seed = 5 Potis; Outturn multiple = 15, the rate in Kupatod and Putati amsams.

Distribution as per <i>Vilachchal meni pattam</i> .					Distribution as per Warden pattam.				
Seed.		Outturn Multiple.		Gross Produce.	Seed.		Outturn Multiple.		Gross Produce.
5	×	15	=	75	5	×	15	=	75
Deduct—					Deduct for Expenses—				
Seed	..	..	..	5	5 × 3			=	15
Valli	..	..	..	5					— 15
				— 10					—
		Balance	..	65			Balance	..	60
One-third to Ryot as profit				21½	One-third to Ryot				20
				—	One-third to Government.				20
Remainder				43½	One-third to Janmi				20
Government share at 60 per cent.				26					— 60
Janmis share at 40 per cent.				17½					
				— 43½					

It may also be noted in passing that the deduction for expenses in the Warden pattam, is the customary rate which is still prevalent in several of the heavy rich land amsams in the Ernad Taluk.

291. Bearing in mind the peculiarities of the Warden pattam, which gives to the Government half or 50 per cent. of the share of produce available as pattam (rent), and adopting the latest Poti rates as shown in paragraph 289, it is possible to compare the assessments with those in the low-country taluks by adopting the same standard percentage of pattam (rent), viz., 60 per cent., and by converting the commutation rates per Poti¹ into commutation rates per 1,000 Macleod seers, the standard adopted for the low-country. On these data

¹ The Wynad seer is to the Macleod seer as 90 is to 130.

the prevailing commutation rates at 60 per cent. of the pattam (rent) in the various amsams come out as follows :—

Wynad taluk.

						Per 1,000 Macleod seers.		
						RS.	A.	P.
1. Peria	..	..	..	..	..	24	1	2
2. Edavaka	..	..	..	..	..			
3. Nallurnad	..	..	..	..	..	31	15	6
4. Ellurnad	..	..	..	..	..			
5. Kuppato	..	..	..	..	..	23	8	11
6. Putati	..	..	..	..	..			
7. Kurumbala	..	..	..	..	..	25	9	3
8. Porumanur	..	..	..	..	..			
9. Tondarnad	..	..	..	..	..	24	1	2
10. Vaitri	..	..	..	..	..			
11. Etannatassakur	..	..	..	..	..	25	9	3
12. Muppainad	..	..	..	..	..			
13. Ganapativattam	..	..	..	..	..	36	2	5
						47	1	8

Nilgiri Commission.

14. Cherangod	..	..	..	..	..	24	0	6
15. Munnar	..	..	..	..	..			
16. Nambolakkotta	..	..	..	..	..	18	12	11

N.B.—Fractions of a pic are omitted, and the Nilgiri Commission amsam rates are calculated on the basis of the Poti rates prevalent in 1822.

The market prices prevalent in Wynad since 1860 during the harvest months average Rs. 69-6-4 per 1,000 Macleod seers, so that the commutation rates on which the assessments were fixed are everywhere well within the prices the cultivators have of late been obtaining for their produce. Other changes, however, have affected the cultivators, some beneficially, others the reverse. The good cart-loads must have very materially tended to equalise prices throughout the Nad, and the food required for the large bodies of coolies employed on coffee-estates must also have tended in the same direction; while, on the other hand, the greater cost of labour and the breaking down of the system of serfdom have tended to increase the original cost of the produce. The comparatively high rate in Ganapativattam was due to the demand there was for grain in 1806 to feed the large body of regular and irregular troops stationed in that amsam at that time. It must have been a prohibitive rate after those troops were withdrawn and before the country was opened up by good roads, as indeed the large extent of waste

These commutation rates are well within recent market prices.

Other changes have affected the cultivators.

The Ganapativattam rate must have been prohibitive for some time after the troops, regular and irregular, stationed there were withdrawn.

The Nambolakkotta rate, on the other hand, must have encouraged cultivation there as soon as a market was found.

paddy-fields in that neighbourhood still amply testifies. On the other hand, the low rate in Nambolakkotta must have held out strong inducements to extend wet cultivation there, as soon as a market for it could be found. Wynad, however, is an exceptional taluk, chiefly owing to its unhealthiness; and the breaking up of the system of serfdom since the assessments were fixed must have had a much greater influence on agriculture in Wynad than it had elsewhere, because in Wynad there was but a limited class to take the places of the slaves who chose to leave their ancient masters and work for hire on the European coffee-estates.

Garden Lands.

Coco, areca, and jack unassessed.

292. Coco, areca, and jack gardens are unassessed in Wynad.

293. In 1860 coffee had become such an important industry in

Coffee.

Rs. 2 per acre imposed from the third year, 16th May 1860.

This rate bore no proportion to gross or net produce.

Crop capricious, return uncertain.

The rate is hardly felt on a good estate, but in many, perhaps the majority, it is only so much added to the losses.

Wynad that Sir Charles Trevelyan proposed to assess coffee gardens at a uniform rate of Rs. 2 per acre, from the third¹ year after planting (G.O., Revenue Department, dated 16th May 1860, No. 788). This assessment was arbitrarily fixed without reference to either the gross or the net produce. The crop is so capricious and the return is so uncertain that an arbitrary rate had to be fixed. The rate is hardly felt on a good estate in a good year, but Mr. Macgregor pithily summed up (Board's Proceedings, dated 16th September 1873, No. 1846) the other side of the question thus: "The existing tax of Rs. 2 an acre on coffee falls heavily on many estates that have been fairly successful, while in a large

number of instances, perhaps in the majority, it is so much added to the losses."

294. A few months later (G.O., 18th September 1860, No. 1634)

8 annas per acre more assessed on Government lands as Janmabhogam, 18th September 1860.

an extra cess of 8 annas per acre was imposed on Government land only as Janmabhogam from date of occupation "for any purpose." This rate is leviable on the entire holding under puttah, whereas the assessment is payable on the area actually cultivated only.

¹ A practice having sprung up of granting three years' remission at starting, the Government ordered it to be discontinued. Tea and cinchona lands are to be similarly treated—G.O., R.D., 1118, of 2nd October 1885.

Rates per acre under Waste Land Sale Rules Rs. 2 for forest and Re. 1 for grass, afterwards reduced to 8 annas, 23rd December 1862.

coffee cultivation.

Cess remitted for an extra year, or three in all, from date of planting, 22nd September 1871.

295. The rules for the sale of Government waste lands were sanctioned in 1863 (G.O., dated 23rd December 1862, No. 2677), and Rs. 2 per acre for forest and Re. 1¹ per acre for grass-land, were the rates of assessment reserved at the sales. The lands were not necessarily, but as matter of fact they were without exception, taken up for

296. In 1871 the coffee-cess was remitted for an extra year, making three in all from the date of planting (G.O., dated 22nd September 1871 No. 1656).²

Miscellaneous Lands.

297. Dry grain lands were unassessed till 1862, when the Board of Revenue first recommended and Government approved (G.O., dated 26th March 1862, No. 660) an assessment of Rs. 2 per acre, the same as for coffee, but on Mr. Ballard giving certain explanations, the Government and the Secretary of State finally sanctioned a rate of Rs. 1-4-0 per acre on cultivation annually inspected, and 10 annas per acre if the land were taken up and permanently assessed. These rates were applicable to private lands only (G.Os., Revenue Department, 11th August 1863, No. 1483, and 15th December 1863, No. 2292). They were the Wynad equivalents of the 12 annas per acre and 6 annas per acre assessments in the low country taluks already referred to in paragraphs 278, 279, 280. The reason why they were made so much more heavy is that Government had already decided (see paragraph 295) to sell Government wastes subject to a cess of one rupee per acre for grass-lands, and it was thought that Government lands would be unfairly weighted if private lands were assessed at lower rates than those mentioned. Neither the net produce nor the gross was therefore considered when fixing those rates, and in this respect it will be seen they are to some extent on the same footing as their equivalents in the low country taluks.

Unassessed till 1862, when Rs. 2 per acre was first imposed.

Afterwards altered to Rs. 1-4-0 per acre on lands annually inspected and to 10 annas per acre if land taken up permanently, 11th August 1863, 15th December 1863.

These are the Wynad equivalents of the 12 annas per acre and 6 annas per acre cesses in the low-country.

The reason why they are so much heavier.

Neither the net produce nor the gross was considered.

the gross was therefore considered when fixing those rates, and in this respect it will be seen they are to some extent on the same footing as their equivalents in the low country taluks.

¹ This rate on grass-land taken up under the Waste Land Rules was reduced to 8 annas per acre by G.O., 22nd September 1871, No. 1656.

² This G.O. "must be held to apply to such land" (forest land) "when cultivated with *Cinchona*," i.e., Rs. 2 per acre.—Board of Revenue, No. 2001, 11th August 1882.

NAD XXXI.—DUTCH SETTLEMENT AT COCHIN.

298. On the 20th October 1795 the Dutch Settlement at Cochin was delivered up to Major Petrie, in command of a detachment of British troops. The settlement remained under the British flag till by the Convention of Paris in 1814 it was finally ceded to Great Britain.

Historical.

299. The settlement consisted of the town and fort of Cochin and of the following gardens or pattams outside those limits :—

Limits.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Tumboli pattam. | 10. Taiveppu pattam. |
| 2. Kattur pattam. | 11. Belicho Rodrigues pattam. |
| 3. Attalakad pattam. | 12. Saint Louis pattam. |
| 4. Manakodat pattam. | 13. Duart Lemos pattam. |
| 5. Antony Fernandez pattam. | 14. Hendrick Silva pattam. |
| 6. Tekkepurupunkara pattam. | 15. Ramanturutti pattam. |
| 7. Mundenvelli pattam. | 16. Sondikalguvankure Silva pattam. |
| 8. Domingo Fernandez palakal pattam. | 17. Palliport Hospital paramba. |
| 9. Santiago pattam. | |

No. 1 lies 33 miles south of Cochin.

„ 2 do. 31 do. do. do.

„ 3 do. 27 do. do. do.

• „ 4 do. 27 do. do. do.

„ 5 do. 6 do. south-east do.

„ 6 do. 6½ do. do. do.

„ 7 do. 6 do. do. do.

„ 8 do. 6 do. do. do.

„ 9 do. 5 do. south do.

„ 10 do. 4 do. do. do.

„ 11 do. 4½ do. do. do.

„ 12 do. 5½ do. do. do.

„ 13 do. 5 do. south of Cochin.

„ 14 do. 4½ do. do. do.

„ 15 do. 1½ do. north-east do.

„ 16 do. 4½ do. south do.

„ 17 do. 16 do. north do.

Nos. 5 and 6 are together known as Kallancheri.

300. The proprietary right in the soil of the settlement was vested in the Government, but the Dutch and Christian residents were exempt from ground-rent taxation.

Proprietary right in soil vested in Government.

Land held on leases of 20 years.

This system continued after the territory passed into British hands.

301. The land beyond the fort was held on leases running for periods of twenty years, “on the expiry of which the land with all improvements reverted absolutely to the Government, no tenant right or compensation being admitted.”

302. "This system was continued after the territory passed into the possession of the British Government, but with the disadvantageous change of selling the leases as they fell in by auction."

303. "Mr. Conolly saw the objectionable character of the system and applied a remedy in 1847 when a number of the leases expired. He had these estates surveyed and assessed in conformity with the usage of the district according to their condition, and made over to the actual resident ryots (who as sub-tenants of the former renters enjoyed a moiety of their produce, but lost their improvements and rights with each renewal of the lease) to the former renters or to strangers, according as circumstances rendered it expedient. The assessment is subject to revision every twenty years, but as the agreements contain no resumption conditions, the tenure is virtually¹ permanent, the holder having the option of retaining the land at its revised assessment in preference to others if so inclined. The same system has since continued, and three estates only remain unsettled in this manner."

Mr. Conolly revised the arrangements in 1847 and settled the pattams with the ryots in accordance with the district usage. Assessment liable to revision every twenty years.

Board's Proceed- 304. The above extracts are from Revenue ings, 1st July 1858, Board's Proceedings, dated 1st July 1858, No. 2279. No. 2279.

Wet Lands.

305. The principles on which the wet land assessments have been framed as related above are as follows:—

(a) The number of seers required to sow 100 Perukkams in each holding is first ascertained. A "perukkam" is 6 feet × 6 feet, so, 1,210 Perukkams go to an acre. The number of seers so required ranges from 4 to 4½, 5 and 6.

(b) The outturn multiple of the holding is simultaneously fixed. The outturn multiples range from three to eighteen times the seed.

(c) Then extent in hundreds of Perukkams × seed × outturn multiple = gross produce of the holding.

(d) Deduct the seed and a similar quantity for cultivation expenses and find the net produce.

(e) Reserve one-third of the net produce for the cultivator, and the remainder is the pattam.

(f) The whole of the remainder goes to Government, although in the accounts a distinction is drawn between the Government share (65 per cent. of it) and the Janmi's share (35 per cent. of it).

(g) Both shares are commuted into a money assessment at Rs. 25 per 1,000 Macleod seers.

¹ This is not quite correct. The puttahs contain a condition that the lands are resumable "at the pleasure of Government."—G.O., Revenue Department, No. 706, dated 5th June 1884, pp. 21, 23, or "should the Government require it."—*Ibid* p. 20.

Mr. Conolly followed the general plan adopted by Mr. Sheffield for assessing Modan, and Mr. Clementson's plan for distributing the produce.

The Cochin plan of produce distribution distinguished from the *Vilachchal meni pattam* and the *Warden pattam*.

306. Mr. Conolly, it will be seen from the above, followed the general plan adopted by Mr. Sheffield for assessing Modan lands (paragraph 274), and in the precise distribution of the produce he followed the scheme adopted by Mr. Clementson (paragraph 272 *a*) for assessing land freshly taken up for cultivation. This fifth method of distributing the produce differs from the others already described, but it is very closely allied to the method adopted in distributing the *Vilachchal meni pattam* of Mr. Rickards and to that adopted for distributing the *Warden pattam* in Wynad.

For example :—

Seed, 5 seers ; outturn multiple. 15.

Distribution as per the Vilachchal meni pattam Plan.	Distribution as per the Warden pattam Plan.	Distribution as per the Cochin Plan.
Seed. Outturn Gross Multiple. Produce.	Seed. Outturn Gross Multiple. Produce.	Seed. Outturn Gross Multiple. Produce.
5 × 15 = 75	5 × 15 = 75	5 × 15 = 75
Deduct for Expenses—	Deduct for Expenses—	Deduct for Expenses—
Seed .. 5	5 × 3 = 15	Seed .. 5
Valli .. 5	—	Valli .. 5
— 10	Balance .. 60	— 10
Balance 65	One-third to	Balance .. 65
One-third to	Ryot. 20	One-third to
Ryot for	One-third to	Ryot for
profit .. 21½	Government. 20	profit .. 21½
—	One-third to	—
Remainder 43½	Janmi .. 20	Remainder .. 43½
Government	— 60	Government
share at 60		share at 65
per cent. .. 26		per cent. .. 28½
Janmi's share		Janmi's share
at 40 per		at 35 per
cent. .. 17½		cent. .. 15½
— 43½		— 43½
—		—

In short it is the *Vilachchal meni pattam* of Mr. Rickards, with

It was in fact the *Vilachchal meni pattam* with 65 per cent reserved for Government instead of 60 per cent.

The explanation of this change of percentage.

however 65 per cent. of the pattam (in place of 60 per cent.) reserved for the Government share. It was Mr. Graeme who proposed to take as the Government share 65 per cent. of the pattam, but then the pattam he referred to was the *Verumpattam* or actual rent, not the *Vilachchal meni pattam*. Mr. Graeme's reason for proposing a departure from Mr. Rickards' scheme fixing the Government share at 60 per cent. was that in

his time it took 65 per cent. of the *Verumpattam* to make up 60 per cent. of the *Vilachchal meni pattam*; the *Verumpattam* being in his time *pro tanto* lower than the *Vilachchal meni pattam* (see paragraph 254). It was a clear departure from the agreement come to with the principal Janmis in 1803 (paragraph 247) to calculate the pattam on the *Vilachchal meni* principles and then to take 65 per cent. of the remainder instead of the 60 per cent. agreed to. This was evidently not looked into when Mr. Clementson was authorized to adopt his plan for assessing land freshly taken up for cultivation (paragraph 272 *a*).

307. It did not, however, matter much in Cochin, because there the Government was also the Janmi, and in its double capacity it took 100 per cent. of the pattam in the shape of assessment and Janma-bhogam from the Ryots. This at first sight would seem to be too large a proportion of the produce for the Government to swallow up, but the fact is that the extreme moderation of the commutation rate assumed in converting produce into money, has left to the Ryots in Cochin a much larger share of produce than at first sight appears. Bearing in mind that in this instance it is the *Vilachchal meni pattam* which is being distributed, and that the Government share is 100 per cent. of it, the commutation rate (*viz.*, Rs. 25 per 1,000 Macleod seers) at the standard percentage adopted in the tables at paragraphs 231, 291 (*viz.*, 60 per cent. of the pattam) comes out at Rs. 41-10-8 per 1,000 Macleod seers. Now, on the other hand, since 1860 the market prices obtainable at Cochin for paddy in the harvest months have averaged no less than Rs. 57-15-0 per 1,000 Macleod seers. Even therefore though the ryots have been paying to Government *the whole* of the *Vilachchal meni pattam*, they have been better off than the Ryots in many of the Nads, for which the figures will be found in the tables at paragraphs 231 and 291, who, in addition to meeting a commutation rate quite as high, and, in some instances a good deal higher, have still above and beyond this to find a rent for the Janmi.

Garden Lands.

Mr. Græme's plan followed by Mr. Conolly.

308. Mr. Conolly assessed the coco, areca and jack trees on the plan adopted in the rest of the district (paragraph 263).

Miscellaneous Lands.

No cultivation, but some money-rates have been applied under Mr. Ballard's Circular of 2nd September 1862.

309. Modan, Punam, and Ellu cultivation (paragraphs 33, 34, 35) is not practised in Cochin, but Mr. Ballard's order of 2nd September 1862 (see paragraph 280*a*) has been put in operation in Cochin to a small extent.

NAD. XXXII.—THE DUTCH SETTLEMENT AT TANGACHERRY AND THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT AT ANJENGO.

310. Very little requires to be said about these settlements, because the land revenues of both are, with the other sources of revenue, rented out at lump sums to the Travancore State at Rs. 2,447 per annum for Tangacherry and Rs. 1,450 per annum for Anjengo.

Land revenues framed by the Travancore Government.

311. The land belongs partly to Government and partly to Jannis. The lands of the latter class are exempt from all assessments, and as regards the former the Travancore State collects only the share (*pattam*) due to Government. This state of things proves, if additional proofs were necessary, that the position taken up in Section (A) of this Chapter is correct, viz., that the *pattam* really the ancient land revenue assessment of the coast.—(*Conf.* p. 601.)

The Travancore State collects the share due to Government on Government lands.

Janmam lands are exempt.

SUB-SECTION VII.—FINAL SUMMARY AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

Recapitulation of the objects set forth in paragraph 1 of this paper.

312. The objects necessitating the preparation of this paper were thus set forth in paragraph 1 :—

(a) To ascertain, first, by reference to the past revenue history of Malabar the proportions which the land revenue assessments bear to the fund available out of the net produce of the land for paying a rent to the Janmi and an assessment to Government.

(b) To discover, in the second place, whether these proportions are anywhere so oppressive at the present time, as to take from the Ryots more of the produce than by the fixed principles regulating the assessments the Government intended to take.

How far have these been attained?

It now becomes possible to ascertain how far these objects have been attained.

313. The proportions which the various assessments bear to the rent and revenue fund, have been set forth in detail for every part of the district for which details were required in the foregoing narrative.

Details set forth for every part of the district,

and focussed (so to speak) in paragraphs 231, 232, 291, 307.

And these details have already been focussed (so to speak) in the figures to be found for the bulk of the low country in paragraphs 231, 232, as for the year 1805-6, and for the rest of the district in paragraphs 291 and 307, as for the present time.

Further general observations.

314. The following further general remarks seem to be required :—

I. From the time of Lord William Bentinck's Minute (22nd April 1804), there has been no doubt regarding the proportion of the produce of the soil the Government *intended* to take from wet lands and gardens. Mr. Rickards' scheme of distribution was then approved (paragraph 226), and the extent to which it has been carried out, and the extent to which departures from it have occurred, will here be briefly recapitulated.

How far has Mr. Rickards' scheme of distribution been carried out?

Wet Lands.

Mr. Rickards' scheme of distribution depended on the ascertainment of an arbitrary pattam (rent), which has been called the *Vilachchal meni pattam*. It may be gathered from the foregoing narrative that his scheme has never been fully carried out. Mr. Rickards' scheme has not been fully carried out. Mr. Græme's alternative plan proved abortive. The assessments are in much the same state as in 1805-6, and are based on four kinds of pattam. Græme proposed, for reasons which have been already explained in paragraph 254, an equivalent scheme of his own (see in particular Sir Thomas Munro's Minute of 16th July 1822, paragraph 9, Revenue Selections, Vol. III, p. 558), founded on the *Verumpattam* or actual rent, but Mr. Græme's scheme proved abortive, and so the wet land assessments are in much the same state as in 1805-6. The basis of them rests on four different kinds of pattam (rent), viz. :—

(a) *Verumpattam* (actual rent).

(b) *Nikuti pattam* (the Mysorean assessment rent).

(c) *Vilachchal meni pattam* (Mr. Rickards').

These three regulate the proportion of produce in the low country to the extent shown in detail in paragraph 229, and the fourth, viz.,

(d) *Warden pattam* is in operation only in the Wynad.

These pattams of course, vary greatly among themselves, and the figures in paragraphs 231, 291 and 307 are not to be taken as the exact equivalents of the assessments in the various Nads reduced to one common fixed standard, but only as the nearest approximations which circumstances will permit towards the attainment of such a standard. Where, however, one of these pattams is the basis of the assessment in more than one Nad, the figures represent the exact proportions which the assessments bear to each other in those respective Nads.

Caution as to the figures in the tables at paragraphs 231, 291 and 307.

There has, however, been one departure from the intentions of Lord William Bentinck's Government. The details will be found in paragraphs 254, 272 and 306. The mistake made by Mr. Clementson of taking 65 per cent. of the *Vilachehal meni pattam* as equivalent to 65 per cent. of the *Verumpattam* was apparently unnoticed then, and it has been perpetuated down to the present time. It affects all wet lands recently brought under cultivation in the low country and the accounts of all the wet lands in Cochin.

One departure from the intention of Lord William Bentinck's Government founded on a mistake.

Garden Lands.

Mr. Rickards' scheme for the distribution of the produce in this class of lands was based on the actual prevailing customary pattam in South Malabar only. Mr. Rickards' scheme fully and successfully carried out by Mr. Græme. Mr. Græme's proposals did not necessitate any departure from that scheme except to the extent noted in paragraph 254. This was hardly a departure from the original scheme, because it left the North Malabar custom as to pattam intact. So that in regard to gardens (and excluding coffee, paragraphs 293, 296, as a recently introduced industry) the intentions of Lord William Bentinck's Government have been fully carried out, and most successfully.

Miscellaneous Land.

II. As regards miscellaneous lands, Mr. Rickards' scheme provided no rules for the distribution of the produce. There has consequently been some uncertainty in regard to the assessments. The standard adopted, for reasons stated in paragraph 232, was adhered to by Mr. Sheffield in regulating the Modan and Ellu assessments in the low country, but it was overlooked in regard to Punam. And when the low country assessments on these crops came again under revision in 1860, the standard in regard to Modan and Ellu was in its turn lost sight of, although practically its principles were to some extent preserved in the rates per acre then sanctioned (paragraphs 276, 277). The disadvantage of these fixed rates per acre is that no distinction is drawn between good, bad, and indifferent land. Mr. Sheffield had arranged the Modan lands in three classes, with outturn multiples varying from $2\frac{3}{4}$ to $6\frac{3}{4}$ and it is clear that one uniform average assessment must fall too heavily on the poor, and too lightly on the good lands.

Mr. Rickards' scheme did not affect the miscellaneous lands.

Uncertainty in consequence.

The standard adopted by Mr. Sheffield was afterwards overlooked in 1860.

The disadvantage of one single fixed rate per acre.

Too heavy on poor, too light on good land.

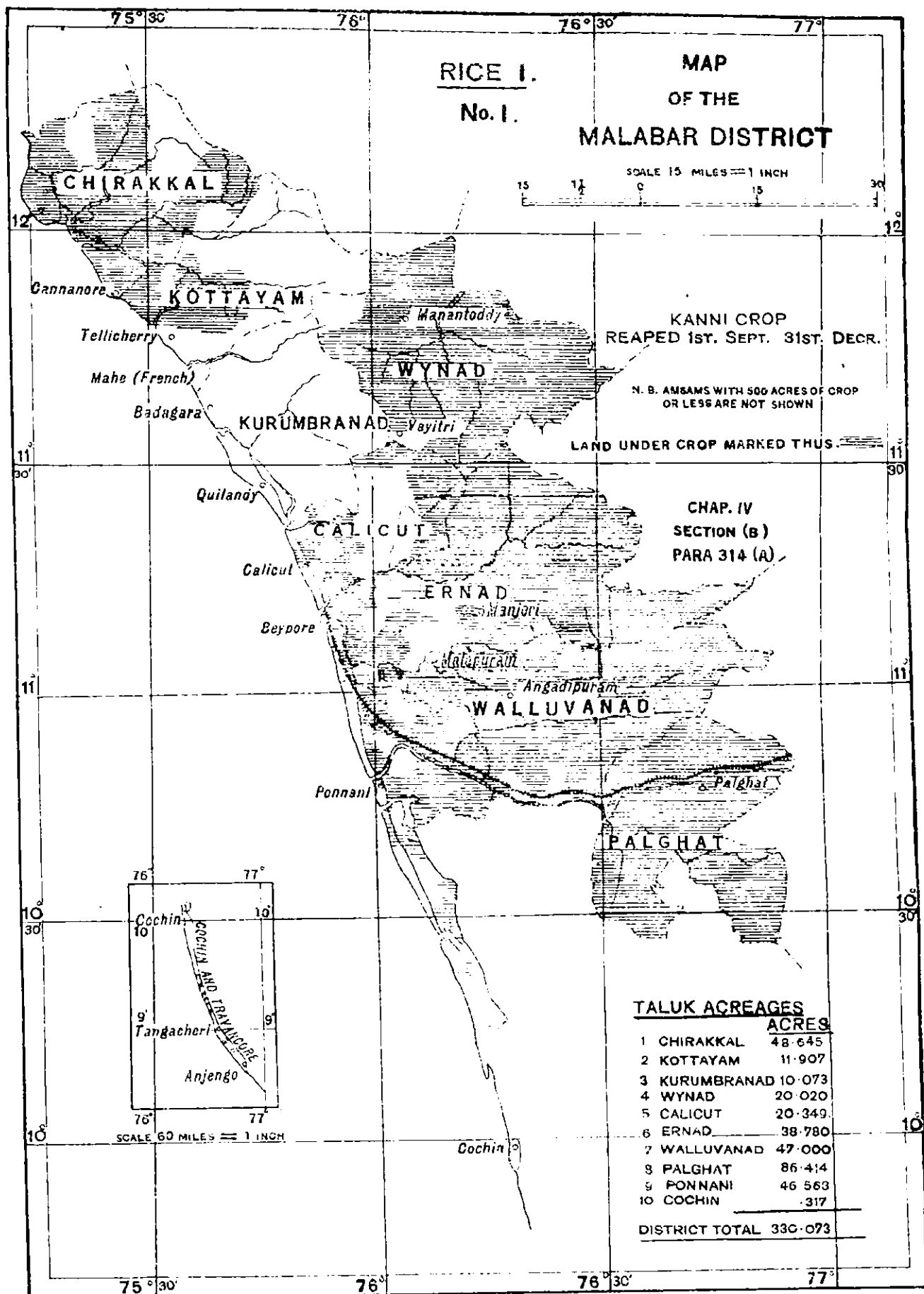
314*a*. To illustrate this section thirteen maps of the district have been prepared and are here inserted, showing the different portions of the district in which the various descriptions of cultivation principally occur.

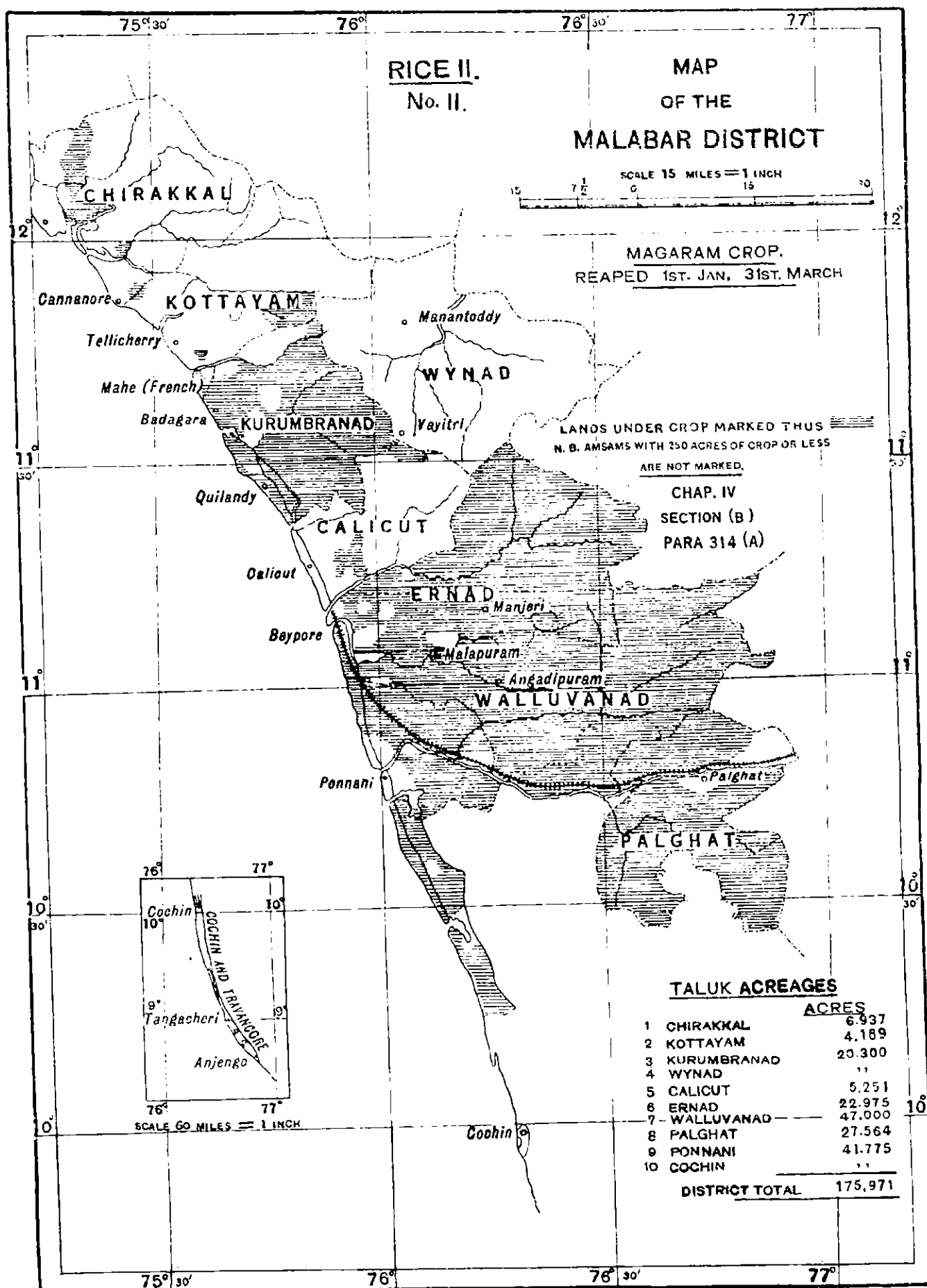
315. Turning lastly to the most important point of all, the oppressiveness or otherwise of the Government shares of produce at the Government commutation rate it may be remarked in the first place that high prices of produce are like a high flood-tide, submerging all inequalities of assessments, as rocks are submerged by the tidal wave. It is only when the tide recedes that the rocks are laid bare. Since 1832 a high flood of prices has set in which as yet shows no sign of ebbing. The district records show that prices ran very low in 1828-31 so much so that there was in 1830-31 some fear that Mr. Graeme's commutation rates for garden produce would prove too high. Mr. Hudleston, the Principal Collector, in 1830-31 had to give no less than Rs. 69,31 as remissions on gardens. This, however, was the turning point. The flood of high prices began after the setting in of the rains in 1831-32, and with some intermissions it has continued ever since. Perhaps the greatest permanent increase since 1822 took place in, and just after, the five years ending 1856-57. The following table exhibits such details as can be found of this time:—

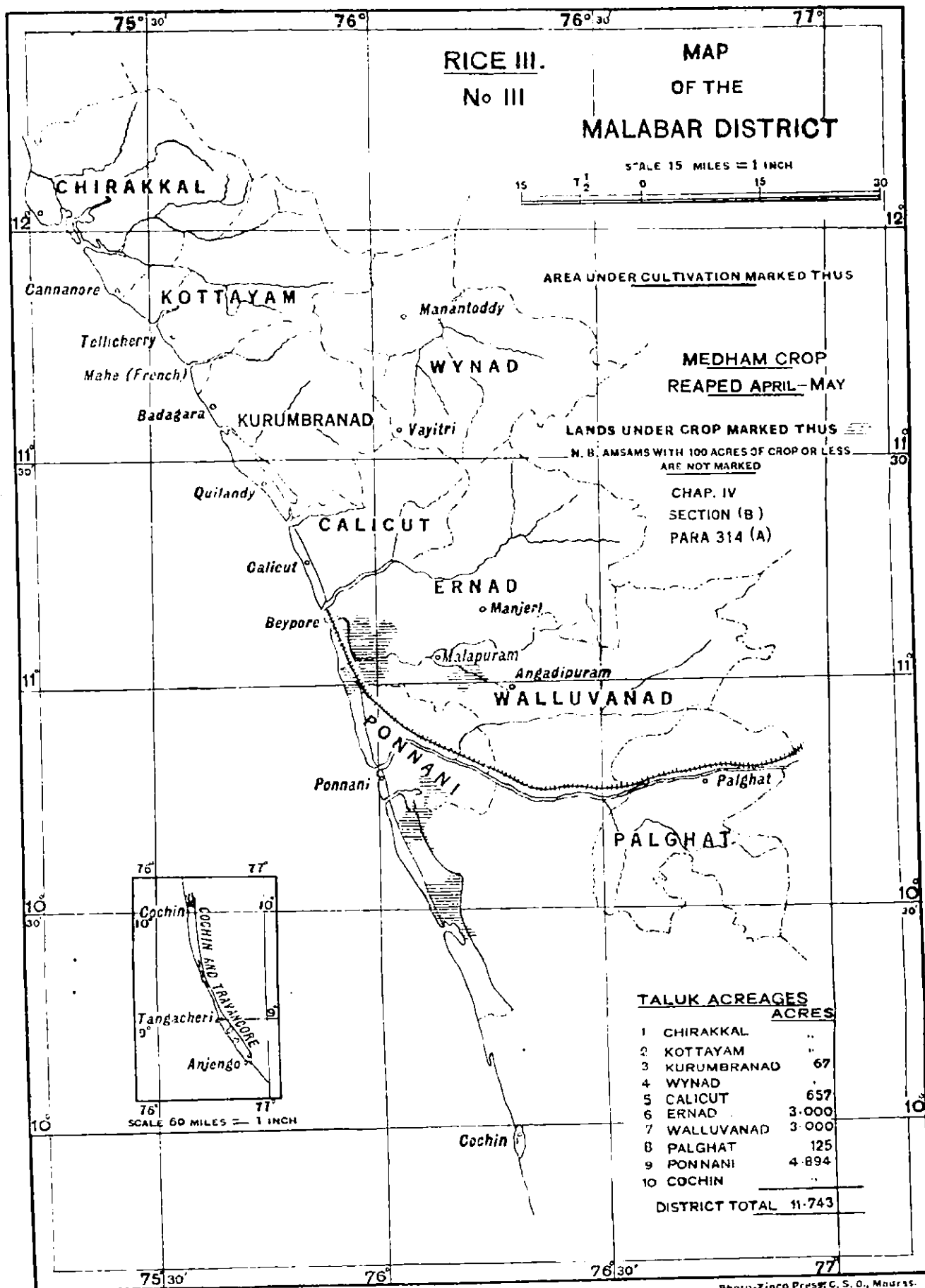
	Paddy per Garce.	Gingelly per Garce.	Cocoanuts per 1,000.	Pepper per Candy 560 lb.	Coffee per Candy 560 lb.	Green Ginger per Candy 560 lb.
	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.
Average of 5 years ending 1851-52 ..	78	266	12	51	75	11
Average of 5 years ending 1856-57 ..	108	311	16	85	98	21
1857-58 ..	149	392	21	100	130	23
1858-59 ..	166	407	22	95	121	25
1859-60 ..	197	..	..	..	..	..

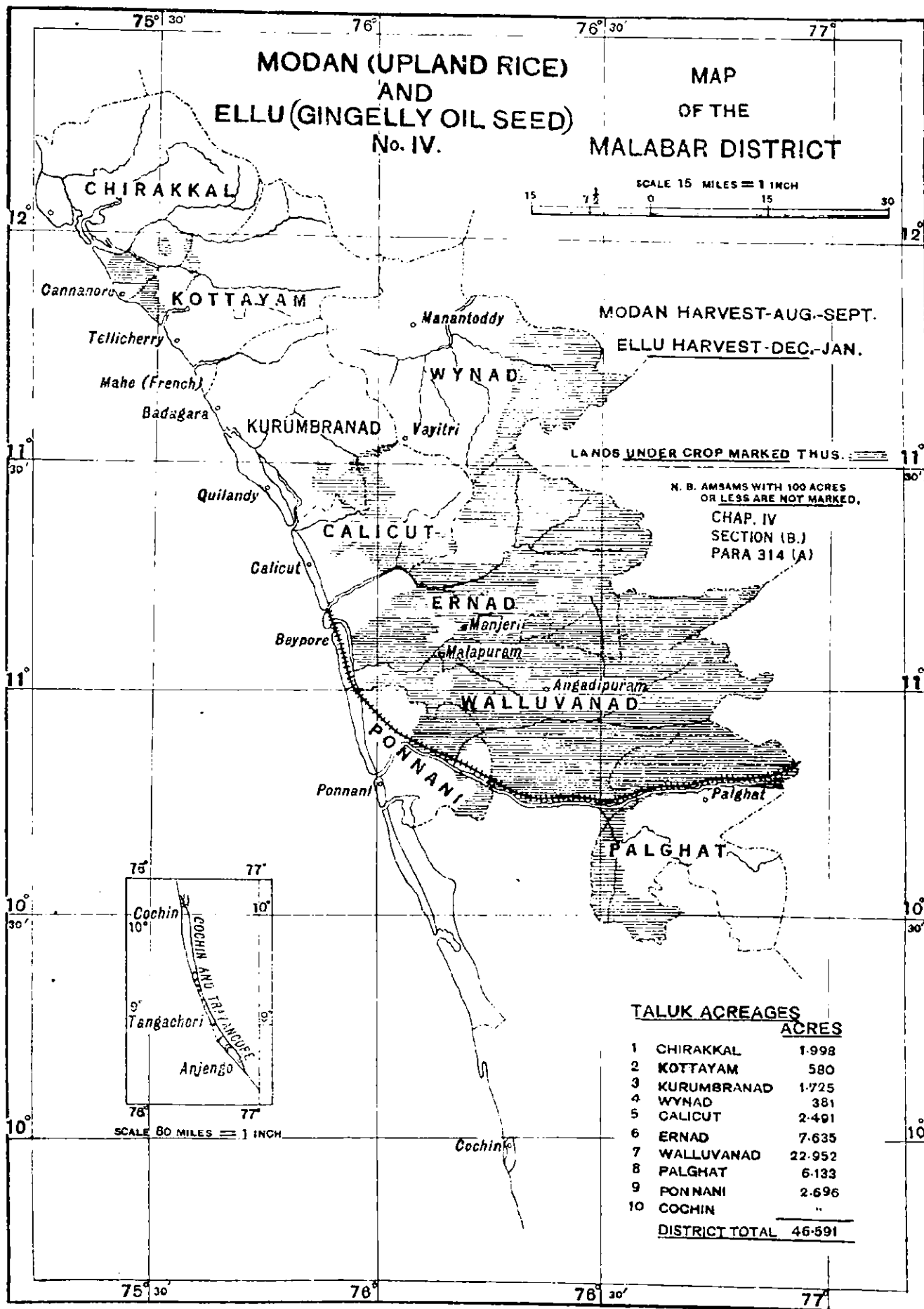
The garce referred to in this table is about three times the standard quantity used in the tables at paragraphs 231, 232, 291, 307.

316. In Appendices XVI to XIX will be found such details as can be had regarding the prices of produce current in recent years. In the following table these prices are compared with the commutation rates equivalent, at the standard Government shares of the produce (adopted in the figures at paragraphs 231, 232, 276, 277, 278, 291, 307), to the actual commutation rates of the existing assessment; and the map showing "Modern Taluks" will serve to show in what particular parts of the country these different rates prevail.









MAP
OF THE
MALABAR DISTRICT

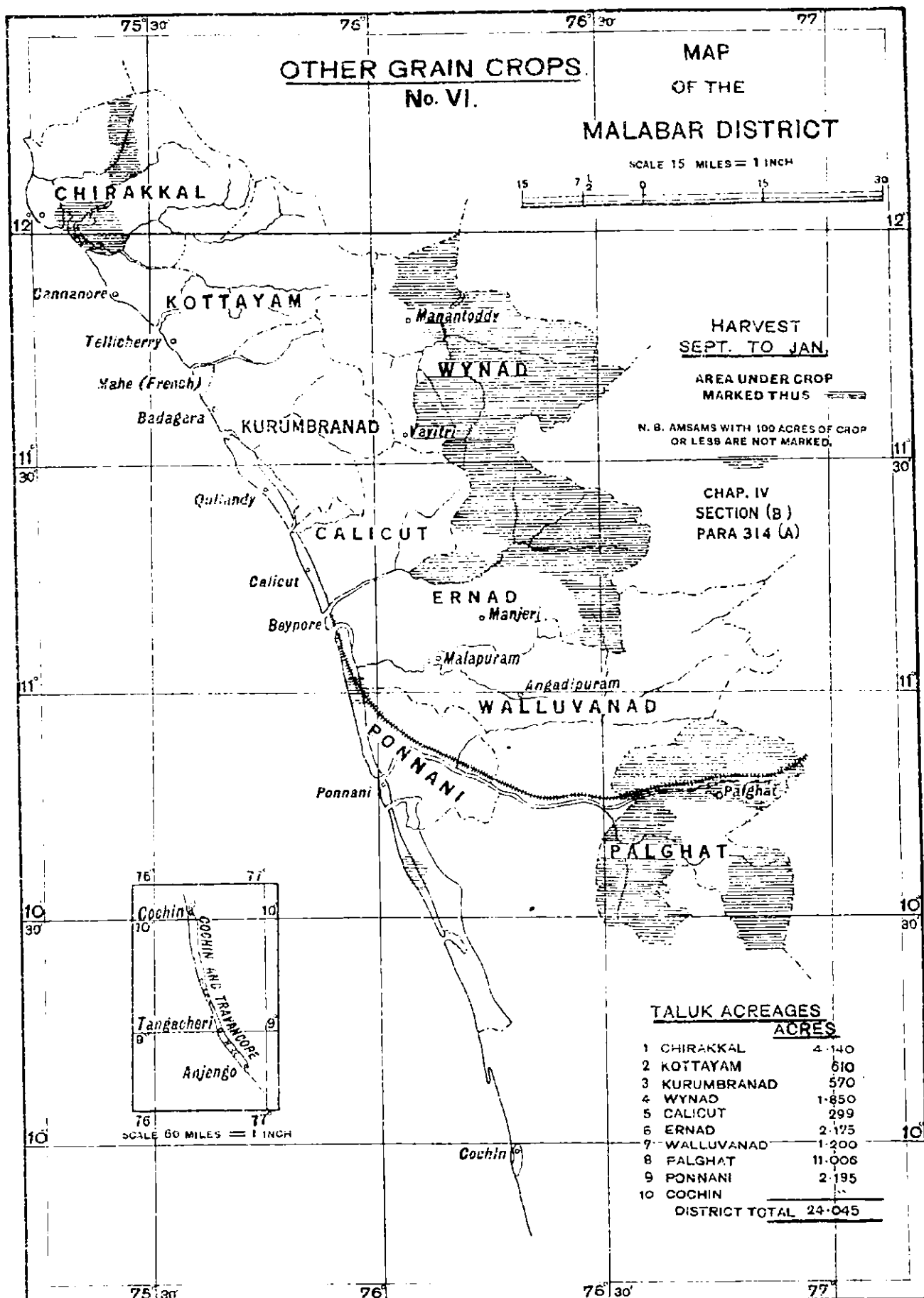
A number line is shown with tick marks at 15, $7\frac{1}{2}$, 0, 15, and 30. The segment from 0 to 15 is labeled "15" above it, and the segment from 15 to 30 is labeled "15" above it.

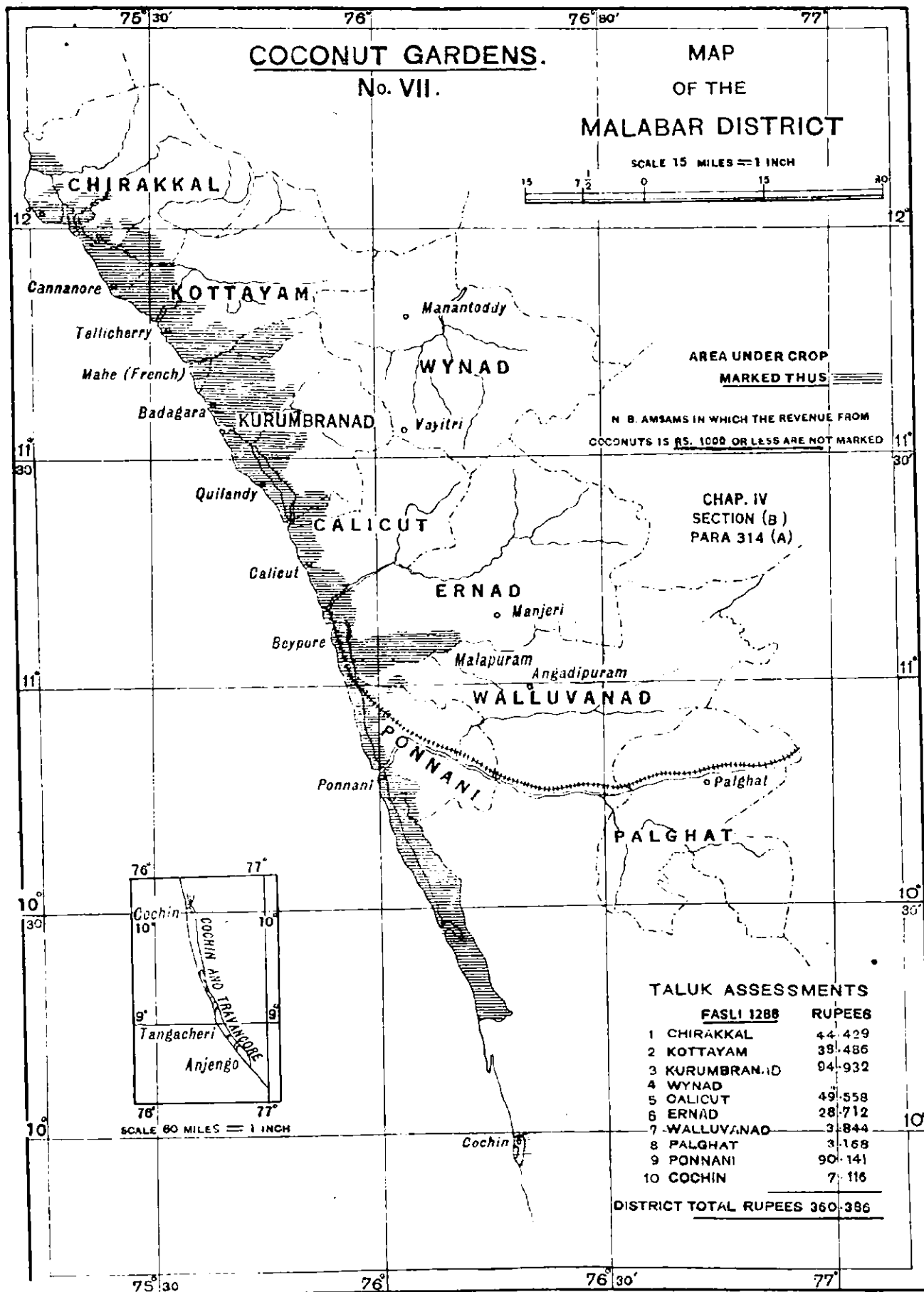
AREA UNDER CROP MARKED THUS.

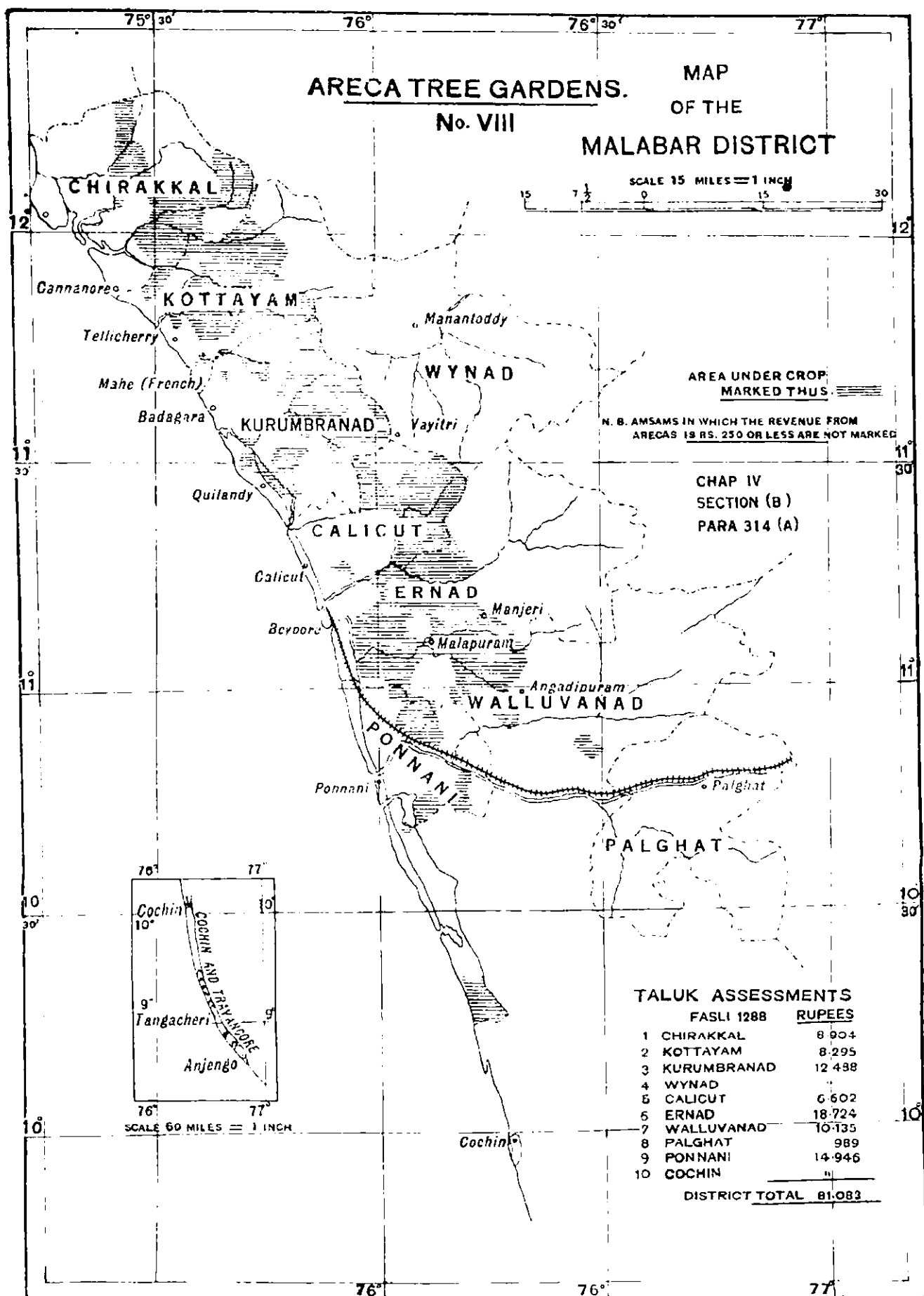
CHAP. IV
SECTION (B)
PARA 314 (A)

	ACRES
1 CHIRAKKAL	11.750
2 KOTTAYAM	9.389
3 KURUMBRANAD	2.614
4 WYNAD	10
5 CALICUT	703
6 ERNAD	1.435
7 WALLUVANAD	"
8 PALGHAT	"
9 PONNANI	"
10 COCHIN	"

DISTRICT TOTAL 25.901



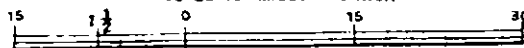




MALABAR DISTRICT

No. IX

SCALE 15 MILES = 1 INCH



CHIRAKKAL

Cannanore

KOTTAYAM

Tellicherry

Mahe (French)

Badagara

KURUMBANAD

Quilandy

CALCUT

Calicut

Beyroote

ERNAD

Malapuram

WALLUVANAD

Ponnani

PALGHAT

SCALE 60 MILES = 1 INCH

Cochin ⑤

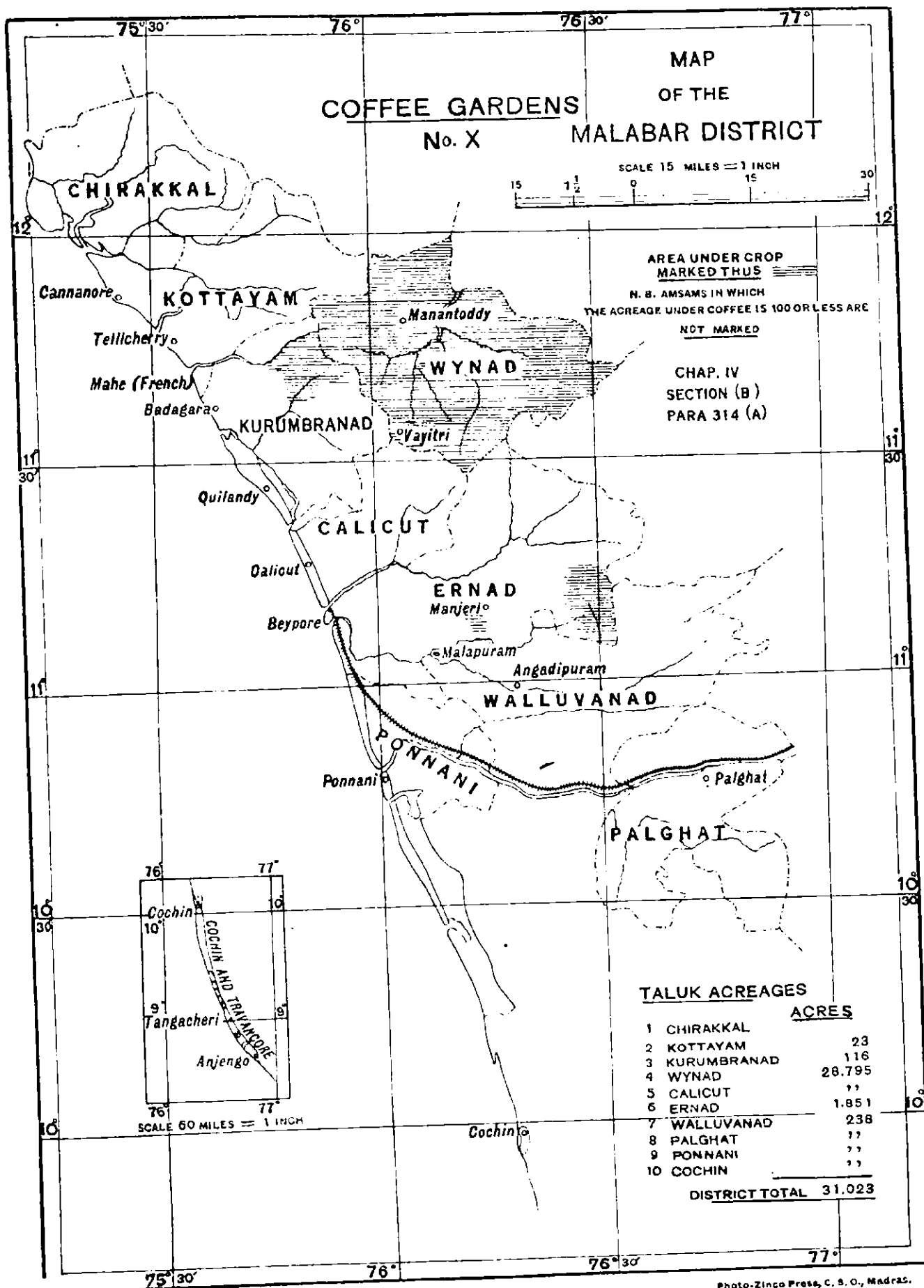
TALUK ASSESSMENT

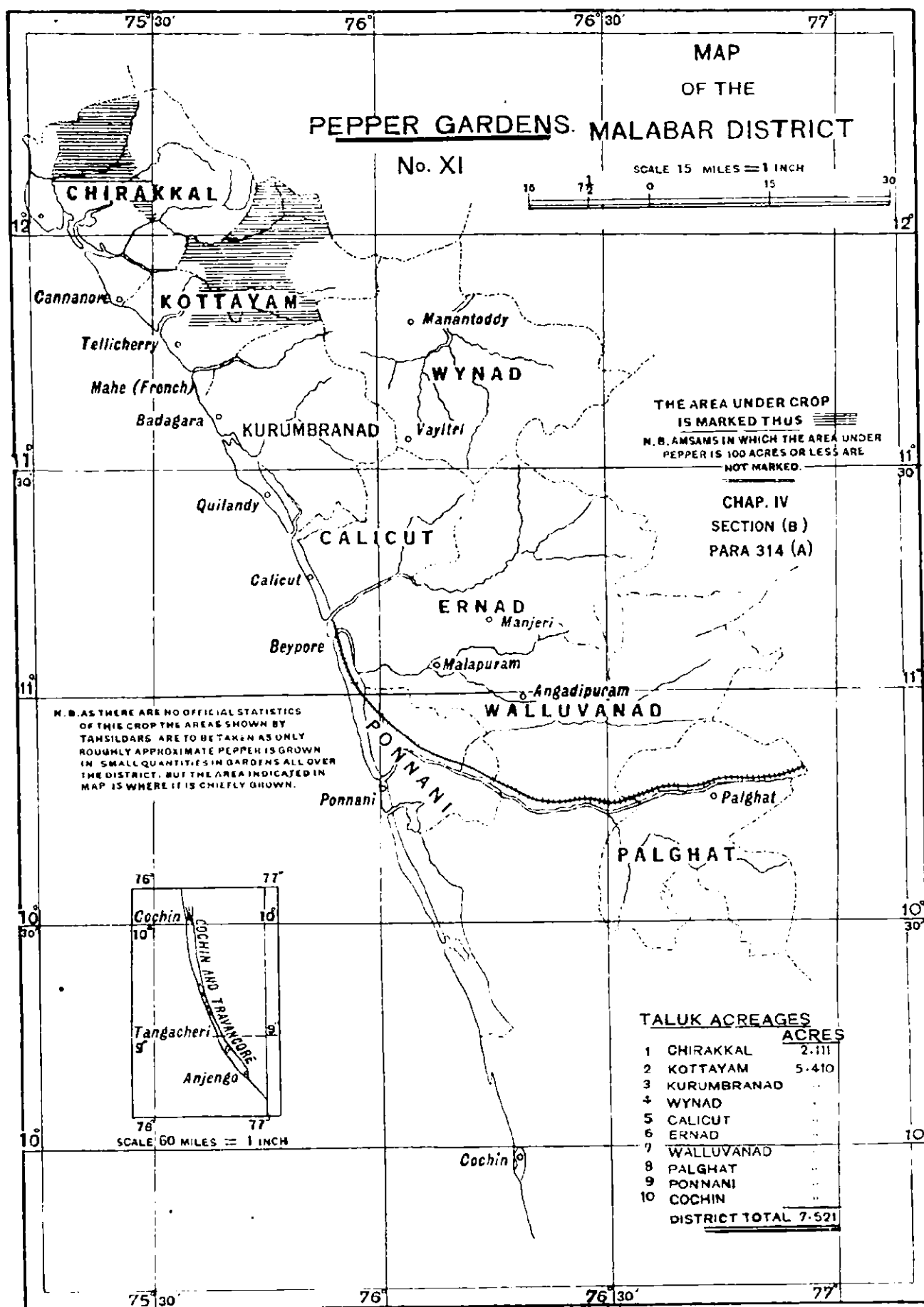
FASLI 1288

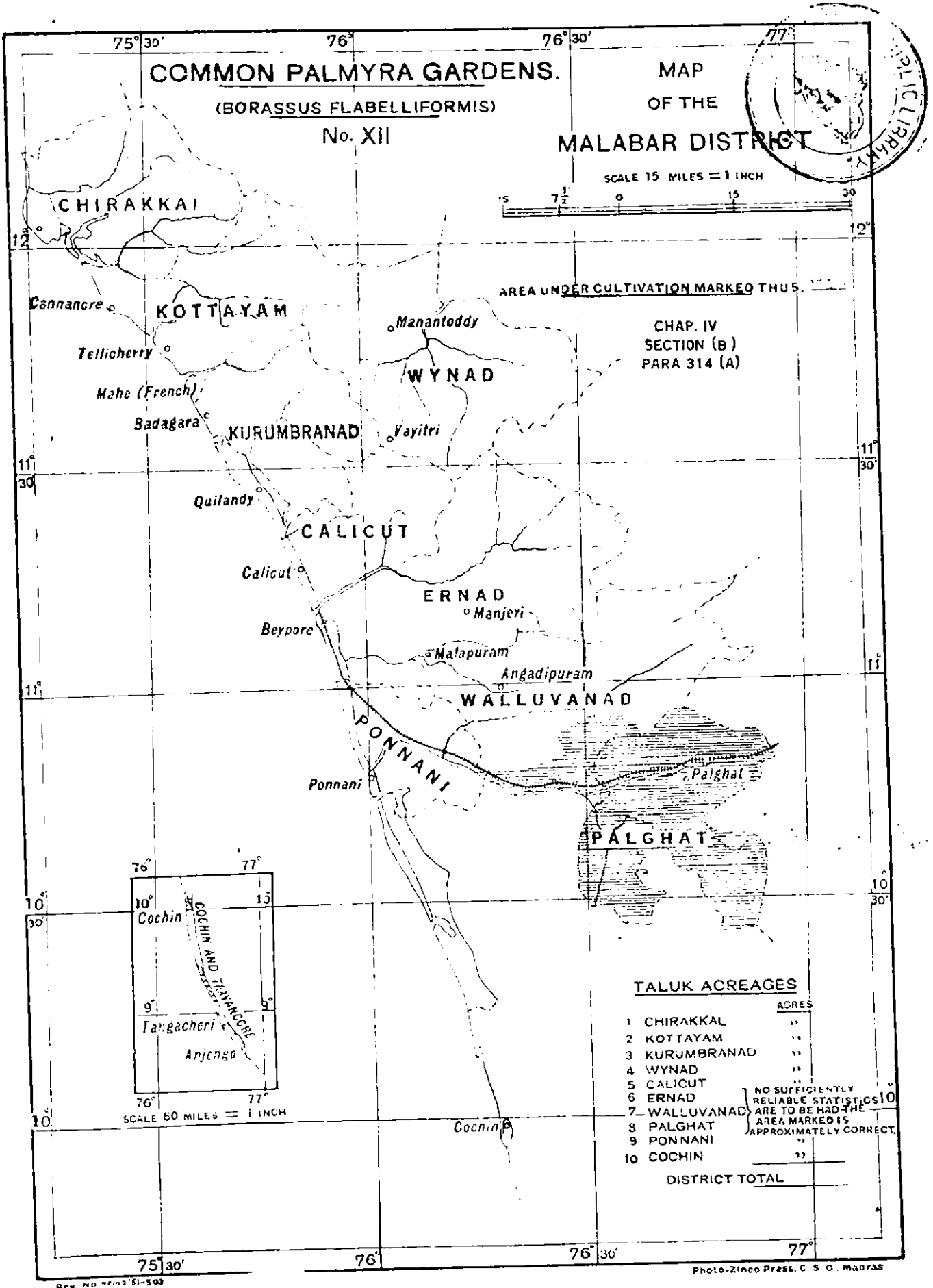
RUPEES

1	CHIRAKKAL	9-269
2	KOTTAYAM	7-814
3	KURUMBRANAD	9-501
4	WYNAD	
5	CALICUT	6-229
6	ERNAD	7-524
7	WALLUVANAD	5-080
8	PALGHAT	1-635
9	PONNANI	4-750
10	COCHIN	

DISTRICT TOTAL 51.802







COMMON PALMYRA GARDENS.

(BORASSUS FLABELLIFORMIS)

No. XII

MAP

OF THE

MALABAR DISTRICT

SCALE 15 MILES = 1 INCH



AREA UNDER CULTIVATION MARKED THUS.

CHAP. IV
SECTION (B)
PARA 314 (A)

CHIRAKKAI

KOTTAYAM

WYNAD

KURUMBRANAD

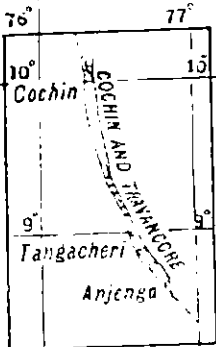
CALICUT

ERNAD

WALLUVANAD

PALGHAT

PONNANI

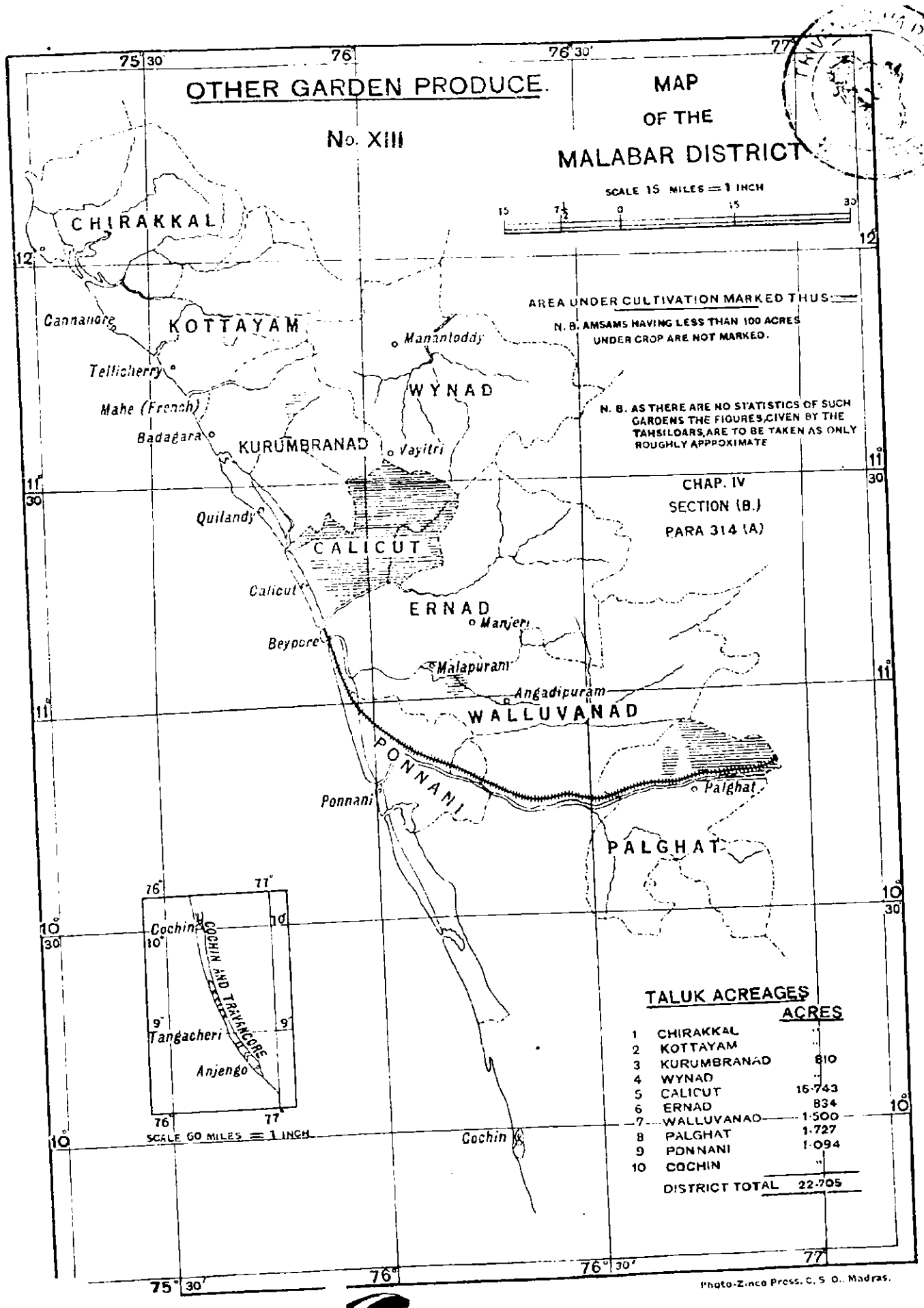


SCALE 50 MILES = 1 INCH

TALUK ACREAGES

	ACRES
1 CHIRAKKAL	"
2 KOTTAYAM	"
3 KURUMBRANAD	"
4 WYNAD	"
5 CALICUT	"
6 ERNAD	"
7 WALLUVANAD	"
8 PALGHAT	"
9 PONNANI	"
10 COCHIN	"
DISTRICT TOTAL	

NO SUFFICIENTLY
RELIABLE STATISTICS
ARE TO BE HAD THE
AREA MARKED IS
APPROXIMATELY CORRECT.



Modern Taluks.	Wet lands.		Cocoanut Trees.		Areca nut tree.		Jack Trees.		Modan.		Punam.		Ellu.	
	Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Paddy.		Per 1,000 Nuts.		Per 1,000 Nuts.		Per pattam Tree.		Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Paddy.		Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Paddy.		Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Gingelly.	
	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Prices during harvest months in the last twenty-one years.	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Recent prices.	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Recent prices.	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Recent prices.	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Recent prices.	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Recent prices.	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Recent prices.
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
(1)	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
1. Chirakkal	{ 35 13 4 34 9 4 11 4 0 }	59 6 1	{ 10 0 0 4 0 0 }	23 15 1	{ 0 8 0 0 3 2 }	1 4 10	{ 0 6 4 0 2 6 }	Not ascertained.	17 11 11	59 6 1	59 6 1	63 15 8	203 10 0	
2. Kottayam	{ 75 0 0 49 12 9 45 0 0 41 8 0 37 2 0 34 9 4 26 4 0 18 12 0 }	58 14 6	10 0 0	25 5 11	{ 0 8 0 0 2 2 0 6 4 }	1 6 5	{ 0 11 2 0 8 0 0 6 4 }	Do.	17 11 11	58 14 6	58 14 6	63 15 8	180 7 6	
3. Kurumbranad.	{ 40 0 0 33 12 0 30 15 0 28 8 11 }	61 1 10	{ 10 0 0 9 9 3 8 12 0 }	28 12 0	0 6 4	0 8 11	{ 0 6 4 0 4 1 0 4 0 }	Do.	17 11 11	61 1 10	61 1 10	63 15 8	241 9 1	
4. Wynad	{ 47 1 8 36 2 5 31 15 6 25 9 3 24 1 2 23 8 11 }	69 6 4	Not assessed.		Not assessed.		Not assessed.		Note.—The assessments being on the acreage, without reference to gross or net produce, it is impossible to compare the dry land assessments in Wynad with those of other taluks.					

N.B.—The market prices of Modan and Punam paddy produce have been taken as equal to the market prices of paddy grown on low-lying irrigated land, though, as a rule, they are somewhat less.

Modern Taluks.	Wet Lands.		Cocoanut Trees.		Areca-nut Trees.		Jack Trees.		Modan.		Punam.		Ellu.	
	Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Paddy.		Per 1,000 Nuts.		Per 1,000 Nuts.		Per Pattam Trees.		Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Paddy.		Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Paddy.		Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Gingelly.	
	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Prices during harvest months in the last twenty-one years.	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Recent prices.	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Recent prices.	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Recent prices.	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Recent prices.	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Recent prices.	Commutation rates as per existing assessments.	Recent prices.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
5. Calicut .. {	RS. A. P. 28 0 3 24 12 0	RS. A. P. 58 3 8	RS. A. P. 10 0 0 9 13 0 8 12 0	RS. A. P. 22 10 5	RS. A. P. 0 8 0	RS. A. P. 1 8 6	RS. A. P. 0 5 4 0 5 0 0 4 3	Not ascertained.	RS. A. P. 17 11 11	RS. A. P. 58 3 8	Note.—The assessment is not based on produce, but it varies from about Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 in different places.	RS. A. P. 53 3 8	RS. A. P. 63 15 8	RS. A. P. 163 11 0
6. Ernad* .. {	41 4 0 34 6 0 30 15 0 24 12 0 20 10 0	55 3 11	8 15 3 8 12 0	25 13 6	0 9 0 0 8 0	1 15 4	0 4 2 0 4 0		17 11 11	58 3 11		55 3 11	63 15 8	204 2 8
7. Walluvanad. {	20 10 0 18 5 4 16 8 0	49 4 3	8 12 0	23 11 8	0 11 0 0 10 0	1 4 8	0 4 6	Do.	17 11 11	49 4 3		49 4 3	63 15 8	131 4 0
8. Palghat .. {	22 2 2	49 9 9	9 6 0 9 0 0 8 12 0	31 5 1	0 11 0 0 10 4 0 10 0	0 14 5	0 4 6		17 11 11	49 9 9		49 9 9	63 15 8	171 14 0
9. Ponnani .. {	38 4 6 32 5 6 30 10 0 28 12 0 25 14 0 21 9 0	53 12 9	19 0 0 9 13 6 9 1 8	24 8 10	0 10 0 0 8 0	2 16 2	0 4 6 0 4 0	Do.	17 11 11	53 12 9		53 12 9	63 15 8	204 4 6
10. Cochin .. {	41 10 8	57 15 0	10 0 0	27 1 5	0 8 0	2 4 11	0 4 0							
								Do.			Not assessed.			

* Some of these wet lands and garden rates are also prevalent in the north-east corner of Ponnani Taluk.

N.B.—The market prices of Modan and Punam paddy produce have been taken as equal to the market prices of paddy grown on low lying irrigated land, though as a rule they are somewhat less.

From a return recently prepared, there appears to be some doubt whether Mr. Græme's commutation rates for garden produce were implicitly followed when making some of the garden assessments, particularly in North Malabar. There is no doubt it was the intention of Mr. Græme, who had from Government full authority in this matter, that they should be followed, and as they at all events are sufficiently approximate to existing rates to enable an opinion to be formed on the subject now in hand, they have been retained in the above table.

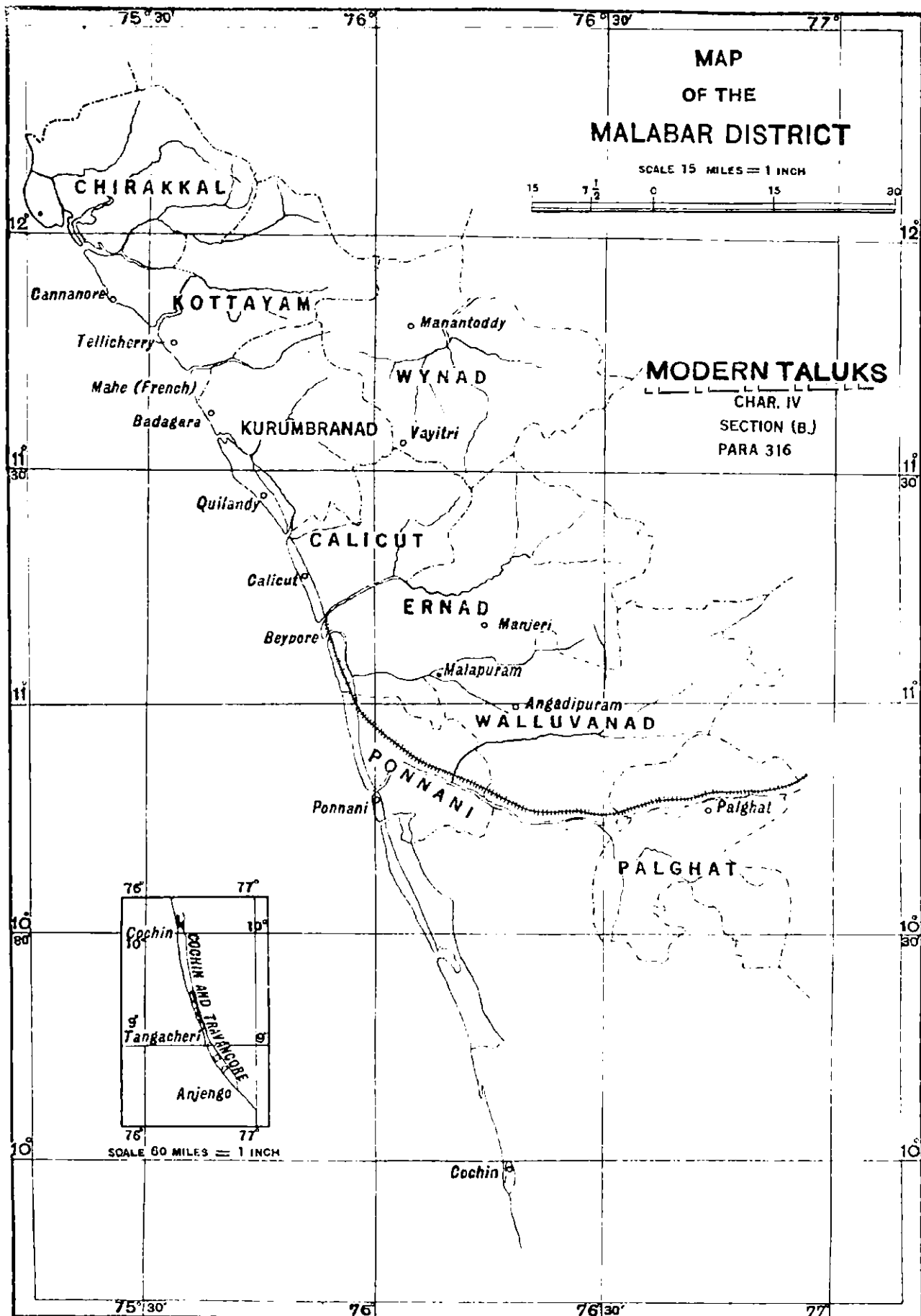
317. Very little more need be said than to refer to the figures in the above table as proof positive that the land assessments are at the present time, and have been for many years, extremely moderate and well within the limits of the shares of produce which the Government has considered it politic to take.

The only instance in which, to continue the simile used in paragraph 315, a rock may appear to stand above the flood of prices, is in regard to the highest assessment on wet land in the Kottayam Taluk. The commutation rate there comes out at Rs. 75 per 1,000 Macleod seers, whereas the market price of late has been but Rs. 58-14-6 per 1,000 Macleod seers. This, however, is an assessment on Government land, not on private land; and the assessment has been taken at 100 per cent. of the fund available for rent and assessment together. Converted into that standard of 100 per cent., the commutation rate comes out at Rs. 45 per 1,000 Macleod seers, which is well within the current price of the last twenty-one years. In this case the holders have no rent to pay to any one. They are not so well off, however, as the holders of Government wet land in Cochin for instance (see paragraph 307).

The assessments are nowhere oppressive, and the growing insolvent cottierism of the Malabar cultivators is not due to Government having taken more than its fair share of their produce.

Paradox. Had Government taken more, their position would have been better.

318. It is quite clear that the land assessments are nowhere oppressive, and that the growing insolvent cottierism of the great body of ryots in Malabar is not due to any action of Government in the direction of taking more than its fair share of the produce of the land. It may seem paradoxical to say so, but it is not far from the truth to assert that the action of Government has been too liberal, and that had the share of produce left to the ryot been less, his present position would have been better.



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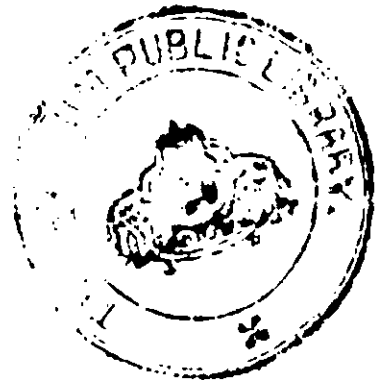
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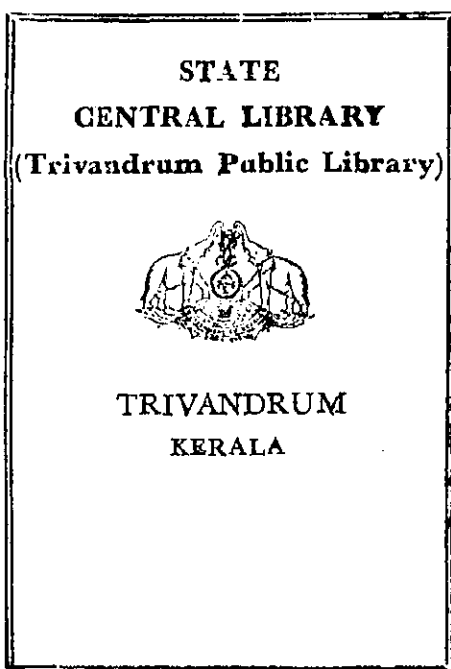
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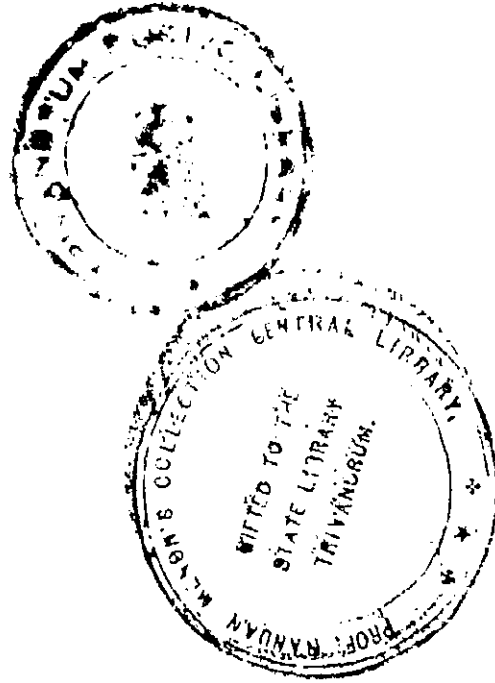
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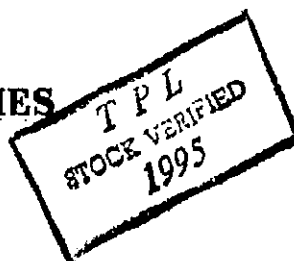
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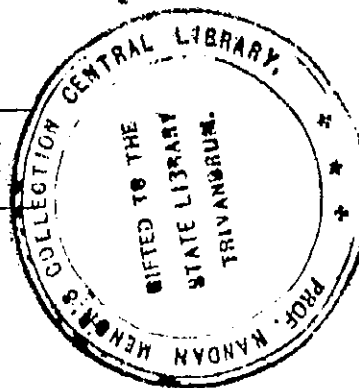
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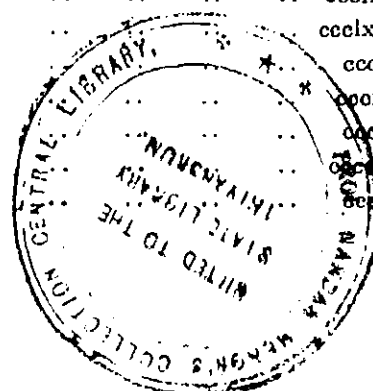


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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I—STATISTICS.

No. 1.—Statement showing the number of amsams and desams in the district of Malabar as they stood in Fasli 1291.

Taluka.	Area in square miles.	Government.				Zemindaries.				Inam.				Total.					
		Inhabited.		Uninhabited.		Inhabited.		Uninhabited.		Inhabited.		Uninhabited.		Inhabited.		Uninhabited.		Total.	
		Number of amsams.	Number of desams.	Number of amsams.	Number of desams.	Number of amsams.	Number of desams.	Number of amsams.	Number of desams.	Number of amsams.	Number of desams.	Number of amsams.	Number of desams.	Number of amsams.	Number of desams.	Number of amsams.	Number of desams.	Number of amsams.	Number of desams.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
Chirakkal	*683	43	274	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43	274	..	..	43	274
Kottayam	460	28	220	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	220	..	..	28	220
Kurumbranad	527	57	322	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	57	322	..	..	57	322
Wynad	891	13	57	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	57	..	..	13	57
Calicut	360	41	225	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	41	225	..	..	41	225
Ernad	997	52	298	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	52	298	..	..	52	298
Walluvanad	932	64	501	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	64	501	..	..	64	501
Palghat	681	56	177	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	56	177	..	..	56	177
Ponnani	450	73	510	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	73	510	..	..	73	510
Cochin	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
Total	5,984	428	2,585	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	428	2,585	..	..	428	2,585

* Inclusive of Laccadive Islands, which measure $6\frac{1}{2}$ square miles.

Note.—The area in square miles does not correspond with the census statement. The talukwar census statements give the area in acres, which when reduced come to 8,000 and odd square miles. The area shown above is taken from a statement submitted to the Board from the Collector's office on 13th December 1871.

No. 2.—Statement of population arranged with reference to caste, according to the census of 1881.

Nationality.	Caste.	Population.		
		Males.	Females.	Total.
Hindus.	Brahmans	24,571	23,112	47,683
	Rajputs	277	85	362
	Agumadayan	111	73	184
	Ambalakaran	15	12	27
	Ambattan	4,141	4,206	8,347
	Baliya	770	696	1,466
	Besta or Velayan	8,141	7,883	16,024
	Devangulu	4	6	10
	Golla or Idaiyar	1,533	1,356	2,889
	Gouda	741	321	1,062
	Lingadhari	59	12	71
	Kaikalar	10,048	10,417	20,465
	Kallan	33	14	47
	Kamsala or Kammalan	21,606	26,947	51,553
	Komati	595	501	1,096
	Kumara or Kushavan	5,826	5,944	11,770
	Kurumbar	1,065	997	2,062
	Kuruba Golla	11	5	16
	Madiga	89,588	92,026	181,614
	Maravan	66	70	136
	Mutratcha	5	1	6
	Nayar	155,163	166,511	321,674
	Oddar	811	871	1,682
	Padayachchi	506	502	1,008
	Palli	20,137	20,672	40,809
	Parayan	44,918	48,694	93,612
	Reddi	73	46	119
	Salo	10,702	10,887	21,589
	Seniyan	265	221	486
	Shanan or Idiga	277,772	281,945	559,717
	Shembadavan	87	80	167
	Shetti	10,551	10,394	20,945
	Telugalu or Vadugar	3,794	4,017	7,811
	Upparavan	1	..	1
	Vaniyar or Gondla	21,251	21,530	42,781
	Vannan	18,331	19,225	37,556
	Vanniyan	696	563	1,259
	Vellalan	3,787	3,738	7,525
	Yadavalu	9	15	24
	Others	82,525	79,650	162,175
	Not Stated	818	623	1,441
	Total	824,403	844,868	1,669,271
Mahammadan.	Arabs	229	17	246
	Lubhai	159	159	318
	Mapy il'a	248,192	247,056	495,248
	Vozhal	1	..	1
	Pathan	1,466	1,450	2,916
	Said	67	57	124
	Shaikh	41	3	44
	Others	9,646	9,447	19,093
	Not Stated	67,819	66,389	134,208
	Total	327,620	324,578	652,198

No. 2.—*Statement of population arranged with reference to caste, according to the census of 1881—cont.*

Nation- ality.	Caste.	Population.		
		Males.	Females.	Total.
Christians and others.	British-born subjects	1,008	130	1,138
	Other British subjects	107	97	204
	Other Europeans or Americans ..	168	148	216
	Eurasians	944	580	1,524
	Natives	10,155	10,017	20,172
	Not Stated	9,650	10,292	19,942
	Total ..	22,032	21,164	43,196
	Grand total ..	1,174,274	1,190,761	2,365,035

No. 3.—*Statement showing the population arranged with reference to occupation according to the census of 1881.*

Major heading.	Minor heading.	Number of males employed.	Number of females employed.
Professional.	Officers of National Government ..	4,328	20
	Do. of Local Government ..	2,847	36
	Do. of Independent Government and Native States.	31	1
	Army ..	2,274	..
	Clergy ..	11,490	13,249
	Lawyers and law stationers ..	840	..
	Physicians, etc.	4,155	642
	Authors and literary persons ..	2,793	227
	Artists ..	5	..
	Musicians ..	1,469	93
	Actors ..	1,514	225
	Teachers ..	3,828	139
	Scientific persons ..	1,563	13
	Total ..	37,137	14,645
Domestic.	Persons engaged in boarding and lodging.	480	560
	Attendants, servants, etc.	5,313	5,441
	Wife of specified occupations ..	..	401
	Other wives ..	..	465
	Total ..	5,793	6,867
Commercial.	Mercantilemen ..	6,489	903
	Other general dealers ..	10,479	1,401
	Carriers on railway ..	320	1
	Do. on roads ..	4,711	44
	Do. on canals and rivers ..	2,964	14
	Do. on seas and rivers ..	3,755	17
	Engaged in storage ..	131	4
	Messengers and porters ..	20,418	2,053
	Total ..	49,267	4,437
Agricultural.	Agriculturists ..	343,969	227,852
	Arboriculturists ..	45	33
	Horticulturists ..	2,854	746
	Persons engaged about animals ..	13,082	3,948
	Total ..	359,950	232,579
Industrial.	Workers in books ..	206	2
	Do. in musical instruments ..	5	..
	Do. in carving and figures ..	9	..
	Do. in tackle for sports, etc. ..	2	2
	Do. in watches, etc.	9	..
	Do. in arms ..	19	..
	Do. in machines and tools ..	569	31
	Do. in carriages ..	2,414	..
	Do. in harness ..	3	..
	Do. in ships ..	179	..
	Do. in houses and buildings ..	15,977	363
	Do. in furniture ..	5	..
	Do. in chemicals ..	276	19
	Do. in wool and worsted ..	2	..
	Do. in silk ..	3	6
	Do. in cotton and flax ..	12,247	9,904
	Do. in dress ..	14,592	13,656

No. 3.—*Statement showing the population arranged with reference to occupation, according to the census of 1881—cont.*

Major heading.	Minor heading.	Number of males employed.	Number of females employed.
Industrial—(Continued)	Workers in hemp and other fibrous materials.	3,253	38,407
	Do. in animal food	10,201	4,295
	Do. in vegetable food	19,235	44,386
	Do. in drinks and stimulants ..	43,196	4,317
	Do. in grease, horn, ivory, etc. ..	117	1,547
	Do. in skins, feathers, quills, etc. .	588	52
	Do. in gums and resins	8,582	3,272
	Do. in wood	11,359	2,052
	Do. in bark	160	478
	Do. in cane, rush and straw ..	7,713	8,228
	Do. in paper	16	..
	Miners	32	..
	Workers in stone and clay	48,642	2,768
	Do. in earthenware	3,697	2,438
	Do. in glass	25	11
	Do. in salt	972	413
	Do. in water	25	10
	Do. in gold, silver, etc.	5,149	85
	Do. in copper	276	10
	Do. in tin and quicksilver	25	..
	Do. in lead and antimony	28	5
	Do. in brass and other mixed metals.	1,146	109
	Do. in iron and steel	5,691	893
Total ..		216,645	137,759
Indefinite and non-productive.	General labourers	27,850	18,081
	Other persons of indefinite occupations.	1,216	27
	Persons of rank or property not returned under any occupation.	31	30
	Persons of no specified occupation ..	476,385	776,336
	Total ..	505,482	794,474
Total population ..		1,174,274	1,190,761

No. 4.—Statement showing the number of houses, population and cattle in each taluk.

Taluks.	Number of houses.					Population.			Agricultural stock.						
	Terraced.	Tiled.	Thatched.	Unspecified.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Tilling cattle.	Cows.	Shee buffaloes.	Sheep.	Ploughs.	Horses.	Ponies.
Chirakkal	..	..	..	..	..	132,715	139,954	272,669	35,119	51,534	6,505	5,595	10,405	..	..
Kottayam	..	..	..	..	..	81,345	84,430	165,775	18,227	21,827	626	2,210	6,077	..	..
Kurumbranad	..	..	..	..	..	129,394	131,630	261,024	39,020	53,539	1,156	3,886	12,009	..	..
Wynad	..	..	..	..	..	49,661	38,430	88,091	47,957	15,332	17,711	465	10,583	..	..
Calicut	..	..	..	..	..	103,669	102,293	205,962	27,221	32,604	1,027	2,747	8,524	..	..
Ernad	..	..	..	..	..	148,521	147,622	296,143	69,807	57,208	3,545	5,667	25,129	..	..
Walluvanad	..	..	..	..	..	153,236	154,866	308,102	92,491	73,596	6,798	16,086	36,246	..	..
Palghat	..	..	..	..	..	165,311	177,143	342,454	74,904	45,274	5,489	10,713	30,070	..	..
Ponnani.. ..	..	..	..	..	..	194,150	198,504	392,654	54,309	40,467	6,096	10,984	22,345	..	..
Cochin	..	..	..	..	..	11,142	10,218	21,360	102	498	..	238	..	..	..
Laccadive Islands ..	..	..	..	..	..	5,130	5,671	10,801	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	..	..	..	..	1,174,274	1,190,761	2,365,035	459,157	391,879	48,953	58,591	161,838	..	..

No. 5.—*Statement of rent roll for Fasli 1291.*

Pattas.	Single pattas.		Joint pattas.		Total pattas.	
	Number.	Assess- ment.	Num- ber.	Assess- ment.	Number.	Assess- ment.
Below Rs. 10 ..	141,272	RS. 3,73,393	4,090	RS. 13,007	145,362	RS. 3,86,400
Above Rs. 10 and below Rs. 30.	21,054	3,54,402	927	15,696	21,981	3,70,188
Above Rs. 30 and below Rs. 50.	5,336	2,00,471	260	10,201	5,596	2,10,672
Above Rs. 50 and below Rs. 100.	3,894	2,63,414	151	10,257	4,045	2,73,671
Above Rs. 100 and below Rs. 250.	1,956	2,89,671	73	9,980	2,029	2,99,651
Above Rs. 250 and below Rs. 500.	393	1,32,887	8	2,508	401	1,35,395
Above Rs. 500 and below Rs. 1,000.	98	65,834	4	2,892	102	68,726
Above Rs. 1,000.	28	42,518	1	1,144	29	43,662
Total ..	174,031	17,22,680	5,514	65,685	179,545	17,88,365

No. 6.—Statement showing the rainfall for a series of ten years in the district of Malabar.

Faslis.	Official years.	July.	August.	Septem-ber.	Octo-ber.	Novem-ber.	Decem-ber.	Janu-ary.	Febru-ary.	March.	April.	May.	June.	Total.
		INCH.	INCH.	INCH.	INCH.	INCH.	INCH.	INCH.	INCH.	INCH.	INCH.	INCH.	INCH.	INCH.
1282 ..	1872-73 ..	30.88	15.72	15.30	3.89	3.36	1.98	..	3.02	0.08	5.14	11.54	29.71	120.62
1283 ..	1873-74 ..	37.12	8.60	6.53	7.85	0.41	0.75	..	0.19	0.05	3.25	21.60	44.25	130.60
1284 ..	1874-75 ..	30.46	12.69	8.93	10.23	2.56	1.90	0.06	..	0.46	2.98	4.80	34.15	109.22
1285 ..	1875-76 ..	29.65	11.59	4.73	6.29	1.99	0.43	..	0.08	1.81	1.90	2.46	22.27	83.20
1286 ..	1876-77 ..	35.64	11.82	5.07	2.25	1.18	0.08	..	0.15	0.61	2.71	5.00	38.12	102.63
1287 ..	1877-78 ..	10.93	24.26	15.10	20.14	4.23	2.15	0.01	..	0.82	3.63	7.70	36.28	125.25
1288 ..	1878-79 ..	22.19	32.83	23.71	12.61	4.48	1.54	0.17	0.30	1.53	1.93	23.01	17.96	142.26
1289 ..	1879-80 ..	25.08	15.22	7.12	10.17	3.96	1.69	0.02	0.24	0.34	5.21	10.26	30.19	109.50
1290 ..	1880-81 ..	25.36	7.60	5.26	4.81	7.78	0.99	0.12	..	0.65	0.97	5.17	10.65	69.36
1291 ..	1881-82 ..	18.34	22.12	7.53	4.01	7.86	0.12	1.36	..	0.19	1.55	14.82	42.37	120.27

No. 7.—Statement showing the prices of grain for a series of ten years in the district of Malabar.

Faslis.	Official years.	Rice, 1st sort, per garce.	Rice, 2nd sort.	Paddy, 1st sort.	Paddy, 2nd sort.	Cholam.	Cumboo.	Raggy.	Varagoo.	Horse-gram.	Ulundoo.	Wheat.	Salt.
		RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.
1282 ..	1872-73 ..	392	360	185	168	174	178	203	360	237	413	528	357
1283 ..	1873-74 ..	416	377	183	167	..	..	194	..	292	456	458	364
1284 ..	1874-75 ..	441	399	201	180	..	..	209	..	305	431	460	384
1285 ..	1875-76 ..	428	391	200	178	..	..	220	..	282	408	447	389
1286 ..	1876-77 ..	349	499	251	230	..	..	351	..	429	453	518	391
1287 ..	1877-78 ..	612	564	272	247	..	..	435	..	507	460	487	366
1288 ..	1878-79 ..	577	538	259	244	..	..	309	..	381	410	533	376
1289 ..	1879-80 ..	475	430	218	198	..	..	259	..	332	417	496	354
1290 ..	1880-81 ..	383	354	180	162	..	..	222	..	249	421	500	344
1291 ..	1881-82 ..	372	347	171	158	..	..	212	..	211	411	515	330

No.8.—Statement showing the collections under the several heads of revenue in the district of Malabar for a series of ten years.

Faslis.	Official years.	Land revenue.	Forest revenue.	Abkari.	Income and License taxes.	Sea customs.	Land customs.	Salt.	Stamp.	Total.
		RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.
1282 ..	1872-73 and 1873-74 ..	17,72,824	45,812	2,81,449	29,117	1,33,634	11,524	11,06,642	5,29,951	39,10,953
1283 ..	1873-74 and 1874-75 ..	17,74,901	27,924	2,81,561	209	1,14,018	12,154	10,40,923	6,19,592	38,71,282
1284 ..	1874-75 and 1875-76 ..	17,73,907	21,788	2,74,666	6	1,40,216	4,292	11,05,766	6,75,403	39,96,044
1285 ..	1875-76 and 1876-77 ..	17,75,081	39,062	2,53,760	18	43,370	2,031	8,43,529	6,73,820	36,30,671
1286 ..	1876-77 and 1877-78 ..	17,69,521	62,617	2,21,472	..	43,855	6,582	4,65,978	7,31,018	33,01,043
1287 ..	1877-78 and 1878-79 ..	18,18,822	30,551	2,35,618	..	63,219	6,048	2,06,157	7,31,750	30,92,165
1288 ..	1878-79 and 1879-80 ..	18,25,428	48,053	2,89,000	57,400	47,983	7,116	3,70,311	7,41,839	33,87,130
1289 ..	1879-80 and 1880-81 ..	18,37,861	37,728	2,59,038	26,113	38,570	5,338	5,96,670	8,07,887	36,09,205
1290 ..	1880-81 and 1881-82 ..	18,25,895	1,01,055	2,43,018	22,244	42,088	4,205	3,58,770	7,66,803	33,64,078
1291 ..	1881-82 and 1882-83 ..	18,02,693	68,375	2,38,467	26,491	45,722	7,271	35,853	7,35,654	29,60,526

STATISTICS

No. 9.—Statement showing the particulars of the several tenures, other than ryotwari.

Names of zamindaries and inam villages.	The entire beriz of the estate.	Peishcush or quit-rent.
<i>Zemindary.</i>	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
Town Cannanore and islands under Ali Raja of Cannanore	30,000 1 10	15,000 0 11
Inam villages .. .. .	....	....

N.

No. 10.—*Agricultural statistics, acreage of principal crops, etc., in the district of Malabar for Fasli 1291.*

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Name of taluks.	Number of acres under nunjah cultivation.	Number of acres under punjah cultivation.															
		Paddy.	Garden coco-nut, areca-nut, and jack totes.	Modan.	Ponam.	Gingolly seed.	Raggy.	Chama	Chollum.	Peas.	Horse gram.	Dholl.	Cumboo.	Beans (puliya-mara).	Castor-oil seeds.	Coffec.	Pepper.	Ginger.
1 Chirakkal ..	44,509	28,254	1,775	11,824	416	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,513	..
2 Kottayam ..	16,384	25,155	598	8,295	14	17	180	5	37	57	62	..	..	..	17	3,939	..
3 Kurumbra-nad ..	34,682	69,080	1,118	2,501	305	69	1,973	7	465	164	..	..	..	..	124	551	17
4 Wynad ..	26,945	..	207	10	..	1,745	87	..	2	7	2	..	..	3	35,241	1	5
5 Calicut ..	17,342	32,819	2,351	761	605	54	1,127	..	107	35	8	..	..	..	..	10	34
6 Ernad ..	45,483	30,546	7,188	909	1,373	..	1,650	..	90	105	75	..	..	..	1,773	..	1,600
7 Walluvanad.	54,021	21,058	14,204	..	3,567	600	901	..	223	129	700	..	..	..	203	71	75
8 Palghat ..	83,938	13,595	5,102	..	3,152	996	4,239	445	2,123	576	138	26	43	185	..	..	57
9 Ponnani ..	71,978	45,487	2,295	..	875	1,000	2,300	..	3,700	1,800	..	..	..	..	..	10	2,700
10 Cochin ..	320	532	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	395,602	266,526	34,838	24,300	10,307	4,481	12,457	457	6,747	2,873	985	26	43	188	37,358	7,095	4,488

No. 11.—*Statistics of cultivation, etc., for the past ten years in the district of Malabar.*

Fasli.	Cultivable area.	Area under cultivation.						Deduct remissions.	Balance.
		Punjah.		Nunjah.		Water-cress.	Total assess-ment.		
		Extent.	Assess-ment.	Extent.	Assess-ment.				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	ACRES.	ACRES.	RS.	ACRES.	RS.	AS.	RS.	RS.	RS.
1282 ..	3,799,891	397,267	6,17,672	387,426	11,65,750	..	17,83,422	5,137	17,78,285
1283 ..	3,799,891	394,388	6,22,029	388,171	11,66,998	..	17,89,027	12,023	17,77,004
1284 ..	3,799,891	398,346	6,24,419	388,566	11,67,045	..	17,91,464	6,630	17,84,834
1285 ..	3,799,891	400,273	6,28,476	388,285	11,66,746	..	17,95,222	4,728	17,90,494
1286 ..	3,686,047	407,644	6,38,033	389,303	11,68,468	..	18,06,501	35,579	17,70,922
1287 ..	3,686,047	414,372	6,38,088	386,497	11,65,747	..	18,03,835	9,982	17,93,853
1288 ..	3,686,047	403,875	6,34,351	388,035	11,66,777	..	18,01,128	12,619	17,88,509
1289 ..	3,686,047	383,317	6,18,518	388,599	11,67,775	..	17,86,293	6,479	17,79,814
1290 ..	3,686,047	390,322	6,28,774	395,537	11,69,165	..	17,97,939	7,883	17,90,056
1291 ..	3,686,047	389,455	6,28,669	395,602	11,69,338	..	17,98,007	12,205	17,85,802

Fasli.	Miscellaneous.	Total ryotwar de-mand.	Assessment on land permanently cul-tivated.	Jodi.	Total land revenue demand.	Balance of former years.	Total annual de-mand.	Total collection.	Balance at the close of the fasli.
(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.
1282 ..	46,031	18,24,316	15,000	2,552	18,41,868	74,851	19,16,719	18,25,176	91,543
1283 ..	51,510	18,28,514	15,000	2,552	18,46,066	91,543	19,37,609	18,17,852	1,19,757
1284 ..	37,381	18,22,215	15,000	2,552	18,39,767	1,19,757	19,59,524	18,35,791	1,23,733
1285 ..	35,121	18,25,615	15,000	2,552	18,43,167	1,23,733	19,66,900	18,35,515	1,31,385
1286 ..	36,258	18,07,180	15,000	2,552	18,24,732	1,31,385	19,56,117	18,33,221	1,22,896
1287 ..	40,064	18,33,917	15,000	2,552	18,51,469	1,22,896	19,74,365	19,24,781	49,584
1288 ..	40,821	18,29,330	15,000	2,552	18,46,882	49,584	18,96,466	18,48,172	48,294
1289 ..	42,430	18,22,244	15,000	2,552	18,39,796	48,294	18,88,090	18,45,371	42,719
1290 ..	36,334	18,26,390	15,000	2,552	18,43,942	42,719	18,86,661	18,29,036	57,625
1291 ..	37,139	18,22,941	15,000	2,552	18,40,493	57,625	18,98,118	18,27,102	71,016

No. 12 (a).—Statement showing the number and value of suits, etc., disposed of in civil and revenue courts in North Malabar for a series of ten years.

Years.	Number of suits, etc., disposed of in different courts.										
	Ordinary suits.								Appeals from decisions of		
	Village munsifs.	Revenue courts.	District munsifs' courts.	Subordinate judges.	Judges of small cause courts as subordinate judges.	Civil judges.	Total number of suits.	Total value in rupees.	Village munsifs.	Revenue courts.	District munsifs.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1873-74	2	..	2,011	91	..	9	2,113	RS. 5,41,345 A. 7 P. 9	..	1	273
1874-75	59	..	2,420	45	..	4	2,528	23,89,782 13 10	..	..	357
1875-76	319	..	2,975	30	..	5	3,329	19,64,264 6 5	..	..	462
1876-77	193	..	2,905	29	..	6	3,133	8,19,508 1 7	..	..	680
1877-78	163	..	2,802	48	..	..	3,013	7,43,959 3 0	..	..	813
1878-79	129	..	3,602	26	..	..	3,757	6,02,186 14 4	..	..	865
1879-80	263	..	3,756	46	..	4	4,069	7,56,363 11 9	..	..	720
1880-81	283	..	3,702	34	..	2	4,021	6,36,707 4 7	..	..	919
1881-82	329	..	3,465	36	..	4	3,834	6,24,484 6 8	..	..	954
1882-83	178	..	3,149	45	..	1	3,373	5,37,603 14 5	..	..	796
Total ..	1,918	..	30,787	430	..	35	33,170	96,16,206 4 4	..	1	6,839

No. 12 (a).—Statement showing the number and value of suits, etc., disposed of in civil and revenue courts in North Malabar for a series of ten years—cont.

Years.	Number of suits, etc., disposed of in different courts—cont.									
	Appeals from decisions of—cont.				Small causes.					
	Subordi- nate judges. (13)	Judges of small cause courts as subordinate judges. (14)	Civil judges. (15)	Total number of suits. (16)	District munsifs. (17)	Subordi- nate judges. (18)	Judges of small cause courts. (19)	Civil judges. (20)	Total number of small causes. (21)	Total value in rupees. (22)
1873-74	17	..	..	291	8,126	1,345	..	..	9,471	RS. A. P. 3,68,155 0 11
1874-75	11	..	..	368	7,857	1,245	..	..	9,102	3,68,508 3 8
1875-76	9	..	..	471	8,323	1,451	..	..	9,774	3,85,918 11 0
1876-77	3	..	..	683	10,435	1,784	..	..	12,219	4,57,992 5 9
1877-78	7	..	..	820	9,037	1,690	142	..	10,869	4,37,994 13 11
1878-79	7	..	..	872	9,808	1,728	171	..	11,707	4,58,127 8 2
1879-80	8	..	..	728	9,822	1,769	140	..	11,731	4,76,642 2 8
1880-81	10	..	..	929	9,467	1,722	103	..	11,292	4,16,855 10 5
1881-82	18	..	..	972	8,830	1,593	111	..	10,534	4,07,856 5 0
1882-83	11	..	..	807	8,550	1,575	122	..	10,247	3,99,543 13 8
Total ..	101	..	..	6,941	90,255	15,902	789	..	106,946	41,67,594 11 2

No. 12 (b).—Statement showing the number and value of suits, etc., disposed of in civil and revenue courts in South Malabar for a series of ten years.

Years.	Number of suits, etc., disposed of in different courts.										
	Original suits.								Appeals from decisions of		
	Village munsifs.	Revenue courts.	District munsifs.	Principal sadr amins.	Judges of small cause courts as principal sadr amins.	Civil judge.	Total number of suits.	Total value in rupees.	Village munsifs.	Revenue courts.	District munsifs.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1873-74	381	..	4,671	89	..	..	5,141	RS. 9,14,712 A. P. 8 2	..	..	525
1874-75	422	..	5,058	128	..	3	5,611	12,58,261 3 6	..	..	493
1875-76	373	..	6,519	172	..	..	7,064	12,59,136 10 11	..	..	513
1876-77	617	..	7,006	142	..	2	7,767	12,74,352 1 7	..	..	655
1877-78	503	..	8,032	82	..	3	8,620	23,81,266 11 2	..	..	783
1878-79	1,070	..	7,441	127	..	2	8,640	18,04,166 14 3	..	..	757
1879-80	1,118	..	8,220	200	..	7	9,545	17,94,609 3 11	..	..	831
1880-81	1,357	..	8,401	216	..	1	9,975	17,15,926 15 4	..	..	907
1881-82	1,231	..	7,664	137	..	1	9,033	14,65,732 5 1	..	..	1,001
1882-83	1,219	..	7,922	118	..	4	9,263	14,37,372 7 3	..	..	1,075
Total	8,291	..	70,934	1,411	..	23	80,659	1,53,05,537 1 2	..	..	7,540

No. 12 (b).—Statement showing the number and value of suits, etc., disposed of in civil and revenue courts in South Malabar for service of the year.

Years.	Number of suits, etc., disposed of in different courts—cont.									
	Appeals from decision of—cont.				Small causes.					
	Principal sadr amins.	Judges of small cause courts as principal sadr amins.	Civil judge.	Total number of appeals.	District munsifs.	Principal sadr amins.	Judges of small cause courts.	Civil judge.	Total num- ber of small causes.	Total value in rupees.
	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
1873-74	25	..	..	550	8,280	1,313	..	..	9,593	RS. 3,70,351 A. 2 P. 2
1874-75	16	..	..	509	9,082	1,332	..	..	10,414	3,75,824 15 1
1875-76	7	..	..	520	8,579	540	..	..	9,119	3,36,045 10 11
1876-77	8	..	..	663	9,398	576	..	..	9,974	2,53,627 5 1
1877-78	18	..	..	801	9,995	435	..	..	9,430	2,54,675 8 7
1878-79	20	..	..	777	8,559	667	..	..	9,226	2,85,001 15 1
1879-80	25	..	..	856	9,059	812	..	..	9,871	3,13,558 2 1
1880-81	53	..	..	960	9,333	775	..	..	10,108	3,05,165 1 6
1881-82	31	..	..	1,032	8,038	792	..	..	8,830	2,86,015 9 5
1882-83	19	..	..	1,094	7,940	693	..	..	8,633	2,36,640 13 3
Total ..	222	..	..	7,762	87,263	7,935	..	..	95,198	30,16,906 3 2

No. 13.—Statement of persons tried, convicted, and acquitted, and of property lost and recovered for a series of ten years, ending with the 31st December 1882, in the district of Malabar.

Nature of offences.	1873.						1874.						1875.		
	Number of persons tried during the year.	Acquitted or discharged.	Convicted.	Remaining under trial.	Property.		Number of persons tried during the year.	Acquitted or discharged.	Convicted.	Remaining under trial.	Property.		Number of persons tried during the year.	Acquitted or discharged.	Convicted.
					Stolen.	Recovered.					Stolen.	Recovered.			
					RS.	RS.					RS.	RS.			
1 Murder	31	16	15	6	..	..	29	21	8	6	204	49	13	5	8
2 Culpable homicide..	11	6	5	..	..	..	6	2	4	3	..	..	6	2	6
3 Rape	6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Hurts and assaults.	3,947	2,316	1,631	..	..	..	2,970	1,677	1,293	..	..	..	3,307	1,805	1,502
5 Other offences against person. ..	192	106	86	6	..	..	111	53	58	2	..	..	113	77	36
6 Dacoity	24	14	10	11	2,161	59	38	16	22	5	3,236	162	90	30	60
7 Robbery	11	6	5	..	940	265	23	5	18	3	1,103	144	15	1	14
8 House-breaking ..	166	51	115	9	26,875	3,138	276	124	152	2	40,143	4,874	214	49	165
9 Theft	1,197	650	547	25	29,700	10,603	1,499	784	715	34	34,099	9,971	1,315	546	769
10 Other offences against property	2,212	1,632	580	11	4,757	1,006	1,947	1,361	586	6	6,490	1,109	2,327	1,583	744
11 Other offences against Penal Code.	1,034	332	702	22	..	..	1,102	407	695	58	..	..	1,126	345	781
Total ..	8,831	5,129	3,702	90	64,433	15,073	8,001	4,450	3,551	119	85,275	16,309	8,528	4,443	4,085
12 Offences under special and local laws.	4,276	579	3,697	5	78	53	3,992	427	3,565	7	84	64	3,808	487	3,321
Grand total ..	13,107	5,708	7,399	95	64,511	15,126	11,993	4,877	7,116	126	85,359	16,373	12,336	4,930	7,406

No. 13.—Statement of persons tried, convicted and acquitted, and of property lost and recovered for a series of ten years, ending with the 31st December 1882, in the district of Malabar—cont.

Nature of offences.	1875—cont.			1876.						1877.					
	Remaining under trial.	Property.		Number of persons tried during the year.	Acquitted or discharged.	Convicted.	Remaining under trial.	Property.		Number of persons tried during the year.	Acquitted or discharged.	Convicted.	Remaining under trial.	Property.	
		Stolen.	Recovered.					Stolen.	Recovered.					Stolen.	Recovered.
1 Murder	15	RS. 396	RS. 46	24	4	20	5	RS. 1,500	RS. 26	40	3	24	13	RS. ..	RS. ..
2 Culpable homicide.	6	..	..	4	..	4	2	..	..	21	6	15	..	..	..
3 Rape	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Hurts and assaults.	1	..	..	3,745	2,261	1,484	..	..	..	4,193	2,279	1,909	5	..	..
5 Other offences against person ..	3	..	..	197	68	129	..	..	..	25	1	23	1	..	..
6 Dacoity	11	26,868	735	265	29	236	24	18,673	1,501	138	33	91	14	2,581	243
7 Robbery	2	569	3	29	6	14	..	792	139	18	6	11	1	967	84
8 House breaking ..	21	43,527	4,583	245	46	199	23	1,64,532	31,470	545	54	45	36	73,382	6,807
9 Theft	22	24,332	8,166	1,251	371	880	25	26,163	9,250	1,723	298	1,357	68	41,085	11,298
10 Other offences against property.	27	14,759	2,744	2,768	2,003	765	12	7,730	1,188	2,450	1,657	777	16	..	..
11 Other offences against Penal Code.	48	..	..	1,113	271	842	46	..	..	908	261	617	30	..	..
Total ..	156	1,10,451	16,277	9,634	5,059	4,575	137	2,19,390	43,574	10,061	4,598	5,279	184	1,18,015	18,442
12 Offences under special and local laws.	15	59	46	3,492	425	3,076	3	52	43	4,529	377	4,151	1	115	87
Grand total ..	171	1,10,510	16,323	13,126	5,484	7,642	140	2,19,442	43,617	14,590	4,975	9,430	185	1,18,130	18,529

No. 13.—Statement of persons tried, convicted and acquitted, and of property lost and recovered for a series of ten years, ending with the 31st December 1882, in the district of Malabar—cont..

XX

Nature of offences.	1878.						1879.						1880.		
	Number of persons tried during the year.	Acquitted or discharged.	Convicted.	Remaining under trial.	Property.		Number of persons tried during the year.	Acquitted or discharged.	Convicted.	Remaining under trial.	Property.		Number of persons tried during the year.	Acquitted or discharged.	Convicted.
					Stolen.	Recovered.					Stolen.	Recovered.			
					RS.	RS.					RS.	RS.			
1 Murder	39	3	28	8	..	..	25	8	13	4	..	..	28	11	15
2 Culpable homicide.	8	1	7	..	..	..	11	2	9	..	..	..	13	8	5
3 Rape	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..
4 Hurts and assaults.	3,884	1,994	1,887	..	..	..	3,679	1,902	1,757	20	..	..	3,870	2,173	1,691
5 Other offences															
against person ..	13	1	12	..	..	..	27	1	23	3	..	..	158	75	81
6 Dacoity	32	6	26	..	330	16	10	4	6	..	105	19	26	11	15
7 Robbery	22	8	14	..	765	85	28	5	21	2	1,501	59	15	3	12
8 House-breaking ..	504	45	443	16	34,106	8,229	390	28	351	11	26,905	6,193	291	40	245
9 Theft	1,981	331	1,568	82	36,162	10,879	1,576	249	1,271	56	43,402	15,211	1,331	315	995
10 Other offences															
against property.	2,586	1,569	1,001	16	..	..	781	318	459	4	..	..	558	236	314
11 Other offences															
against Penal Code.	1,212	349	820	43	..	..	2,057	1,032	992	33	..	..	2,641	1,320	1,298
Total ..	10,282	4,308	5,806	168	71,363	19,209	8,586	3,549	4,904	133	71,913	21,482	8,932	4,193	4,671
12 Offences under special and local laws	4,287	513	3,773	1	132	97	5,473	442	5,024	7	121	79	7,074	574	6,500
Grand total ..	14,569	4,821	9,579	169	71,495	19,306	14,059	3,991	9,928	140	72,034	21,561	16,006	4,767	11,171

No. 13.—Statement of persons tried, convicted and acquitted, and of property lost and recovered for a series of ten years, ending with the 31st December 1882, in the district of Malabar—cont..

Nature of offences.	1880—cont.			1881.						1882.					
	Remaining under trial.	Property.		Number of persons tried during the year.	Acquitted or discharged.	Convicted.	Remaining under trial.	Property.		Number of persons tried during the year.	Acquitted or discharged.	Convicted.	Remaining under trial.	Property.	
		Stolen.	Recovered.					Stolen.	Recovered.					Stolen.	Recovered.
1 Murder	2	rs.	rs.	*25	6	16	2	rs.	rs.	22	9	11	2	rs.	rs.
2 Culpable homicide.	..	..	..	17	10	6	1	..	..	13	3	9	1	..	..
3 Rape	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Hurts and assaults.	6	..	..	4,092	2,465	1,627	..	..	..	4,479	2,831	1,648	..	..	..
5 Other offences against person ..	2	..	..	861	292	564	5	..	..	*617	265	343	8	..	..
6 Dacoity	..	407	30	27	13	14	..	927	59	18	..	18	..	243	105
7 Robbery	..	3,476	1,551	27	7	17	3	640	68	22	9	12	1	356	173
8 House-breaking ..	6	18,922	4,424	396	129	259	8	29,399	2,190	401	73	317	11	25,280	7,661
9 Theft	21	27,492	7,208	1,559	654	891	14	36,618	7,050	*1,395	415	948	30	32,816	16,204
10 Other offences against property.	8	..	..	264	115	140	9	..	..	313	94	209	10	..	..
11 Other offences against Penal Code.	23	..	..	2,640	1,631	994	15	..	..	2,920	1,859	1,033	28	..	..
Total ..	68	50,297	13,213	9,909	5,322	4,529	57	67,584	9,367	10,200	5,558	4,548	91	58,695	24,143
12 Offences under special and local laws	..	122	83	8,009	618	7,383	8	74	53	* 9,324	770	8,542	11	341	310
Grand total ..	68	50,419	13,296	17,918	5,940	11,912	65	67,658	9,420	19,524	6,328	13,090	102	59,036	24,453

* Four men died and one man was transferred to Coimbatore district.

No. 14.—Statement showing the expenditure on public works from imperial and provincial funds for the last five years in the Malabar district.

Years.	Imperial.				Provincial.			
	Military.	Civil build-ings.	Irrigation.	Total.	Civil build-ings.	Communica-tions.	Miscellaneous public im-provements.	Total.
	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.
<i>New works.</i>								
1878-79 ..	8,100	..	..	8,100	6,895	..	2,057	8,952
1879-80 ..	2,984	806	..	3,790	15,067	7,109	..	22,176
1880-81 ..	6,732	2,663	..	9,395	16,382	..	..	16,382
1881-82 ..	1,365	..	..	1,365	17,204	..	..	17,204
1882-83 ..	12,981	..	..	12,981	35,398	..	4,612	40,010
<i>Repairs.</i>								
1878-79 ..	17,295	471	2,038	19,804	4,535	..	..	4,535
1879-80 ..	13,066	193	2,253	15,512	5,867	..	..	5,867
1880-81 ..	20,887	174	..	21,061	710	..	..	710
1881-82 ..	23,963	467	1,564	25,994	1,680	..	781	2,461
1882-83 ..	25,610	839	1,748	28,197	2,792	..	1,777	4,569

No. 15.—Statement showing receipts and expenditure of special funds for the last five years.

	1877-78.				1878-79.			1879-80.			1880-81.			1881-82.			
	Balance at the beginning of the year.	Receipts during the year.	Total.	Expenditure during the year.	Balance at the end of the year.	Receipts during the year including balance.	Expenditure during the year.	Balance at the end of the year.	Receipts during the year including balance.	Expenditure during the year.	Balance at the end of the year.	Receipts during the year including balance.	Expenditure during the year.	Balance at the end of the year.	Receipts during the year including balance.	Expenditure during the year.	Balance at the end of the year.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.
1 Jungle conservancy fund.	4	7	11	..	11	23	..	23	23	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Nanal grass fund ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Cattle-pound fund ..	699	3,344	4,043	3,774	269	4,322	3,775	547	3,966	3,252	714	3,920	3,279	641	3,760	2,507	1,253
4 Public bungalow fund.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Endowment fund ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 Village service fund.	46,540	91,067	1,37,607	86,230	51,377	1,46,860	86,504	60,356	1,51,667	89,684	61,983	1,52,429	91,696	60,733	1,51,996	91,927	60,069
7 Canal and ferry fund.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27,911	941	26,970	82,683	82,683	..	68,954	68,954	..
8 Irrigation cess fund.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	47,243	94,418	1,41,661	90,004	51,657	1,51,205	90,279	60,903	1,83,567	93,900	89,667	2,39,032	1,77,658	61,374	2,24,710	1,63,388	61,322

No. 16.—Statement showing the different sources of irrigation belonging to Government in Malabar.

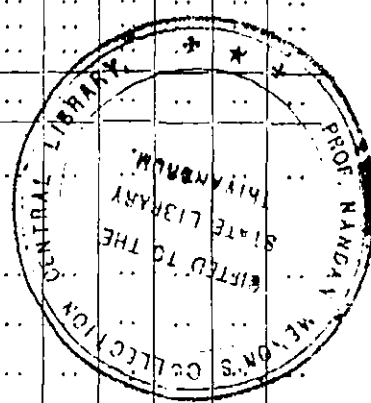
Taluks.	Tanks.			Channels.			Anicuts.			Wells.		
	Number of tanks.	Average extent of cultivation within the last five years.	Assessment including all charges for water, etc.	Number of channels.	Average extent of cultivation within the last five years.	Assessment including all charges for water, etc.	Number of anicuts.	Average extent of cultivation within the last five years.	Assessment including all charges for water, etc.	Number of wells.	Average extent of cultivation within the last five years.	Assessment including all charges for water, etc.
		ACRS. AS. AMS.	RS. A. P.		ACRS. AS. AMS.	RS. A. P.		ACRS. AS. AMS.	RS. A. P.		ACRS. AS. AMS.	RS. A. P.
Chirakkal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kottayam	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kurumbranad	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wynad	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Calicut	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ernad	8	82 0 0	228 0 0	97	3,073 0 0	9,230 0 0	4	95 0 0	265 0 0	252	318 0 0	640 0 0
Walluvanad	174	1,467 10 0	7,668 13 0	61	4,347 13 5	31,942 6 7	..	..	..	55	496 15 10	974 15 9
Palghat	1,354	5,001 3 10	48,310 13 2	82	2,213 11 6	6,034 9 8	24	1,690 15 9	6,655 6 6	..	..	..
Ponnani	158	485 0 0	2,494 0 0	12	575 0 0	2,689 0 0	5	3,639 0 0	5,486 0 0	..	..	..
Cochin	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	172 8 15	*1,892 4 0	..	..	..

* This includes a sum of Rs. 315 which is collected from ryots whose fields are affected by the influx of salt water and on whose account protective works (embankments*) are constructed on contract.

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No. 17.—*Education—General statistics, Malabar, from 1873-74 to 1882-83.*

Description of schools.	1873-74.			1874-75.			1875-76.			1876-77.		
	No. of schools.	No. of pupils.		No. of schools.	No. of pupils.		No. of schools.	No. of pupils.		No. of schools.	No. of pupils.	
		Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.
1. Maintained from imperial or provincial funds.	{ Colleges. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ High ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Middle ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Primary ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Normal ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Maintained from local or municipal funds.	{ High ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Middle ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Primary ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Normal ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Schools aided—												
1 By salary grants.	{ High ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Middle ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Primary ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 By results grants.	{ High ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Middle ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Primary ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Combined salaries and results grants.	{ High ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Middle ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Primary ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Schools under inspection for results grants, but not aided.	{ Colleges. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ High ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Middle ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Primary ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Number of successful candidates for the Uncovenanted Civil Service examinations educated in the district.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Number of successful candidates for special tests.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Number of successful candidates for Matriculation and F.A.	{ Matricula- ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ tion. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ F.A. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grand total ..	398	19,524	475	21,358	631	22,265	700	30,730				



No. 17.—*Education—General statistics, Malabar, from 1873-74 to 1882-83—cont.*

Description of schools.	1877-78.			1878-79.			1879-80.		
	No. of schools.	No. of pupils.		No. of schools.	No. of pupils.		No. of schools.	No. of pupils.	
		Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.
1. Maintained from imperial or provincial funds.	Colleges.	..	..	1	28	..	1	40	..
	High ..	..	..	4	213	..	4	224	..
	Middle ..	..	..	8	421	..	7	423	..
	Primary ..	..	..	8	544	..	8	409	..
	Normal.	..	..	3	80	..	3	84	..
2. Maintained from local or municipal funds.	High ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Middle ..	..	..	16	259	34	17	300	..
	Primary.	..	..	22	1,043	..	25	1,300	20
	Normal ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	24	..
Total ..	..	..	..	62	2,588	34	66	2,804	20
B. Schools aided—									
1. By salary grants.	High ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	48	..
	Middle ..	..	..	2	103	..	3	126	7
	Primary.	..	..	4	320	41	5	439	50
2. By results grants.	High ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Middle ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Primary.	..	..	201	8,088	400	170	6,909	376
3. Combined salaries and results grants.	High ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Middle ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Primary.	..	..	272	8,586	..	391	10,754	..
Total ..	..	..	..	479	17,097	441	576	18,276	433
C. Schools under inspection for results grants, but not aided.	Colleges.	..	..	..	..	..	1	50	..
	High ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	100	..
	Middle ..	..	..	1	20	..	1	117	..
	Primary.	..	..	137	4,232	23	149	4,670	314
Total ..	..	..	..	138	4,252	23	152	4,937	314
Number of successful candidates for the Uncovenanted Civil Service examinations educated in the district.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Number of successful candidates for special tests.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Number of successful candidates for Matriculation and F.A.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grand total ..	738	28,877	679	24,435	704	26,784			

No. 17.—*Education—General statistics, Malabar, from 1873-74 to 1882-83—cont.*

Description of schools.	1880-81.			1881-82.			1882-83.		
	No. of schools.	No. of pupils.		No. of schools.	No. of pupils.		No. of schools.	No. of pupils.	
		Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.
1. Maintained from imperial or provincial funds.									
{ Colleges.	1	43	..	1	53	..	1	93	..
{ High ..	4	198	..	4	230	..	4	290	..
{ Middle ..	7	442	..	7	480	..	6	404	..
{ Primary.	8	468	..	7	453	..	4	138	..
{ Normal.	3	78	..	2	70	..	2	74	..
2. Maintained from local or municipal funds.									
{ High ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Middle ..	13	235	..	12	252	..	12	306	..
{ Primary.	16	317	15	13	763	..	18	848	88
{ Normal ..	1	17	..	2	32	..	2	46	..
Total ..	53	2,298	15	48	2,333	..	49	2,199	88
B. Schools aided—									
1. By salary grants.									
{ High ..	1	50	..	1	37	..	1	52	..
{ Middle ..	4	257	11	7	284	15	5	221	22
{ Primary.	6	519	137	4	56	146	4	72	222
2. By results grants.									
{ High ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	32	..
{ Middle ..	2	20	..	4	135	..	7	169	34
{ Primary.	208	9,099	540	307	14,849	646	334	11,812	2,106
3. Combined salaries and results grants.									
{ High ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Middle ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	40	..
{ Primary.	370	13,628	..	331	11,592	..	319	12,576	1,791
Total ..	591	23,598	688	654	26,953	807	674	24,974	4,175
C. Schools under inspection for results grants, but not aided.									
{ Colleges.	1	90	..	1	86	..	1	56	..
{ High ..	1	120	..	2	156	..	1	57	..
{ Middle ..	2	136	7	5	254	21	2	235	..
{ Primary.	139	4,898	44	167	6,136	166	213	6,507	1,036
Total ..	143	5,244	51	175	6,546	187	217	6,855	1,036
Number of successful candidates for the Uncovenanted Civil Service examinations educated in the district.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	218	3
Number of successful candidates for special tests.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Number of successful candidates for Matriculation and F.A.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	99	..
{ Matriculation.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..
{ F.A.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grand total ..	787	31,894	..	877	36,826	..	940	39,327	..

No. 18.—Statement showing receipts and expenditure

Municipal towns.	Years.	Receipts.									
		Rate on houses and lands.	Trade tax.	Tolls.	Tax on carriages and animals.	Registration of carts.	Licenses.	Fines.	State contribution.	Arrears including balance.	Miscellaneous.
Cannanore.	1878-79.	RS. 9,510	RS. 3,578	RS. 600	RS. 1,851	RS. 502	RS. 372	RS. 678	..	RS. 2,655	RS. 1,425
	1879-80.	8,191	3,541	700	1,581	502	136	..	..	1,466	2,192
	1880-81.	6,552	2,356	2,005	972	420	105	556	..	2,028	736
	1881-82.	11,579	2,609	2,500	988	442	181	831	74	570	565
	1882-83.	10,873	2,412	3,280	1,159	470	135	569	744	1,152	900
	Total.	46,705	14,496	9,085	6,551	2,336	929	2,634	818	7,871	5,818
Tellicherry.	1878-79.	5,451	2,985	3,374	536	29	140	66	1,579	6,974	4,502
	1879-80.	7,970	2,889	2,990	366	23	69	181	1,508	5,109	4,674
	1880-81.	8,838	3,161	2,476	487	18	25	252	1,814	3,641	5,348
	1881-82.	10,173	3,777	2,390	959	98	211	498	1,838	4,897	4,709
	1882-83.	8,371	3,815	1,655	990	95	75	290	2,133	2,524	4,572
	Total.	40,803	16,627	12,885	3,338	263	511	1,287	8,872	23,145	23,805
Calicut.	1878-79.	13,451	5,078	4,055	1,853	432	233	1,437	..	3,673	1,360
	1879-80.	18,801	4,710	3,424	1,739	328	107	637	..	2,063	2,282
	1880-81.	18,760	4,171	3,820	1,773	251	185	1,479	..	6,313	2,609
	1881-82.	19,632	3,714	3,950	2,067	441	739	2,176	..	13,239	3,219
	1882-83.	18,974	3,311	3,876	1,776	452	1,060	1,882	..	12,480	4,665
	Total.	89,618	20,984	19,125	9,208	1,904	2,324	7,611	..	37,768	14,135
Palghat.	1878-79.	5,765	..	6,515	..	..	968	167	..	5,638	3,179
	1879-80.	6,798	..	5,990	..	..	732	140	..	7,187	3,671
	1880-81.	7,046	..	6,042	..	..	690	225	..	7,715	3,323
	1881-82.	7,045	..	5,720	..	..	847	402	..	4,243	2,794
	1882-83.	6,992	..	6,060	..	..	900	422	..	7,179	1,680
	Total.	33,646	..	30,327	..	..	4,137	1,356	..	31,962	14,647
Cochin.	1878-79.	4,091	2,099	..	129	78	200	144	1,020	893	5,685
	1879-80.	5,423	2,208	..	146	76	150	198	1,020	1,050	4,840
	1880-81.	6,818	2,432	..	94	65	170	152	1,020	4,266	3,576
	1881-82.	7,145	2,540	..	56	70	160	148	520	3,991	3,645
	1882-83.	6,609	2,192	..	53	64	130	80	520	2,875	3,625
	Total.	30,086	11,471	..	478	353	810	720	4,100	13,075	21,371

of the several Municipal commissions for a series of five years.

		Expenditure.							Balance.
Other receipts and advances recovered.	Total.	New works.	Repairs.	Conservancy.	Police.	Establishment.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	
RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.
455	21,626	..	1,995	5,228	..	1,308	11,630	20,161	1,465
2,406	20,715	..	829	2,499	..	3,379	13,625	20,332	383
627	16,357	..	892	2,160	..	3,168	9,567	15,787	570
1,690	22,029	..	826	4,194	..	2,745	13,112	20,877	1,152
885	22,579	..	1,267	6,563	..	2,407	9,989	20,226	2,353
6,063	1,03,306	..	5,809	20,644	..	13,007	57,923	97,383	5,923
133	25,769	..	6,133	4,423	..	1,973	9,412	21,941	3,828
416	26,186	2,553	4,546	4,136	1,121	1,983	10,745	25,084	1,102
183	26,243	2,765	5,455	4,484	476	2,368	92,001	24,749	1,494
225	29,775	898	4,154	4,190	3,826	2,833	11,787	27,688	2,087
281	24,801	177	3,520	5,725	157	2,267	12,246	24,092	709
1,238	1,32,774	6,393	23,808	22,958	5,580	11,424	53,391	1,23,554	9,220
8,622	40,194	1,525	9,461	6,809	..	6,738	14,564	39,097	1,097
9,795	43,885	3,685	6,228	5,143	2,832	6,122	16,141	40,151	3,734
10,184	49,545	1,509	7,762	3,744	4,370	6,202	15,354	38,941	10,604
9,531	58,708	2,995	10,480	4,558	4,190	7,951	18,369	48,543	10,165
10,710	59,186	1,811	12,378	5,994	1,078	9,512	20,797	51,568	7,618
48,842	2,51,518	11,525	46,309	26,248	12,470	36,525	85,225	2,18,300	33,218
4,417	26,649	508	5,621	2,391	..	2,292	9,817	20,629	6,020
5,297	29,815	1,583	5,030	2,684	1,233	2,081	9,870	22,481	7,334
4,586	29,627	4,508	4,652	2,368	1,844	2,111	9,909	25,392	4,235
7,356	28,407	1,425	3,161	3,148	1,697	2,187	10,347	21,965	6,442
8,974	32,207	3,057	4,051	3,711	..	2,130	13,735	26,684	5,523
30,630	1,46,705	11,081	22,515	14,302	4,774	10,801	53,678	1,17,151	28,554
..	14,339	16	704	713	..	7,680	4,783	13,896	443
..	15,109	173	1,698	602	2,038	6,963	3,286	14,760	349
82	18,675	428	2,386	295	3,093	6,155	4,126	16,483	2,192
452	18,727	2,173	2,336	529	2,733	5,958	3,330	17,059	1,068
4	16,152	538	1,756	904	..	7,520	4,272	14,990	1,162
538	83,002	3,328	8,880	3,043	7,864	34,276	19,797	77,188	5,814

No. 19.—Statement showing the receipts and expenditure of local funds

Receipts.	1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.
	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.
1. Balance	—64,908	6,967	68,301	93,604	1,05,364
2. Allotments from general reserve—					
(a) Provincial funds. { For schools ..	6,060	1,890	1,418	2,510	1,456
{ For roads ..	..	1,650	..	5,600	..
{ For general purposes.	11,200	..	..	..	..
{ Surplus pound fund.	611	273	214	488	225
(b) Special funds. { Ferry rents ..	57,123	60,973	52,499	53,344	80,491
{ Avenues ..	8,413	4,685	3,428	5,125	3,900
{ Miscellaneous.	2,610	1,643	1,990	1,489	1,341
(c) Savings and refunds ..	..	..	38	15	8
3. Rates and taxes—					
(a) Cess on land	2,05,682	2,26,365	2,18,664	2,23,272	2,23,324
(b) Tolls	71,291	77,664	75,992	55,209	62,216
(c) House-tax	..	..	..	..	1,663
4 Moyan endowment	..	..	..	..	..
5 Fees in schools	2,807	3,482	3,747	3,721	4,835
6 Contributions from other circles and municipalities.	7,890	6,498	6,396	6,220	9,086
(a) For inspection	..	..	132	60	460
7 Receipts from endowments, contributions, etc.—					
(a) Educational	12	38	251	13,687	..
(b) Hospitals	253	242	322	337	237
(c) Choultries	353	320	540	465	777
(d) Miscellaneous	741	..	79	58	1

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under Act IV of 1871 for the last five years in the district of Malabar.

Expenditure.	1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.
GRANT I.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.
<i>New works.</i>					
1 Communications	14,934	14,209	22,886	23,610	5,083
Civil buildings	367	3,932	500	3,000	58
Miscellaneous public improve- ments.	..	..	20	58	..
<i>Repairs.</i>					
2 Communications	1,66,494	1,62,611	1,72,123	1,80,636	1,17,868
Civil buildings	2,766	3,342	4,194	5,884	4,404
3 Establishments—					
(a) Cost of local fund engi- neering establishment.	43,831	41,515	34,459	40,050	41,085
(b) Contingencies	..	30	..	..	..
(c) Tools and ferries	364	1,313	1,682	683	809
(d) Other charges	..	..	11	175	..
(e) Tools and plant	348	4,264	4,813	4,600	2,007
(f) Refund of receipts (cesses on revenue).	..	303	..	45	8
(g) Tools and ferry establish- ment.	..	..	571	..	..
(h) Compensation to land and toll contractors.	..	..	767	2,687	..
(i) Refunds	..	..	11,245	13,581	5,317
(j) Contributions	16,915	2,120	6,334	7,289	6,659
(l) Interest on loan and pay- ments.	2,027	8,973	10,040	11,202	12,458
(m) For adjustment of expenditure.	..	10,448	..	..	..
(n) Stock purchase	..	..	..	..	3,600
Total Grant I ..	2,48,046	2,53,060	2,60,645	2,93,150	1,99,356
GRANT II.—EDUCATION.					
1 Payment for inspection ..	6,448	5,917	6,174	6,505	6,033
2 Training schools	5,466	..	..	2,457	3,359
3 Local fund schools	9,516	12,402	13,561	11,089	10,743
4 Stipends to Hindu and Mappila schools.	9,234	10,974	12,135	13,005	12,781
5 Result grants	11,243	14,681	13,118	22,359	20,108
6 Pay of book hawkers and pur- chase of books.	2,618	3,819	4,638	4,805	3,591
Total Grant II ..	44,525	47,793	49,626	60,220	50,615

No. 19.—*Statement showing the receipts and expenditure of local funds*

Receipts.	1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.	unde
	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	
8 Miscellaneous—					554	C
(a) Sale of materials, tools and plant.	27	..	..	..	26	1 H
(b) Sale of other property ..	990	1,094	1,012	941	755	2 V
(c) Bungalow subscriptions and fees.	5,180	13,870	9,074	14,388	8,454	3 St
(d) Public works receipts and refunds.	23,098	..	..	..	..	4 Cl
(e) Loan under Act XIV of 1871.	49	781	424	258	275	5 B
(f) Miscellaneous (bandy-pettah receipts).	505	11	32	27	42	6 Co
(g) Nuisance fines ..	2,132	3,321	3,811	3,080	2,723	7 M
(h) Sale-proceeds of books, by book hawker.	..	..	36	135	92	8 M
(i) Advances recoverable ..	616	..	..	..	..	
(k) Cash recoveries ..	..	..	15	25	35	
(l) Permanent advance ..	..	..	..	90	..	
(m) Sale of medicines ..	..	..	2,51,185	..	..	Con
(n) Cheques payable ..	..	..	..	..	..	
Grand total ..	3,42,735	4,11,767	6,99,600	4,84,978	5,08,330	Con all be Ad Mis Per Ref Chc

under Act IV of 1871 for the last five years in the district of Malabar—cont.

Expenditure.	1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.
GRANT III.—SANITATION, MEDICAL, ETC.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.
1 Hospitals and dispensaries ..	17,678	11,367	12,830	13,730	11,382
2 Vaccine establishment ..	2,828	3,228	4,747	5,559	6,134
3 Sanitary do. ..	2,054	1,797	2,103	2,115	1,855
4 Choultries and musafirkannas.	1,223	1,206	2,349	1,268	1,340
5 Bungalows ..	1,702	1,664	1,078	1,767	1,700
6 Contribution ..	10,173	8,873	8,453	6,172	12,676
7 Miscellaneous ..	5	..	79	108	689
8 Moyan endowed establishment.	..	..	..	..	587
Total Grant III ..	35,663	28,135	31,639	30,719	36,363
GRANT IV.—MISCELLANEOUS.					
Contribution to controlling estab- lishment.	..	233	1,743	2,402	2,645
Do. Collector's office ..	960	960	960	960	888
Do. Local Fund Board office.	1,008	1,024	1,864	796	570
Do. Audit office ..	..	..			
Contingencies including travelling allowances of Local Fund Mem- bers and Clerks, etc.	1,146	1,413	1,206	2,318	6,672
Total Grant IV ..	3,114	3,630	5,773	7,895	11,784
Advances recoverable ..	..	..	..	135	92
Miscellaneous debt account ..	..	9	..	..	..
Permanent advance ..	..	10	33	..	35
Refund of cess ..	..	2	..	..	..
Cheques payable ..	..	..	2,49,280	..	..
Grand total expenditure ..	3,31,348	3,32,639	6,05,996	3,92,119	3,04,245
Balances ..	11,387	79,128	93,604	92,859	2,04,085
Total ..	3,42,735	4,11,767	6,99,600	4,84,978	5,08,330

No. 20.—Statement showing the number and tonnage of vessels which arrived at, and departed from, the district of Malabar for a series of ten years.

Official years.	Square rigged.				Native crafts.		Total.	
	Steamers.		Ships.		Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Tonnage.				

ARRIVALS.

1867-68	219	105,138	242	63,978	8,977	240,801	9,438	409,917
1868-69	224	120,631	299	91,266	9,540	296,251	10,063	508,148
1869-70	563	242,912	324	106,844	8,384	291,777	9,271	641,533
1870-71	551	253,343	278	97,671	8,069	266,056	8,898	617,070
1871-72	522	278,536	271	92,455	8,895	287,297	9,688	658,288
1872-73	413	265,806	263	88,391	8,398	295,777	9,074	649,974
1873-74	269	242,422	194	55,140	9,368	296,757	9,831	594,319
1874-75	357	405,516	177	56,452	9,600	323,743	10,134	785,711
1875-76	469	579,892	218	52,700	8,771	288,568	9,458	921,160
1876-77	480	536,054	333	101,402	13,365	766,870	14,178	1,404,326

DEPARTURES.

1867-68	216	103,002	215	63,302	8,661	227,367	9,092	393,671
1868-69	220	117,302	314	90,630	9,272	287,364	9,806	495,296
1869-70	565	243,773	304	95,040	8,266	292,004	9,135	630,817
1870-71	551	263,343	261	92,675	7,909	267,048	8,721	623,066
1871-72	528	280,746	296	89,398	8,738	288,922	9,562	659,066
1872-73	407	261,061	245	80,988	8,294	293,858	8,946	635,907
1873-74	270	243,047	191	51,946	9,268	294,821	9,729	589,814
1874-75	355	403,012	173	55,101	9,578	321,054	10,106	779,167
1875-76	470	580,667	221	51,850	8,727	288,353	9,418	920,870
1876-77	478	541,286	289	80,977	13,309	767,320	14,076	1,389,583

No. 21—Statement showing the value of import trade, with particulars of articles, in the district of Malabar for a series of ten years.

Articles.	Official years.									
	1867-68.	1868-69.	1869-70.	1870-71.	1871-72.	1872-73.	1873-74.	1874-75.	1875-76.	1876-77.
Millinery and wearing apparel ..	82,202	1,00,226	1,62,889	1,18,296	65,418	1,85,658	1,69,390	1,50,031	1,38,683	1,52,066
Gold and silver, lace and thread.	657	2,419	187	43,037						5,439
Books and stationery ..	33,007	39,224	40,522	50,630	36,392	41,014	58,856	60,346	46,181	41,831
Twist and yarn ..	8,70,199	9,13,844	9,04,865	7,90,352	8,48,326	9,07,402	8,96,091	8,75,500	9,69,301	12,27,613
Piece goods, dyed and printed ..	2,94,285	3,91,150	2,61,804	1,04,742	3,02,036	3,41,745	5,85,078	3,02,491	3,22,055	4,00,367
Do. plain ..	16,42,844	16,42,489	13,52,146	15,59,528	17,48,245	18,88,155	17,05,115	14,97,538	16,56,389	18,64,379
Drugs ..	82,574	1,23,129	1,26,064	1,10,000	1,29,216	1,25,382	1,09,571	1,02,100	97,319	1,25,879
Dyes ..	45,000	30,380	31,859	19,726	21,227	24,497	23,959	20,939	16,721	31,741
Betelnut, boiled and raw ..	69,233	58,944	59,142	39,266	26,043	61,150	22,439	44,363	36,681	29,181
Glassware ..	25,603	56,943	26,674	28,559	27,166	29,133	26,347	42,361	42,934	45,763
Paddy ..	7,95,832	11,32,761	6,52,936	6,93,179	6,24,090	7,91,259	13,25,215	22,45,357	18,99,875	25,76,665
Rice ..	24,07,009	29,85,483	34,64,752	31,37,901	29,83,836	34,80,858	32,96,318	25,88,049	27,86,834	90,53,305
Grain of sorts ..	4,15,178	4,88,847	2,54,276	2,60,248	2,66,541	2,51,852	6,25,368	6,38,019	5,67,027	42,20,602
Gunnies and gunny bags ..	71,575	1,38,123	94,299	35,787	1,80,844	1,47,101	1,43,848	1,05,027	1,28,629	1,01,838
Jewellery ..	33,230	8,423	7,058	5,056	29,224	12,653	8,845	10,936	2,186	1,063
Machinery ..	4,16,327	21,540	52,551	5,09,783	87,752	49,721	1,02,436	79,871	43,768	43,845
Malt liquors ..	2,51,457	1,44,018	1,70,587	2,96,745	1,71,459	3,07,200	2,39,554	1,81,090	78,778	1,32,957
Metals ..	7,19,814	8,35,550	8,09,002	7,07,339	8,42,802	8,03,978	4,98,786	6,84,365	8,26,322	8,06,401
Naval stores ..	1,240	2,377	4,470	2,75,767	29,312	29,024	74,838	52,846		
Oilman's stores ..	26,655	26,574	23,195	26,000	31,163	18,108	40,507	71,232		
Porcelain and earthenware ..	31,428	25,134	32,057	48,302	65,455	60,178	10,648	47,722	53,241	57,300
Pipe staves and casks ..	1,01,870	1,29,307	2,03,778	1,42,946	2,29,178	2,69,522	1,49,762	1,33,418		
Provisions ..	1,20,586	1,03,279	1,34,610	1,20,747	1,19,248	1,48,180	1,41,732	1,77,525	3,72,876	2,70,688
Railway stores ..	59,014				53,018	8,321	1,872			
Seeds ..	1,63,604	1,97,105	1,65,838	1,92,311	2,16,867	1,75,262	2,37,418	2,44,610	1,87,091	3,58,278
Silk, raw ..										255
Do. piecegoods ..	56,221	55,580	47,770	53,392	36,365	70,602	36,002	27,693	20,191	48,045
Spices ..	2,67,446	2,86,220	2,93,343	5,11,573	2,11,798	2,07,880	4,22,391	5,64,784	6,18,016	3,32,224
Spirits ..	60,964	61,044	67,107	89,773	1,18,005	91,322	1,01,041	70,789	1,03,892	89,205
Tea ..	11,430	15,344	12,334	8,439	12,222	11,171	13,416	9,323	188	8,712
Timber and planks ..	67,307	39,225	48,989	48,569	50,722	59,494	28,612	57,912	1,96,126	2,14,356
Wines ..	46,583	63,402	63,792	79,266	63,501	1,02,070	66,707	70,463	81,250	52,912
Woollen ..	92,209	1,07,399	94,220	79,528	1,23,429	96,374	1,02,080	1,11,725	66,870	1,23,818
Wool ..			135	458	653	430	342	97	120	596
Sundries ..	35,93,490	39,01,812	31,40,791	48,86,483	56,83,915	42,54,547	50,57,889	32,40,262	34,30,220	32,45,231
Total ..	129,62,869	141,87,595	128,05,242	151,42,805	155,36,068	150,54,549	168,14,103	145,08,784	147,98,794	256,63,446

STATISTICS

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No. 22.—Statement showing the value of export trade, with particulars of articles, in the district of Malabar for a series of ten years.

Articles.	Official years.									
	1867-68.	1868-69.	1869-70.	1870-71.	1871-72.	1872-73.	1873-74.	1874-75.	1875-76.	1876-77.
Bones	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.	RS.
Coffee	54,03,189	76,37,061	61,79,455	75,26,634	98,03,938	98,88,578	1,26,54,513	1,09,75,433	1,10,86,736	95,70,306
Cotton, wool	1,78,301	6,14,892	4,27,113	1,96,938	2,30,448	3,12,487	68,340	41,333	99,128	6,550
Do. goods	4,78,003	6,31,995	4,72,133	7,13,053	5,62,053	6,12,494	6,69,770	6,89,050	8,45,963	10,13,565
Drugs of singelly										
Drugs	40,578	37,233	88,499	84,181	52,072	71,623	76,591	63,419	71,596	67,335
Indigo	14,967	187	20,897	660			128	51		53
Dyes of sorts	1,83,645	1,33,573	97,607	93,505	1,25,191	89,912	69,755	56,224	87,896	1,91,576
Emigrants' stores										
Feathers	61									
Fishmaws	13,983	16,776	37,789	26,109	37,232	63,443	32,851	28,641	63,895	49,913
Fruits and nuts	34,25,256	36,21,973	34,22,638	25,60,988	39,25,002	32,20,460	28,01,331	31,47,773	13,55,074	32,91,763
Paddy	38,547	36,374	19,947	84,173	46,404	1,22,830	1,22,159	15,716	1,04,541	2,79,846
Rice	2,65,678	1,55,484	3,10,518	3,93,256	8,97,136	11,39,219	7,40,860	4,89,532	68,049	16,91,939
Wheat	76,946	81,177	53,423	19,629	21,798	38,613	59,158	30,060	29,694	68,877
Grain of sorts	1,07,122	1,00,814	2,43,371	1,36,083	1,79,673	1,02,965	65,280	59,798	69,619	8,28,617
Hides	15,141	16,784	27,020	52,200	63,283	69,225	1,16,647	2,44,552	1,89,217	87,276
Horns	12,039	12,661	14,236	8,264	7,137	11,541	13,487	11,141	6,614	7,706
Ivory and ivoryware	6,476	3,913	8,712	3,078	2,814	2,943	2,817	2,817	7,670	7,258
Jewellery	11,710	842	23,153	21,761	5,880	3,950	6,884	5,320	6,340	14,275
Mats	22,689	36,090	45,294	24,727	23,494	29,156	38,844	26,293	50,982	1,48,369
Molasses	5,72,736	2,77,476	1,68,235	5,74,468	6,74,843	96,119	3,84,864	4,52,335	3,53,517	1,46,034
Coir and coir rope	11,87,650	17,42,020	17,20,418	13,21,998	14,11,849	17,34,617	16,94,404	23,22,453	17,55,562	25,07,287
Hemp	14,587	19,986	13,295	13,935	6,914	16,061	12,055	25,379	28,018	28,333
Naval stores of sorts	9,961	12,596	8,263	7,996	8,530	6,322	6,172	5,570		
Oil	23,76,577	37,20,988	35,88,418	29,00,288	53,45,873	51,35,500	28,24,778	27,54,344	26,09,598	33,20,298
Perfumery	1,694	101	499	691	167	998	1,169	2,315	3,622	6,505
Precious stones	15,000									
Salt	943	885	1,461	1,837	2,534	3,135	1,025	3,353	20,339	5,618
Saltpetre	2,306	950	1,663	2,455	6,310	2,367	5,017	3,763	175	8,677
Seeds	60,870	93,234	90,145	67,517	1,03,024	1,08,474	75,933	47,746	60,371	1,02,183
Shawls, cashmere						575		200		
Silk piecegoods	2,205	3,541	2,182	2,981	5,378	24,907	861	10,723	2,492	3,891
Spices	19,51,053	20,76,107	22,60,042	24,43,158	28,00,480	19,16,185	23,39,715	31,89,542	28,56,599	23,61,636
Spirits	4,488	1,730	3,513	9,189	999	12,038	8,522	6,308	7,64,818	17,215
Sugar	35,519	10,902	19,655	30,400	26,827	38,531	24,903	34,175	298	38,889
Timber and wood	9,99,780	11,72,474	11,13,350	9,10,624	8,44,515	9,34,004	9,07,369	8,60,211	8,91,160	10,28,191
Tobacco	1,55,390	1,09,406	1,63,986	1,69,717	1,43,544	2,38,010	2,04,750	2,39,289	1,39,038	1,86,737
Wax and wax candles	5,816	17,360	12,447	8,806	11,783	8,709	10,754	7,295	16,694	24,926
Sundries	9,50,634	20,21,059	15,66,134	7,40,216	32,33,313	10,31,885	11,19,861	6,28,558	27,62,339	13,80,256
Total	1,87,31,133	2,45,91,054	2,22,52,161	2,12,10,605	3,06,24,636	2,70,88,576	2,72,49,415	2,65,11,977	2,65,38,380	2,86,01,858

APPENDIX II.

List of the Animals of Malabar.

Scientific name.	Author's name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Order PRIMATES.			
Fam. SIMIADÆ.			
Gen. Presbytis—			
P. priamus	Elliot ..	Eastern Ghats.	The Madras langur.
P. Johnii .. ..	....	Malabar Coast.	The Malabar langur.
P. jubatus .. ..	....	....	The Nilgiri langur.
Gen. Inuus	Geoffroy.	....	
I. silenus .. ..	....	....	The lion monkey.
Gen. Macacus—			
M. radiatus .. ..	....	....	The Madras monkey.
Fam. LAMURIDÆ.			
Gen. Loris—			
L. gracilis .. ..	....	....	The slender lemur.
Sub-order			
CHEIROPTERA.			
Fam. PTEROPODIDÆ.			
Gen. Pteropus—			
P. Edwardsi .. ..	....	....	The large fox bat.
P. Leschenaultii ..	....	....	The fulvous fox bat.
Gen. Cynopterus—			
C. marginatus .. ..	....	....	The small fox bat.
Fam. VAMPIRIDÆ.			
Sub-fam. Megadermatinae.			
Gen. Megaderma—			
M. Iyra .. ..	....	....	The large-eared vampire bat.
Sub-fam. Rhinolophinae.			
Gen. Rhinolophus—			
R. perniger .. ..	....	....	The large leaf bat.
R. Pearsoni .. ..	....	....	Pearson's leaf bat.
R. affinis .. ..	....	....	The allied leaf bat.
R. Rouxi .. ..	....	....	The rufous leaf bat.
Gen. Hipposideros ..	Gray.	....	
H. speoris .. ..	....	....	The Indian horse-shoe bat.
H. murinus .. ..	....	....	The little horse-shoe bat.
Gen. Rhinopoma ..	Geoffroy.	....	
R. Hardwickii .. ..	....	....	The long-tailed leaf bat.
Fam. NOCTILIONIDÆ.			
Sub-fam. Taphozoinae.			
Gen. Taphozous ..	Geoffroy.	....	
T. longimanus .. ..	....	....	The long-armed bat.
T. melanopogon .. ..	....	....	The black-bearded bat.
T. saccolaimus .. ..	....	....	The white-bellied bat.

List of the Animals of Malabar—cont.

Scientific name.	Author's name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Order PRIMATES—cont.			
Sub-ord.			
CHEIROPTERA—cont.			
Sub-fam. Noctilionino.			
Gen. Nyctinomus ..	Geoffroy.		
N. plicatus .. ..	....	....	The wrinkled-lipped bat.
Fam. VESPERTILIONIDÆ.			
Sub-fam. Scotophilino.			
Gen. Scotophilus—			
S. Coromandelianus.	....	....	The Coromandel bat.
Gen. Nycticejus ..	Horsfield.		
N. Heathii .. ..	....	....	The large yellow bat.
N. lutens .. ..	....	....	The Bengal yellow bat.
N. Temminckii ..	....	....	The common yellow bat.
N. canus .. ..	....	....	The hoary bat.
Gen. Murina	Gray.		
M. formosa .. ..	....	....	The beautiful bat.
Gen. Kerivoula ..	Gray.		
K. picta .. ..	....	....	The painted bat.
Gen. Vespertilio—			
V. adversus .. ..	....	....	The Malayan bat.
Order INSECTIVORA.			
Fam. SORECIDÆ.			
Gen. Sorex—			
S. caeruleus .. ..	....	....	The common musk shrew.
S. murinus .. ..	....	....	The mouse-coloured shrew.
S. serpentarius ..	....	....	The rufescent shrew.
S. Tytleri .. ..	....	....	The Dehra shrew.
S. soccatus .. ..	....	....	The hairy-footed shrew.
S. melanodon .. ..	....	....	The black-toothed pigmy shrew.
Fam. ERINACEIDÆ.			
Gen. Erinaceus—			
E. micropus .. ..	....	....	The South-Indian hedgehog.
Order CARNIVORA.			
Fam. URSIDÆ.			
Gen. Ursus—			
U. labiatus .. ..	....	....	The Indian black bear.
Gen. Mellivora ..	Storr.		
M. Indica .. ..	....	....	The Indian badger.

List of the Animals of Malabar—cont.

Scientific name.	Author's name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Ord. CARNIVORA— <i>cont.</i>			
Fam. MUSTELIDÆ.			
Gen. Martes— M. flavigula .. ..	....	....	The Indian marten.
Sub-fam. Lutrinæ.			
Gen. Lutra	Ray.		
L. Nair .. ..	....	....	The common Indian otter.
L. vulgaris * .. ..	....	....	The hill otter.
L. species ? .. ..	....	....	Nilgiri otter.
Fam. FELIDÆ.			
Gen. Felis	Linn.		
F. tigris .. ..	....	....	The tiger.
F. pardus .. ..	....	....	The pard.
F. Bengalensis .. ..	....	....	The leopard cat.
F. Jerdoni .. ..	....	....	The lesser leopard cat.
F. chaus .. ..	....	....	The common jungle cat.
Fam. VIVERRIDÆ.			
Sub-fam. Hyæninæ.			
Gen. Hyæna— H. striata .. ..	....	....	The striped hyæna.
Sub-fam. Viverrinæ.			
Gen. Viverra	Linn.		
V. civettina .. ..	....	....	The Malabar civet cat.
V. Malaccensis .. ..	....	....	The lesser civet cat.
Gen. Paradoxurus	F. Cuvier.		
P. musanga .. ..	....	....	The common tree cat.
Gen. Herpestes	Illiger.		
H. griseus .. ..	....	....	The Madras mungoos.
H. Smithii .. ..	....	....	The ruddy mungoos.
H. fuscus	 J	....	The Nilgiri brown mungoos.
H. vitticollis .. ..	....	....	The stripe-necked mungoos.
Fam. CANIDÆ.			
Gen. Canis— C. aurous .. ..	....	....	The jackal.
Gen. Cuon— C. rutilans .. ..	....	....	The wild dog.
Fam. DELPHINIDÆ.			
Gen. Delphinus	Linn.		
D. plumbeus .. ..	....	....	The plumbeous dolphin.
Gen. Globicephalus— G. Indicus .. ..	....	....	The Indian caing whale.

* Undescribed.

List of the Animals of Malabar—cont.

Scientific name.	Author's name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Ord. CARNIVORA— <i>cont.</i>			
Fam. BALENIDÆ.			
Gen. Balenoptera— B. Indica			The Indian fin-whale.
Order RODENTIA.			
Fam. SCIURIDÆ.			
Gen. Sciurus— S. Malabaricus		..	The Malabar squirrel.
S. Elphinstoni			The Bombay red squirrel.
S. palmarum			The common striped squirrel.
S. tristriatus			The jungle striped squirrel.
S. Layardi			The Travancore striped squirrel.
S. sublineatus			The Nilgiri striped squirrel.
Gen. Pteromys— P. petaurista			The brown flying squirrel.
Gen. Sciuropterus— S. fuscocapillus			The small Travancore flying squirrel.
Gen. Gerbillus— G. Indicus			The Indian jerboa rat.
Gen. Nesokia— N. Indica			The Indian mole-rat.
Gen. Mus— M. bandicota			The bandicoot rat.
M. rattus			The black rat.
M. decumanus			The brown rat.
M. brunneus			The tree rat.
M. rufescens			The rufescent tree rat.
M. olivaceus			The long-tailed tree mouse.
M. Nilagiricus			The Nilgiri tree mouse.
M. urbanus			The common Indian mouse.
M. homourus			The hill mouse.
M. terricolor			The earthy field mouse.
Gen. Platacanthomys— P. lasiurus			The long-tailed spiny mouse.
Gen. Golunda— G. Elliotti			The bush rat.
G. meltada			The soft-furred field rat.
Fam. HYSTRICIDÆ.			
Sub-fam. Hystricinae.			
Gen. Hystrix— H. leucura			The Indian porcupine.

List of the Animals of Malabar—cont.

Scientific name.	Author's name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Ord. RODENTIA— <i>cont.</i>			
Fam. LEPORIDÆ.			
Gen. Lepus—			
L. ruficandatus ..	....	....	The common Indian hare.
L. nigricollis ..	....	....	The black-naped hare.
Order UNGULATA.			
Fam. ELEPHANTIDÆ.			
Gen. Elephas—			
E. Indicus .. ..	....	....	The Indian elephant.
Fam. SUIDÆ.			
Gen. Sus—			
S. Indicus .. ..	....	....	The Indian wild boar.
Fam. CERVIDÆ.			
Gen. Rusa—			
R. aristotelis ..	....	....	The sambar stag.
Gen. Axis—			
A. Maculatus ..	....	....	The spotted deer.
Gen. Cervulus—			
C. aureus .. ..	....	....	The rib-faced or bark-ing deer.
Fam. MOSCHIDÆ.			
Gen. Moschus—			
M. Indica	Gray. ....	....	The mouse deer.
Order EDENTATA.			
Fam. MANIDIDÆ.			
Gen. Manis	Linnæus.		
M. pontadaactyla ..	....	....	The Indian scaly ant-eater.

APPENDIX III

*List of the Fishes of the Malabar District (from Dr. Day's
"Malabar Fishes").*

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Sub-class TELEOSTEI.		
Order ACANTHOPTERYGII.		
Fam. BERYCIDÆ.		
Genus <i>Holocontrum</i> (Artedi)—		
<i>H. rubrum</i>	Seas .. ..	....
Fam. PERCIDÆ.		
Genus <i>Lates</i> (Cuv. et Val.)—		
<i>L. calcarifer</i>	Seas and estuaries.	Nair fish.
Genus <i>Serranus</i> (Cuv. et Val.)—		
<i>S. soxifasciatus</i>	Seas .. ..	....
<i>S. flavo-ceruleus</i>	Seas .. ..	....
<i>S. bontoo</i>	Seas .. ..	....
<i>S. erythrurus</i>	Seas .. ..	....
<i>S. lanceolatus</i>	Seas	Kurupu, Mal.
<i>S. diacanthus</i>	Seas	Killi-moon, Mal.
<i>S. formosus</i>	Seas .. ..	....
Genus <i>Genyoroge</i> (Cantor)—		
<i>G. cœruleopunctata</i>	Seas .. ..	....
<i>G. notata</i>	Seas	Vella-chombolay.
<i>G. rivulata</i>	Seas .. ..	....
<i>G. alboguttata</i>	Malabar sea ..	....
Genus <i>Mesoprion</i> (Cuv.)—		
<i>M. rangus</i>	Seas .. ..	....
<i>M. rubellus</i>	Seas .. ..	....
<i>M. Johnii</i>	Seas	Chombolay, Mal.
<i>M. sillao</i>	Seas .. ..	....
<i>M. fulviflamma</i>	Seas .. ..	....
<i>M. aurolineatus</i>	Malabar sea ..	....
<i>M. Madras</i>	Malabar sea ..	....
Genus <i>Ambassis</i> —		
<i>A. Commersonii</i>	Fresh & brackish water.	....
<i>A. nalu</i>	Rivers and estuaries.	....
<i>A. Dussumieri</i>	Seas and estuaries.	....
Genus <i>Thorapon</i> —		
<i>T. trivittatus</i>	Seas and estuaries.	Kutchu.
<i>T. servus</i>	Seas and estuaries.	....
<i>T. thoraps</i>	Seas and estuaries.	....
Genus <i>Pristipoma</i> —		
<i>P. hasta</i>	Seas .. ..	....
<i>P. maculatum</i>	Seas	Erruthum-corah, Mal.
<i>P. guoraka</i>	Seas and estuaries.	....
<i>P. Dussumieri</i>	Coast and estuaries.	....
Genus <i>Diagramma</i> ; <i>Plectorhynchus</i> (Lacep)—		
<i>D. nigrum</i>	Malabar	"Black rock fish."
<i>D. griseum</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
Genus <i>Lobotes</i> —		
<i>L. Surinamensis</i>	Seas	Parrandee, Mal.

List of the Fishes of the Malabar District—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Sub-class TELEOSTEI—cont.		
Order ACANTHOPTERYGII—cont.		
Fam. PERCIDÆ—cont.		
Genus Scolopsis (Cuv.)—		
S. Japonicus	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Dentex (Cuv.)—		
D. hasta	Malabar .. .. .	....
Genus Synagris—		
S. grammicus	Cochin .. .. .	....
Genus Upeneoides (Bleeker)—		
U. vittatus	Seas	Cheerul, Mal.
Genus Upeneus (Bleeker)—		
U. Malabaricus	Seas .. .. .	....
U. Indicus	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Chrysophrys—		
C. hasta	Seas and estuaries.	....
C. calamara	Seas and estuaries.	Arnee, Mal.
Genus Chætodon (Artedi)—		
C. prætextatus	Malabar sea .. .. .	....
Genus Honiochus (Cuv. et Val.)—		
H. macrolepidotus	Seas	Purroameo, Mal.
Genus Scatophagus (Cuv.)—		
S. argus	Estuaries and seas.	Nutchar-char, Mal.
Genus Ehippus (Cuv.)—		
E. orbis	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Drepane—		
D. punctata	Seas	Piindtheo, Mal.
Genus Toxotes (Cuv.)—		
T. jaculator	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Pterois (Cuv.)—		
P. volitans	Seas	Purroah, Mal.
P. miles	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Tetraroge—		
T. Belongeri	(Mahe) Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Prosopodasys (Cant.)—		
P. dracæna	Seas and estuaries.	....
Genus Minous (Cuv. et Val.)—		
M. monodactylus	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Platycephalus—		
P. insidiator	Seas	Crocodilo fish.
P. Malabaricus	Seas .. .. .	....
P. suppositus	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Anema (Gunth.)—		
A. inerme	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Sillago (Cuv.)—		
S. sihama	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Umbrina (Cuv.)—		
U. Dussumieri	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Scizæna—		
S. maculata	Seas	Cutlah, Mal.
S. Dussumieri	Malabar .. .. .	....
S. sina	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Corvina—		
C. semiluctuosa	Seas .. .. .	....
C. carutta	Seas and rivers .. .. .	....
C. axillaris	Malabar .. .. .	....
C. lobata	Malabar .. .. .	....
C. Neilli	Malabar .. .. .	....
C. albida	Seas .. .. .	....

List of the Fishes of the Malabar District—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Sub-class TELEOSTEI— <i>cont.</i>		
Order ACANTHOPTERYGII— <i>cont.</i>		
Fam. PERCIDÆ— <i>cont.</i>		
Genus Corvina— <i>cont.</i>		
C. Belongerii	Seas .. ..	....
Genus Otolithus—		
O. ruber	Seas .. ..	....
O. argenteus	Seas .. ..	....
Fam. POLYNEMIDÆ.		
Genus Polynemus—		
P. heptadaetylus	Seas .. ..	....
P. sextarius .. ..	....	....
P. indicus .. ..	....	....
P. tetradaetylus .. ..	....	....
Fam. SPHYRÆNIDÆ.		
Genus Sphyræna—		
S. jello	Seas	Chelahoo, Mal.
S. obtusata .. ..	....	....
Fam. TRICHIURIDÆ.		
Genus Trichiurus—		
T. Malabaricus	Seas .. ..	....
T. haumela	Seas .. ..	....
T. savala	Seas .. ..	....
Fam. SCOMBRIDÆ.		
Genus Scomber—		
S. kanagurta	Seas	Ila, Mal.
Genus Cybium—		
C. Commersonii	Seas .. ..	....
C. lineolatum	Seas .. ..	....
C. guttatum	Seas	Arrakoeah, Mal. Soir fish.
Genus Naucrates—		
N. ductor	Seas .. ..	....
Genus Elacato—		
E. nigra	Seas .. ..	....
Genus Echeuis—		
E. naucrates	Seas	Putthoo-muday, Mal.
Genus Stromateus—		
S. sinensis	Seas	White pomfret.
S. argenteus	Seas	Silver pomfret.
S. cinereus	Seas	Grey pomfret.
S. niger	Seas	Black pomfret.
Fam. CARANGIDÆ.		
Genus Caranx—		
C. Rottleri	Seas .. ..	....
C. kurra	Seas .. ..	....
C. mate	Seas	Batta-parra.
C. kalla	Seas .. ..	....
C. melanostethos	Seas .. ..	....
C. speciosus	Seas .. ..	....
C. para	Seas .. ..	....
C. ekala	Seas .. ..	....
C. hippos	Seas .. ..	....
C. atropus	Seas .. ..	....

List of the Fishes of the Malabar District—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Sub-class TELEOSTEI— <i>cont.</i>		
Order ACANTHOPTERYGII— <i>cont.</i>		
Fam. CARANGIDÆ— <i>cont.</i>		
Genus Caranx— <i>cont.</i>		
C. armatus	Seas .. ..	.....
C. ciliaris	Seas .. ..	.....
C. gallus	Seas .. ..	.....
Genus Chorinotus—		
C. lysan	Seas .. ..	.....
C. tol	Seas .. ..	.....
C. tala	Seas .. ..	.....
C. Sancti Petri	Seas	Pallagay.
C. tooloo	Seas .. ..	.....
Genus Trachynotus—		
T. ovatus	Seas .. ..	.....
T. Bailloni	Seas	Vella-oodoo and Parruvu.
Genus Psettus—		
P. argenteus	Seas .. ..	.....
P. falciformis	Seas	Purrandoo.
Genus Platax—		
P. teira	Seas .. ..	.....
Genus Equula—		
E. insidiatrix	Seas; also (said to be) fresh-water.	Paarl-coorchee.
E. edentula	Seas .. ..	.....
E. splendens	Seas .. ..	.....
E. Blochii	Seas .. ..	.....
E. daura	Seas .. ..	.....
E. oblonga	Seas .. ..	.....
E. fasciata	Seas .. ..	.....
Genus Lactarius—		
L. delicatulus	Seas	Parruwah.
Genus Pempheris—		
P. Mollucca	Seas .. ..	.....
Fam. GOBIIDÆ (Owen).		
G. giurus	Fresh-waters	Warteo-poollah and Pooan.
G. viridi-punctatus	Seas .. ..	.....
G. criniger	Seas .. ..	.....
G. Malabaricus	Rivers of Malabar.	.....
G. neglectus	Rivers of Malabar.	.....
G. acutipinnis	Seas and estuaries.	.....
Genus Apoeryptus—		
A. rictuosus	Seas and estuaries.	.....
Genus Eleotris—		
E. butis .. ..	.....	Kullahray.
E. fusca	Fresh-water	Poolan.
Genus Amblyopus—		
A. Hermannianus	Estuaries .. ..	.....
A. cæculus .. ..	.....	.....
Genus Trypauchen—		
T. vagina	Seas and estuaries.	.....
Fam. BATRACHIDÆ.		
Genus Batrachus—		
B. grunniens	Seas and estuaries.	.....
B. trispinosus	Seas and estuaries.	.....
B. Dussumieri	Malabar .. ..	.....

List of the Fishes of the Malabar District—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Sub-class TELEOSTEI— <i>cont.</i>		
Order ACANTHOPTERYGII— <i>cont.</i>		
Fam. PEDICULATI.		
Genus Antennarius—		
A. marmoratus	Seas .. ..	....
A. nummifer	Seas .. ..	....
Fam. BLENNIIDÆ.		
Genus Salaria—		
S. fasciatus	Seas .. ..	....
Fam. TEUTHIDIDÆ.		
Genus Teuthis—		
T. vermiculata	Seas	Kutorah.
T. Java	Seas .. ..	....
Fam. ACRONURIDÆ.		
Genus Acanthurus—		
A. matoides .. ..	....	....
Genus Aconurus—		
A. melanurus .. ..	....	....
Fam. NANDIDÆ.		
Genus Nandus—		
N. marmoratus	Fresh-water ..	Mootahree.
N. Malabaricus	Hill streams ..	....
Genus Pristolepis—		
P. marginatus	Hill streams ..	....
Fam. LABYRINTHICI.		
Genus Anabas—		
A. scandens	Fresh-water ..	Undee-collee.
Genus Polyacanthus—		
P. cupanus	Fresh-water ..	Caringanah and Wunnottee.
Fam. ATHERINIDÆ.		
Genus Atherina—		
A. Forskalii	Seas .. ..	....
Fam. MUGILIDÆ.		
Genus Mugil—		
M. cunnesius	Seas	Mahlah.
M. subviridis	Seas .. ..	....
M. Sundanensis	Seas .. ..	....
M. engeli	Seas .. ..	....
M. poecilus	Seas .. ..	....
M. cunnumboo	Seas .. ..	....
M. parsi	Seas .. ..	....
M. suppositus	Seas .. ..	....
M. Waigiensis	Estuaries	Fresh-water Mullot.
M. carinatus	Seas .. ..	....
Fam. OPHIOCEPHALIDÆ.		
Genus Ophiocephalus—		
O. marulius	Rivers	Choorce-vararl and Cooravoo.

List of the Fishes of the Malabar District—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Sub-class TELEOSTEI— <i>cont.</i>		
Order ACANTHOPTERYGII— <i>cont.</i>		
Fam. OPHIOCEPHALIDÆ — <i>cont.</i>		
Genus Ophiocephalus— <i>cont.</i>		
O. diplogrammus	Malabar .. .. .	.....
O. striatus	Fresh-water	Verarl or Wrahl.
O. gachua	Fresh-water	Kuravu.
O. punctatus	Fresh-water .. .. .	.....
Fam. FISTULARIDÆ.		
Genus Fistularia—		
F. serrata	Seas .. .. .	.....
Fam. MASTACEMBELIDÆ.		
Genus Mastacembelus—		
M. armatus	Fresh-water .. .. .	.....
M. Guntheri	Fresh-water .. .. .	.....
Order PHARYNGOGNATHI.		
Sub-order Pharyngognathi Acanthopterygii.		
Fam. POMACENTRIDÆ.		
Genus Glyphidodon—		
G. Cochinchensis	Seas .. .. .	.....
Fam. LABRIDÆ.		
Sub-fam. JULIDINA.		
Genus PlatyGLOSSUS—		
P. nigrescens	Seas	Kullaray, Mal.
Fam. GERRIDÆ.		
Genus Gerres—		
G. filamentosus	Seas .. .. .	.....
G. punctatus	Seas .. .. .	.....
G. limbatus .. .. .	.....	.....
Fam. CHROMIDÆ.		
Genus Etroplus—		
E. suratensis	Fresh-water .. .. .	.....
E. maculatus	Fresh-water	Pultattay.
Sub-order Malacopterygii Pharyngognathi.		
Fam. SCOMBERESOCIDÆ.		
Genus Belone—		
B. caudimaculata	Seas and estuaries .. .. .	.....
B. annulata .. .. .	.....	.....
B. canila	Fresh-water	Conlan and Marraloo.
Genus Hemiramphus—		
H. Reynaldi	Rivers and tanks .. .. .	.....
H. limbatus	Seas .. .. .	.....
H. xanthopterus	Seas .. .. .	.....
H. Georgii .. .. .	.....	.....

List of the Fishes of the Malabar District—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Sub-class TELEOSTEI— <i>cont.</i>		
Order ANACANTHINI.		
Fam. GADIDÆ.		
Genus Bregmaceros—		
B. McClellandi	Estuaries .. .. .	....
Fam. PLEURONECTIDÆ.		
Genus Pseudorhombus—		
P. Russellii .. .. .	....	....
Genus Synaptura—		
S. foliacea	Estuaries	Sappatto.
Genus Plagusia—		
P. bilineata .. .. .	....	....
Genus Coilia—		
C. Reynaldi	Seas and estuaries ..	....
C. Dussumieri	Seas and estuaries ..	....
Genus Chatossus—		
C. chacunda	Seas and estuaries..	....
C. altus	Seas	Noonah, Mal.
Sub-order Physostomi Apodes.		
Fam. MURÆNIDÆ.		
Sub-fam. ANGUILLOIDEI.		
Genus Muræna—		
M. maculata	Fresh-water and estu- aries.	....
Sub-fam. CONGROIDEI.		
Group CONGRIFORMES.		
Sub-group <i>Muraenesoces</i> .		
Genus Muraenesox—		
M. telabon	Seas and estuaries..	....
Sub-fam. OPHISUROIDEI.		
Group OPHISURI.		
Genus Ophichthys—		
O. ornatissimus	Malabar .. .. .	....
Genus Pisoodonophis—		
P. boro	Seas and estuaries..	....
Sub-fam. GYMNOTHORA- COIDEI.		
Group MURÆNOPHIDES.		
Genus Gymnothorax—		
G. tilo	River and fresh-water.	....
G. favaginea	Seas and estuaries.	....
Fam. SYNBRANCHIDÆ.		
Sub-fam. SYNBRANCHOIDEI.		
Group SYNBRANCHINI.		
Genus Synbranchus—		
S. Bengaliensis	Estuaries and fresh- water.	....

List of the Fishes of the Malabar District—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Sub-class TELEOSTEI— <i>cont.</i>		
Order ANACANTHINI— <i>cont.</i>		
Sub-ord. Physostomi Apodes— <i>cont.</i>		
Fam. LEPTOCEPHALIDÆ.		
Genus <i>Lep ocephalus</i> —		
<i>L. Malabaricus</i>	Malabar .. .. .	....
<i>L. acuticaudatus</i>	Malabar .. .. .	....
<i>L. Dussumieri</i> .. .. .	....	....
Order PLECTOGNATHI.		
Sub-order Ostracionidæ.		
Fam. OSTRACIONOIDEI.		
Genus <i>Ostracion</i> —		
<i>O. nasus</i>	Seas .. .. .	....
<i>O. tetragonus</i>	Seas .. .. .	....
Sub-order Gymnodontidæ.		
Fam. TETRAODONTOIDEI.		
Sub-fam. TETRAODONTIFORMES.		
Group TETRAODONTINI.		
Genus <i>Tetraodon</i> —		
<i>T. lunaris</i>	Seas and estuaries..	....
Genus <i>Crayracion</i> —		
<i>C. fluviatilis</i>	Seas and estuaries and salt marshes.	....
<i>C. testudinens</i> .. .. .	....	Paatcha.
<i>C. Cochiniensis</i>	Cochin .. .. .	....
Genus <i>Leiodon</i> —		
<i>L. viridipunctatus</i>	Cochin .. .. .	....
Fam. BALISTIDÆ.		
Genus <i>Alutarius</i> —		
<i>A. laevis</i>	Seas	Mullah-poor th.
Order PHYSOSTOMI.		
Sub-order Siluridæ.		
Fam. SILUROIDEI.		
Sub-fam. BAGRIFORMES.		
Genus <i>Netuma</i> —		
<i>N. Netuma</i>	Seas and estuaries..	....
Genus <i>Arius</i> —		
<i>A. subrostratus</i>	Malabar .. .. .	....
<i>A. rostratus</i>	Aleppy .. .. .	....
<i>A. coelatus</i>	Seas .. .. .	....
<i>A. gogora</i>	Seas and estuaries..	....
Genus <i>Osteogoniistius</i> —		
<i>O. militaris</i>	Seas and estuaries..	....
Genus <i>Batrachiocephalus</i> —		
<i>B. mino</i>	Seas .. .. .	....

List of the Fishes of the Malabar District—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Sub-class TELEOSTEI—cont.		
Order PHYSOSTOMI—cont.		
Sub-order Siluridae—cont.		
Fam. SILUROIDEI—cont.		
Sub-fam. BAGRIFORMES—cont.		
Sub-group Bagri.		
Genus Hata—		
H. Malabarica	Mountain streams..	....
Genus Pseudobagrus—		
P. chryseus	Fresh-water ..	....
Genus Hemibagrus—		
H. oculatus	Rivers and fresh-water.	....
Genus Hypselobagrus—		
H. armatus	Malabar .. .. .	....
H. cavasius	Fresh-water ..	....
H. montanus	Manantoddy river..	....
H. Malabaricus	Mountain streams	....
H. tengara .. .. .	....	....
Group PANGASINI.		
Sub-group Pangasii.		
Genus Psoudeutropius—		
P. Sykesii .. .. .	....	....
Sub-fam. SILURIFORMES.		
Group SILURINI.		
Genus Wallago—		
W. attu	Fresh-water ..	Wahlah.
W. Malabaricus	Rivers .. .. .	....
Fam. CHACOIDEI.		
Sub-fam. PLOTOSIFORMES.		
Genus Plotosus—		
P. Arab	Seas and estuaries ..	....
P. limbatus	Seas .. .. .	....
Fam. HETEROBRANCHOIDEI.		
Sub-fam. HETEROBRANCHIFORMES.		
Genus Clarias—		
C. magur	Fresh-water ..	....
C. Dussumieri	Fresh-water ..	....
Sub-fam. SACCOBRANCHIFORMES.		
Genus Saccobranchus—		
S. singio	Fresh-water ..	Kelbroo-moon.
Fam. SCOPELIDÆ.		
Sub-fam. SAURINA.		
Genus Saurus—		
S. tumbil	Red Sea, seas of India, Malaysia, Western Pacific.	....

List of the Fishes of the Malabar District—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Sub-class TELEOSTEI— <i>cont.</i>		
Order PHYSOSTOMI— <i>cont.</i>		
Sub-order Siluridæ— <i>cont.</i>		
Fam. SCOPELIDÆ— <i>cont.</i>		
Sub-fam. SAURINA— <i>cont.</i>		
Genus Harpodon—		
H. nehereus	Seas and estuaries of India, Burmah, Malaysia, China.	....
Sub-order Cyprinidæ.		
Fam. COBITIOIDES.		
Genus Nemacheilus—	Travancore hills ..	....
N. rubripinnis	Malabar .. .. .	....
Genus Platycanthus—		
P. agrensis .. .. .	....	....
Genus Rohita—		
R. Dussumieri	Rivers of Malabar	....
Sub-fam. BARBINI.		
Group SYSTEMI.		
Genus Puntius—		
P. chrysopoma	Bombay, fresh-water, Malabar.	Minduttee.
P. pinnauratus	Fresh-water, Malabar.	....
P. melanampyx	Hill ranges, Travancore.	....
P. parrah	Fresh-water, Malabar.	Parrah-perlee.
P. perlee	Malabar .. .. .	....
P. Denisonii	Hills, Travancore ..	....
P. Hamiltonii	Fresh-water and Coromandel Coast.	Oolee-perlee.
Group CATLÆ.		
Genus Amblypharyngodon—		
A. Jerdoni	Malabar	Uremboo, Mal.
Genus Barilius—		
B. Bakeri	Hill ranges, Malabar.	....
Group DANIONES.		
Genus Paradanio—		
P. aurolineatus	Malabar .. .. .	....
Genus Rasbora—		
R. Malabarica	Malabar	Koka-metche.
Fam. CYPRINODONTOIDES.		
Sub-fam. APLOCHEILIFORMES.		
Genus Pauchax—		
P. lineatum	Rivers, tanks, etc.	....
Sub-order Physostomi Abdominales.		
Fam. CLUPEOIDÆ.		
Genus Chirocentrus—		
C. dorab	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Chanos—		
P. pala	Seas, tanks, estuaries.	....
Genus Dussimieria—		
D. acuta	Seas	Koorie, Mal.

List of the Fishes of the Malabar District—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Sub-class TELEOSTEI—cont.		
Order PHYSOSTOMI—cont.		
Sub-ord. Physostomi Abdominales—cont.		
Fam. CLUPEOIDÆ—cont.		
Genus Elops—		
E. machnata	Fresh-water and es-	Cunmay, Mal.
E. apalike	tuaries.	
Genus Sardinella—		
S. Neohowii	Seas	Charlay, Mal. Oil sar-
Genus Pellona—		dine.
P. Dussumieri	Malabar .. .. .	....
Genus Pristigaster—		
P. tartore	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Spratella—		
S. fimbriata	Malabar	Cuttay, Charlay, or
Genus Meletta—		"Sardine."
M. lilo	Seas	Cooba.
Genus Alausa—		
A. palasah	Seas and rivers ..	Sable fish.
A. melanura	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Engraulis—		
E. taty	Seas .. .. .	....
E. Brownii	Seas .. .. .	....
E. auratus	Seas .. .. .	....
E. Hamiltonii	Seas .. .. .	....
E. Malabaricus	Seas	Monungoo.
Genus Triacanthus—		
T. biaculeatus	Seas .. .. .	....
Order LOPHOBRANCHII.		
Fam. SYNGNATHIDÆ.		
GROUP HIPPOCAMPINÆ.		
Genus Hippocampus—		
H. comes	Seas	Horse-fish, Coorda-
Sub-fam. SYNGNATHIDÆ.		
Group SYNGNATHINA.		
Genus Ichthyocampus—		
I. Ponticerianus	Seas and estuaries..	....
Genus Syngnathus—		
S. argyrostictus .. .. .	....	....
GROUP NEROPHINÆ.		
Genus Microphis—		
M. Bleekeri	Seas and estuaries..	....
M. cuneolus .. .. .	....	....
Sub-class SELACHII.		
Order PLAGIOSTOMI.		
Sub-order Squali.		
Fam. SCYLLIÆ.		
Genus Chiloscyllium—		
C. plagiosum	Seas .. .. .	....

List of the Fishes of the Malabar District—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Trivial name.
Sub-class SELACHII— <i>cont.</i>		
Order PLAGIOSTOMI — <i>cont.</i>		
Sub-order Squali — <i>cont.</i>		
Fam. CARCHARIE .		
Genus Scoliodon —		
S. acutus	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Prionodon —		
P. melanopterus	Seas .. .. .	....
P. lunia .. .. .	....	....
Fam. CESTRACIONTES .		
Genus Cestracion —		
C. zygaena	Seas .. .. .	....
C. Leeuwenii .. .. .	....	....
Sub-order Rajae .		
Fam. SQUATINORAJIDAE .		
Group PRISTISIDAE .		
Genus Pristis —		
P. semisagittatus	Seas .. .. .	....
Group RHAMPHOBATIDES .		
Genus Rhyncobatus —		
R. Djeddensis	Seas .. .. .	....
Group RHINORATIDES .		
Genus Rhinobatus —		
R. obtusus .. .. .	....	....
R. granulatus	Seas .. .. .	....
Fam. RAJAE .		
Group TORPEDINES .		
Sub-group (<i>with two dorsal fins</i>).		
Genus Narcine —		
N. Indica	Seas .. .. .	....
Sub-group (<i>with one dorsal fin</i>).		
Genus Astrape —		
A. dipterygia	Seas .. .. .	....
Group TRYGONES .		
Genus Trygon —		
T. uarnak	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Pteroplatea —		
P. micrura	Seas .. .. .	....
Genus Hypolophus —		
H. sephen .. .. .	....	....
Group MYLIOBATIDES .		
Genus Ætobatis —		
A. narinari	Seas	Pherrundee.

APPENDIX IV.

List of abbreviations of Authors' names.

Scopoli	Scop.	Stephens, J. F. .. .	Steph.
Latham	Lath.	Tunstall	Tunst.
Tunstall	Tunst.	Shaw, G.	Shaw
Sundevall, C. J. .. .	Sund.	Muller	Mull.
Gray, J. E.	J. E. Gr.	Vigors	Vig.
Gray, G. R.	G. R. Gr.	Malherbe, Alf. .. .	Malh.
Horsfield	Horsf.	Barton, E.	Burt.
Daudin, W. M. .. .	Daud.	Drapiez	Drap.
Linnaeus	Lin.	Gould	Gould.
Temminck	Tem.	Vahl. Mart.	Vahl.
Reinwardt	Rein.	Illiger	Ill.
Vieillot, L. P. .. .	Vieill.	Gmelin	Gm.
Hodgson	Hodgs.	Reichenbach, G. L. .. .	Reich.
Jerdon	Jerd.	Valenciennes, A. .. .	Val.
Pennant, T.	Penn.	Forster, J. Reinhold .. .	Forest.
Boddart, M.	Bodd.	Hermann, J.	Herm.
Sykes	Sykes	Hay, Lord A.*	Hay.
Desfontaines, R. L. .. .	Desf.	Cuvier	Cuv.
Tickell	Tick.	Swainson	Sws.
Lesson Roze, P. .. .	Less.	Bechstein, J. M. .. .	Bechst.
Pallas, P. S.	Pall.	Dumeril, A. M. C. .. .	Dum.
Franklin	Frankl.	Strickland	Strickl.
Blyth	Bly.	Hemprich and Ebronberg.	Hemp. and Ebr.
Raffles	Raff.	Brooks	Brooks.
Sparrmann, A. .. .	Sparrm.	Savi, P.	Savi.
Hume, A. O.	Hume	Wagler, Dr. Joannes .. .	Wagl.
Layard	Lay.	Bonnaterre L'Abbe .. .	Bonn.
Jardine and Selby .. .	Jard. and Selb.	Kuhl Heinrich	Kuhl.
Pearson, Dr. J. T. .. .	Pears.	(?)	Frenzl.
Viscount Walden .. .	Wald.	Leisler, J. P. A. .. .	Leisl.
Leach, William Elford	Leach.	Naumann, J. A.	Naum.
Paykull, Gust. .. .	Payk.	Swinhoe, Robt.	Swinh.
Buchanan Hamilton Fr.	B. Ham.	Radde, Prof. Gustav .. .	Radde.
Ham.		Leggo, Capt. W. V. .. .	Leggo.
Van Hasselt	Hass.	Ljung Iven, I.	Ljung.
Bosc, L. A. C.	Bosc.	Kelaart, Dr.	Kel.
Montague, Geo.	Mont.	Lafresnaye, Baron Frederic.	Latr.
Lichtenstein, Heinrich .. .	Licht.		

* Afterwards Lord Walden, then Marquis of Tweeddale

List of the Birds of Malabar.

Jerdon's No.	Scientific name.	Trivial name.	Author's name.
2	Otogyps calvus	The black vulture	Scop.
4	Gyps indicus	Long-billed brown vulture .. .	Scop.
5	Pseudogyps bengalensis .. .	The white-backed vulture .. .	Gm.
6	Neophron ginginianus .. .	The Indian scavenger vulture .. .	Lath.
8	Falco peregrinus	The peregrine	Gm.
9	Do. peregrinator	The shalcen	Sund.
11	Do. jugger	The lugger	J. E. Gr.
14	Do. severus	The Indian hobby	Horsf.
17	Cerchneis tinnunculus .. .	The kestrel	Lin.
18 bis.	Do. pekinensis	The eastern lesser kestrel .. .	Swinh.
19 bis.	Do. amurensis	Eastern red-legged hobby .. .	Radde.
21	Astur palumbarius	The goshawk	Lin.

List of the Birds of Malabar--cont.

Jerdon's No.	Scientific name.	Trivial name.	Author's name.
22	<i>Astur trivirgatus</i>	The southern crested goshawk ..	Tem.
23	Do. <i>badius</i>	The shikra	Gm.
24	<i>Accipiter nisus</i>	The sparrow hawk	Lin.
25	Do. <i>virgatus</i>	The besra	Rein.
27	<i>Aquila mogilnik</i>	The imperial eagle	Gm.
28	Do. <i>changa</i>	The spotted eagle	Pall.
30	Do. <i>basilar</i>	The long-legged eagle	Less.
31	<i>Hieraetus pennatus</i>	The booted eagle	Gm.
32	<i>Neopus malayensis</i>	The black eagle	Rein.
33	<i>Nisaetus fasciatus</i>	Bonelli's eagle	Vicill.
35 bis.	<i>Limnaetus ceylonensis</i>	The Ceylon crested hawk eagle ..	Gm.
37	<i>Lophotriorchus kieneri</i> ?	The rufous-bellied hawk eagle ..	Gerv.
38	<i>Circæus gallicus</i>	The common serpent eagle	Gm.
39	<i>Spilornis cheela</i>	The Indian harrier eagle	Lath.
39 bis.	Do. <i>melanotis</i>	The Southern Indian harrier eagle ..	Jerd.
40	<i>Pandion haliaëtus</i>	The osprey	Lin.
41	<i>Polioëtus ichthyaëtus</i>	The white-tailed sea eagle	Horsf.
43	<i>Haliaëtus leucogaster</i>	The white-bellied sea eagle	Gm.
44 bis.	<i>Buteo desertorum</i>	The African buzzard	Daud.
48 bis.	<i>Buteo indicus</i>	The eastern buzzard	Gm.
51	<i>Circus macurus</i>	The pale harrier	Gm.
53	Do. <i>melanoleucus</i>	The pied harrier	Forst.
54	Do. <i>aruginosus</i>	The marsh harrier	Lin.
55	<i>Haliastur indus</i>	The brahmīnī kite	Bodd.
56	<i>Milvus govinda</i>	The pariah kite	Sykes.
57	<i>Pernis ptilorhynchus</i>	The crested honey buzzard	Tem.
58	<i>Baza lophotes</i>	The crested black kite	Cuv.
58 ter.	Do. <i>ceylonensis</i>	The Ceylon baza	Legge.
59	<i>Elanus caeruleus</i>	The black-winged kite	Desf.
60	<i>Strix javanica</i>	The eastern screech owl	Gm.
61	Do. <i>candida</i>	The grass owl	Tick.
63	<i>Syrnium indrance</i>	The brown owl	Sykes.
65	Do. <i>ocellatum</i>	The mottled wood owl	Less.
68	<i>Asio accipitrinus</i>	The short-eared owl	Pall.
69	<i>Bubo bengalensis</i>	The rock-horned owl	Frankl.
70	Do. <i>coromandus</i>	The dusky horned owl	Lath.
71	Do. <i>nipalensis</i>	The forest eagle owl	Hodgs.
72	<i>Ketupa ceylonensis</i>	The brown fish owl	Gm.
74	<i>Scops pennatus</i>	The Indian scops owl	Hodgs.
75 quat.	Do. <i>malabaricus</i>	The Malabar scops owl	Jerd.
76	<i>Carine brama</i>	The spotted owl	Tem.
77	<i>Glaucidium radiatum</i>	The jungle owl	Tick.
78	Do. <i>malabaricum</i>	The Malabar owl	Bly.
81 bis.	<i>Ninox scutellata</i>	The southern hawk owl	Raff.
82	<i>Hirundo rustica</i>	The swallow	Lin.
83	Do. <i>javanica</i>	The brown-bellied swallow	Sparrm.
85	Do. <i>erythropygia</i>	The mosque swallow	Sykes.
90	<i>Ptyonoprogne concolor</i>	The dusky martin	Sykes.
91	Do. <i>rupestris</i>	The mountain martin	Scop.
92	<i>Chelidon urbica</i>	The house martin	Lin.
95	<i>Chatura sylvatica</i>	The forest spine-tail	Tick.
96	Do. <i>indica</i>	The large spine-tail	Hume.
98	<i>Cypselus melba</i>	The Alpine swift	Lin.
100	Do. <i>affinis</i>	The eastern swift	J. E. Gr.
102	Do. <i>batassiensis</i>	The palm swift	J. E. Gr.
103	<i>Collocalia unicolor</i>	The Indian edible-nest swiftlet ..	Jerd.
104	<i>Dendrochelidon coronata</i>	The Indian crested swift	Tick.
105	<i>Batrachostomus moniliger</i>	The Singalese frog-mouth	Lay.
108	<i>Caprimulgus kelaarti</i>	The Nilgiri night-jar	Bly.

List of the Birds of Malabar—cont.

Jerdon's No.	Scientific name.	Trivial name.	Author's name.
111	<i>Caprimulgus atripennis</i> ..	The ghat night-jar ..	Jerd.
112	Do. <i>asiaticus</i> ..	The common Indian night-jar ..	Lath.
113	<i>Caprimulgus malhrattensis</i> ..	Sykes' night-jar ..	Sykes.
114	Do. <i>monticolus</i> ..	Franklin's night-jar ..	Fankl.
114 ter.	<i>Lyncornis Bourdilloni</i> ..	Bourdillon's eared night-jar ..	Hume.
115	<i>Harpaetes fasciatus</i> ..	The Malabar trogon ..	Forst.
117	<i>Merops viridis</i> ..	The Indian bee-eater ..	Lin.
118	Do. <i>philippinus</i> ..	The blue-tailed bee-eater ..	Lin.
119	Do. <i>leschenaulti</i> ..	The Indian chestnut-headed bee-eater.	Vieill.
122	<i>Nyctionis athertoni</i> ..	The blue-bearded bee-eater ..	Jerd. and Sell.
123	<i>Coracias indica</i> ..	The Indian roller ..	Lin.
126	<i>Eurystomus orientalis</i> ..	The broad-billed roller ..	Lin.
127	<i>Pelargopsis gural</i> ..	The Indian Stork-billed king-fisher.	Pears.
129	<i>Halcyon smyrnensis</i> ..	The white-breasted king-fisher ..	Lin.
130	Do. <i>pileata</i> ..	The black-capped purple king-fisher	Bodd.
132	Do. <i>chloris</i> ..	The white-collared king-fisher ..	Bodd.
133	<i>Ceyx tridaactylus</i> ..	The three-toed purple king-fisher.	Pall.
134	<i>Alcedo begualensis</i> ..	The Indian king-fisher ..	Gm.
135 ter.	Do. <i>asiatica</i> ..	The malayan king-fisher ..	Sws.
136	<i>Ceryle rudis</i> ..	The pied king-fisher ..	Lin.
140	<i>Dichoceros cavatus</i> ..	The great pied horn-bill ..	Shaw.
141	<i>Hydrocissa coronata</i> ..	The Malabar pied-horn-bill ..	Bodd.
144	<i>Ocyeros birostris</i> ..	The common grey horn-bill ..	Scop.
145	<i>Tockus griseus</i> ..	The jungle grey horn-bill ..	Lath.
147	<i>Palacornis eupatria</i> ..	The southern Alexandrine parroquet.	Lin.
148	Do. <i>torquatus</i> ..	The rose-ringed parroquet ..	Bodd.
149	Do. <i>purpureus</i> ..	The western rose-headed parroquet.	Mull.
151	Do. <i>columboides</i> ..	The blue-winged parroquet ..	Vig.
153	<i>Loriculus vernalis</i> ..	The Indian lorikeet ..	Sparrm.
160	<i>Picus malhrattensis</i> ..	The yellow-fronted woodpecker ..	Lath.
164 bis.	<i>Yungipicus gymnophthalmus</i> .	The southern pigmy woodpecker.	Bly.
165	<i>Hemicircus cordatus</i> ..	The heart-spotted woodpecker ..	Jerd.
166 bis.	<i>Chrysocolaptes strictus</i> ..	The southern large gold-backed woodpecker.	Malh.
169	<i>Thriponax hodgsoni</i> ..	The Indian black woodpecker ..	Jerd.
171	<i>Geocinus striolatus</i> ..	The small green woodpecker ..	Bly.
175	<i>Chrysophlegma chlorigaster</i> .	The southern yellow-naped woodpecker.	Jerd.
179	<i>Micropternus gularis</i> ..	The Madras rufous woodpecker ..	Jerd.
180	<i>Brachypternus aurantius</i> ..	The golden-backed woodpecker ..	Lin.
181	Do. <i>puncticollis</i> .	The southern golden-backed woodpecker.	Malh.
183	<i>Tiga shorei</i> ..	The large three-toed woodpecker.	Jerd.
184	Do. <i>javanensis</i> ..	The common three-toed woodpecker.	Ljung.
186	<i>Viva innominata</i> ..	The speckled piculet ..	Burt.
194	<i>Megalaima viridis</i> ..	The small green barbet ..	Bodd.
197	<i>Xantholaema haemacephala</i> .	The crimson-breasted barbet ..	Müll.
198	Do. <i>malabarica</i> ..	The crimson-throated barbet ..	Bly.
199	<i>Cuculus canorus</i> ..	The European cuckoo ..	Lin.
200	Do. <i>striatus</i> ..	The eastern cuckoo ..	Drap.
202	Do. <i>sonneratti</i> ..	The banded bay cuckoo ..	Lath.
203	Do. <i>micropterus</i> ..	The large-billed cuckoo ..	Gould.
205	<i>Hierococyx varius</i> ..	The hawk cuckoo ..	Vahl.
207	Do. <i>spurverioides</i> ..	The great hawk cuckoo ..	Vig.

List of the Birds of Malabar—cont.

Jerdon's No.	Scientific name.	Trivial name.	Author's name.
208	<i>Cacomantis passerinus</i> ..	The Indian plaintive cuckoo ..	Vahl.
210	<i>Surniculus lugubris</i> ..	The drongo cuckoo ..	Horsf.
212	<i>Coccytes jacobinus</i> ..	The pied-crested cuckoo ..	Bodd.
213	Do. <i>corcomandus</i> ..	The red-winged-crested cuckoo ..	Lin.
214	<i>Eudynamis honorata</i> ..	The koel ..	Lin.
216	<i>Rhopodytes viridirostris</i> ..	The small green-billed malkoha ..	Jerd.
217	<i>Centrococyx rufipennis</i> ..	The coucal or crow-pheasant ..	Ill.
218	Do. <i>bengalensis</i> ..	The lesser coucal ..	Gm.
219	<i>Taococcyx leschenaultii</i> ..	The southern sirkeer ..	Less.
224	<i>Arachnothera longirostra</i> ..	The little spider-hunter ..	Lath.
232	<i>Cinnyris zeylonica</i> ..	The amethyst-rumped honey-sucker.	Lin.
233	Do. <i>minima</i> ..	The tiny honey-sucker ..	Sykes.
234	Do. <i>asiatica</i> ..	The purple honey-sucker ..	Lath.
235	Do. <i>lotenia</i> ..	The large purple honey-sucker ..	Lin.
238	<i>Dicaeum erythrorhynchus</i> ..	Tickell's flower-pecker ..	Lath.
239	Do. <i>concolor</i> ..	The Nilgiri flower-pecker ..	Jerd.
250	<i>Sitta castaneiventris</i> ..	The chestnut-bellied nuthatch ..	Frankl.
253	<i>Dendrophila frontalis</i> ..	The velvet-fronted nuthatch ..	Horsf.
254	<i>Upupa epops</i> ..	The hoopoe ..	Lin.
255	Do. <i>ceylonensis</i> ..	The Indian hoopoe ..	R. & H.
257 bis.	<i>Lanius caniceps</i> ..	The southern rufous-backed shrike.	Bly.
260	Do. <i>vittatus</i> ..	The bay-backed shrike ..	Val.
261	Do. <i>cristatus</i> ..	The brown shrike ..	Lin.
264	<i>Tephrodornis sylvicola</i> ..	The Malabar wood-shrike ..	Jerd.
265	Do. <i>pondicerianus</i> ..	The common wood-shrike ..	Gm.
267	<i>Hemipus picatus</i> ..	The pied fly shrike ..	Sykes
268	<i>Volucivora sykesi</i> ..	The black-headed cuckoo-shrike ..	Strickl.
270 bis.	<i>Grancalvus layardi</i> ..	The southern cuckoo-shrike ..	Bly.
272	<i>Pericrocotus flammeus</i> ..	The orange minivet ..	Forst.
276	Do. <i>peregrinus</i> ..	The small minivet ..	Lin.
277	Do. <i>erythropygius</i> ..	The white-bellied minivet ..	Jerd.
278	<i>Buchanga atra</i> ..	The kingcrow ..	Horn.
280	Do. <i>longicaudata</i> ..	The long-tailed kingcrow ..	Hay.
281	Do. <i>caeruleescens</i> ..	The white-bellied kingcrow ..	Lin.
282	<i>Chaplin aenea</i> ..	The bronzed drongo ..	Vieill.
285	<i>Dissemurus paradiseus</i> ..	The lesser racket-tailed drongo ..	Lin.
286	<i>Chibia hortentotta</i> ..	The hair-crested drongo ..	Lin.
287	<i>Artamus fuscus</i> ..	The ashy swallow-shrike ..	Vieill.
288	<i>Muscipeta paradisi</i> ..	The paradise fly-catcher ..	Lin.
290	<i>Hypothymus azurea</i> ..	The black-naped blue fly-catcher.	Bodd.
292	<i>Leucocerca aureola</i> ..	The white-browed fantail ..	Vieill.
293	Do. <i>leucogaster</i> ..	The white-spotted fantail ..	Cuv.
295	<i>Culicicapa ceylonensis</i> ..	The grey-headed fly-catcher ..	Sws.
297	<i>Alcedo latirostris</i> ..	The southern brown fly-catcher.	Raff.
300	<i>Ochromela nigrorufa</i> ..	The black and orange fly-catcher.	Jerd.
301	<i>Stoporala melanops</i> ..	The verditer fly-catcher ..	Vig.
302	Do. <i>albicaudata</i> ..	The Nilgiri verditer fly-catcher ..	Jerd.
304	<i>Cyanis rubiculoides</i> ..	The blue-throated red-breast ..	Vig.
306	Do. <i>tickelli</i> ..	Tickell's blue red-breast ..	Bly.
307	Do. <i>ruficaudus</i> ..	The rufous-tailed fly-catcher ..	Sws.
309	Do. <i>pallipes</i> ..	The white-bellied blue fly-catcher.	Swinh.
323	<i>Erythrosteria albicilla</i> ..	The white-tailed robin fly-catcher.	Pall.
339	<i>Callene rufiventris</i> ..	The rufous-bellied shortwing ..	Bly.
342	<i>Myiophonus horsfieldii</i> ..	The Malabar whistling thrush ..	Vig.
345	<i>Pitta brachyura</i> ..	The Indian ground thrush ..	Lin.
351	<i>Cyanocinclus cyaneus</i> ..	The blue rock thrush ..	Lin.
353	<i>Petrophila cinclorhyncha</i> ..	The blue-headed chat thrush ..	Vig.
354	<i>Geocichla cyanotis</i> ..	The white-throated ground thrush.	Jerd. and selb.

List of the Birds of Malabar—cont.

Jerdon's No.	Scientific name.	Trivial name.	Author's name.
357	<i>Turdulus wardii</i>	Ward's pied blackbird	Jerd.
359	<i>Merula nigropilea</i>	The black-capped blackbird	Lafr.
360	Do. <i>simillima</i>	The Nilgiri blackbird	Jerd.
360 bis.	Do. <i>kinnisi</i>	The Ceylon blackbird	Kel.
372	<i>Oreocincla nilgirensis</i>	The Nilgiri thrush	Bly.
385	<i>Pyctorhis sinensis</i>	The yellow-eyed babbler	Gm.
389	<i>Aleippe poiocephala</i>	The Nilgiri quaker thrush	Jerd.
390	Do. <i>atriceps</i>	The black-headed wren warbler	Jerd.
398	<i>Dumetia albogularis</i>	The white-throated wren babbler	Bly.
399	<i>Pellorneum ruficeps</i>	Swainson's wren warbler	Sws.
404	<i>Pomatorhinus horsfieldi</i>	The southern scimitar babbler	Sykes.
409	<i>Garrulax delesserti</i>	Delessert's babbler	Jerd.
423	<i>Trochaloxyron cachinnans</i>	The Nilgiri laughing thrush	Jerd.
424	Do. <i>jerdoni</i>	The Banasora laughing thrush	Bly.
433	<i>Malaccocircus griseus</i>	The white-headed babbler	Lath.
434	Do. <i>malabaricus</i>	The jungle babbler	Jerd.
435	Do. <i>semervillii</i>	The rufous-tailed babbler	Sykes.
436	<i>Argya malcolmi</i>	The large grey-fronted babbler	Sykes.
437	<i>Layardia subrufa</i>	The rufous babbler	Jerd.
438	<i>Chatarrhoa caudata</i>	The striated bush babbler	Dum.
442	<i>Schaenicola platyrus</i>	The broad-tailed reed bird	Jerd.
445	<i>Hypsipetes nigriensis</i>	The southern black bulbul	Jerd.
446	Do. <i>ganesa</i>	The southern black bulbul	Sykes.
450	<i>Crimiger ictericus</i>	The yellow-browed bulbul	Strickl.
455	<i>Rubigula gularis</i>	The ruby-throated bulbul	Gould.
456	Do. <i>flaviventris</i> .. ..	..... ..	Tick.
457	<i>Brachypodius poiocephalus</i>	The grey-headed bulbul	Jerd.
460 bis.	<i>Otocompsa fuscicaudata</i>	The southern red-whiskered bulbul	Gould.
462	<i>Molpastes haemorrhous</i>	The Madras bulbul	Bly.
463	<i>Phyllornis jerdoni</i>	The green bulbul	Gm.
464	Do. <i>malabaricus</i>	The Malabar green bulbul	Gm.
467	<i>Aegithina tiphia</i>	The common dwarf bulbul	Lin.
469	<i>Irena puella</i>	The fairy bluebird	Sykes.
470	<i>Oriolus kundoo</i>	The Indian oriole	Jerd.
471	Do. <i>indicus</i>	The black-naped Indian oriole	Jerd.
472	Do. <i>melanocephalus</i>	The black-headed oriole	Lin.
475	<i>Coppychus saularis</i>	The magpie robin	Lin.
479	<i>Thamnobia fulicata</i>	The southern black robin	Lin.
481	<i>Pratincola caprata</i>	The pied-chat	Lin.
482	Do. <i>bicolor</i>	The hill pied-chat	Sykes.
497	<i>Ruticilla rufiventris</i>	The Indian red start	Vieill.
507	<i>Larivora superviliaris</i>	The blue wood-chat	Jerd.
514	<i>Erithacus caeruleculus</i>	The blue wood-chat	Pall.
515 bis.	<i>Acrocephalus orientalis</i>	The arctic blue-throated robin	Tem. and Schl.
516	Do. <i>dumetorum</i>	The eastern large reed-warbler	Bly.
517	Do. <i>agricolus</i>	The lesser reed-warbler	Jerd.
530	<i>Orthotomus sutorius</i>	The paddy-field warbler	Forst.
534	<i>Pirnia socialis</i>	The Indian tailor-bird	Sykes.
536	Do. <i>gracilis</i>	The ashy wren-warbler	Frankl.
539	<i>Cisticola cisticola</i>	Franklin's wren-warbler	Temm.
540	Do. <i>exilis</i>	The fantail-warbler	Vig. and Horsf.
543	<i>Prinia inornata</i>	The red-headed fantail-warbler	Sykes.
553	<i>Hypolais rama</i>	The earth-brown warbler	Sykes.
556	<i>Phylloscopus magnirostris</i>	Sykes' warbler	Bly.
559	Do. <i>nitidus</i>	The large-billed tree-warbler	Bly.
560	Do. <i>viridanus</i>	The bright green tree-warbler	Bly.
560 bis.	Do. <i>tytleri</i>	The greenish tree-warbler	Brooks.
561	Do. <i>affinis</i>	Brook's tree-warbler	Tick.
565	<i>Reguloides superciliosus</i>	Tickell's tree-warbler	Gm.
		The crowned tree-warbler	

List of the Birds of Malabar—cont.

Jerdon's No.	Scientific name.	Trivial name.	Author's name.
589	<i>Motacilla maderaspatensis</i> ..	The river or large pied wagtail ..	Gm.
591	Do. <i>alba</i> ..	The grey-backed wagtail ..	Lin.
592	<i>Calobates melanopo</i> ..	The grey and yellow wagtail ..	Pall.
593 ter.	<i>Budytes flavus</i> ..	The blue-headed wagtail ..	Lin.
594 bis.	Do. <i>citreolus</i> ..	The grey-backed yellow wagtail.	Pall.
595	<i>Limoniidromus indicus</i> ..	The forest wagtail ..	Gm.
596	<i>Anthus maculatus</i> ..	The Indian tree pipit ..	Hodgs.
598	Do. <i>montanus</i> ..	The Nilgiri tree pipit ..	Jerd.
600	<i>Corydalla rufula</i> ..	The Indian tit-lark ..	Vieill.
603	<i>Agrodroma similis</i> ..	The rufous rock pipit ..	Jerd.
631	<i>Zosterops palpebrosa</i> ..	The white-eyed tit ..	Tem.
645	<i>Parus atriceps</i> ..	The Indian grey tit ..	Horsf.
648	<i>Maclophus aphonotus</i> ..	The southern yellow tit ..	Bly.
660	<i>Corvus macrorhynchus</i> ..	The Indian corby ..	Wagl.
663	Do. <i>splendens</i> ..	The Indian grey-necked crow ..	Vieill.
674	<i>Dendrocitta rufa</i> ..	The Indian magpie ..	Scop.
678	Do. <i>leucogastra</i> ..	The long-tailed magpie ..	Gould.
684	<i>Acridotheres tristis</i> ..	The myna ..	Lin.
686	Do. <i>fuscus</i> ..	The Jungle myna ..	Wagl.
687	<i>Sturnia pagodarum</i> ..	The black-headed myna ..	Gm.
688	Do. <i>malabarica</i> ..	The grey-headed myna ..	Gm.
689	Do. <i>blythi</i> ..	The white-breasted tree myna ..	Jerd.
690	<i>Pastor roseus</i> ..	The rosy pastor ..	Lin.
692	<i>Eulabes religiosa</i> ..	The southern hill myna ..	Lin.
694	<i>Ploceus philippinus</i> ..	The Indian weaver bird ..	Lin.
697	<i>Amadina malacca</i> ..	The black-headed munia ..	Lin.
698	Do. <i>rubronigra</i> ..	The chestnut-bellied munia ..	Hodgs.
699	Do. <i>punctulata</i> ..	The spotted munia ..	Lin.
700	Do. <i>pectoralis</i> ..	The rufous bellied munia ..	Jerd.
701	Do. <i>striata</i> ..	The white-backed munia ..	Lin.
703	Do. <i>malabarica</i> ..	The plain brown munia ..	Lin.
704	<i>Estrela mandava</i> ..	The red waxbill ..	Lin.
706	<i>Passer domesticus</i> ..	The sparrow ..	Lin.
711	<i>Gymnoris flavicollis</i> ..	The yellow-necked sparrow ..	Frankl.
716	<i>Emberiza buchanani</i> ..	The grey-necked bunting ..	Bly.
722	<i>Euspiza luteola</i> ..	The red-headed corn bunting ..	Sparrrm.
738	<i>Carpodacus erythrinus</i> ..	The common rose-finch ..	Pall.
755	<i>Mirafra affinis</i> ..	The Madras bush-lark ..	Jerd.
760	<i>Pyrhulanda grisea</i> ..	The black-bellied finch lark ..	Scop.
761	<i>Calandrella brachydactyla</i> ..	The short-toed or social lark ..	Leisl.
765	<i>Spizalanda deva</i> ..	The small crown-crest ..	Sykes.
765 bis.	Do. <i>malabarica</i> ..	The large crown-crest ..	Scop.
767	<i>Alauda gulgula</i> ..	The Indian sky-lark ..	Frankl.
773	<i>Crocopus chlorigaster</i> ..	The southern green pigeon ..	Bly.
774	<i>Osmotreron bicincta</i> ..	The orange-breasted green pigeon.	Jerd.
775	Do. <i>malabarica</i> ..	The grey-fronted green pigeon ..	Jerd.
780	<i>Carpophaga tenca</i> ..	The imperial green pigeon ..	Lin.
781 bis.	Do. <i>cuprea</i> ..	The southern bronzed imperial pigeon.	Jerd.
786	<i>Palumbus elphinstoni</i> ..	The Nilgiri wood pigeon ..	Sykes.
788	<i>Columbia intermedia</i> ..	The Indian blue rock pigeon ..	Strickl.
792	<i>Turtur pulcherratus</i> ..	The Indian turtle-dove ..	Hodgs.
793	Do. <i>meena</i> ..	The rufous turtle-dove ..	Sykes.
794	Do. <i>senegalensis</i> ..	The little brown dove ..	Lin.
795	Do. <i>suratensis</i> ..	The spotted dove ..	Gm.
796	Do. <i>risorius</i> ..	The eastern ring-dove ..	Lin.
797	Do. <i>tranquebaricus</i> ..	The ruddy ring-dove ..	Herm.
798	<i>Chalcophaps indica</i> ..	The emerald ground-dove ..	Lin.
803	<i>Pavo cristatus</i> ..	The pea-fowl ..	Lin.

List of the Birds of Malabar—cont.

Jerdon's No.	Scientific name.	Trivial name.	Author's name.
813	<i>Gallus sonneratii</i>	The grey jungle-fowl	Tem.
814	<i>Gallopodix spadiceus</i>	The red spur-fowl	Gm.
815	Do. <i>humularius</i>	The painted spur-fowl	Val.
822	<i>Ortygornis pondicerianus</i>	The grey partridge	Gm.
826	<i>Perdicula asiatica</i>	The jungle bush-quail	Lath.
828	<i>Microperdix erythrorhynchus</i>	The painted bush quail	Sykes.
829	<i>Coturnix communis</i>	The quail	Bonn.
830	Do. <i>coromandelica</i>	The rain-quail	Gm.
831	<i>Excalfactoria chinensis</i>	The blue-breasted quail	Lin.
832	<i>Turnix taigour</i>	The black-breasted bustard quail	Sykes.
834	Do. <i>jondera</i>	The larger button quail	Hodgs.
835	Do. <i>dassumieri</i>	The pigmy button quail	Tem.
839	<i>Sypheotides aurita</i>	The lesser florican	Lath.
842	<i>Glareola orientalis</i>	The large eastern swallow-plover	Leach.
		or the eastern pratincole.	
843	Do. <i>lactea</i>	The smaller swallow-plover	Tem.
844	<i>Squatarola helvetica</i>	The grey plover	Lin.
845	<i>Charadrius fulvus</i>	The eastern golden plover	Gm.
846	<i>Aegialitis geoffroyi</i>	The larger sand-plover	Wagl.
847	Do. <i>mongola</i>	The lesser sand-plover	Pall.
848	Do. <i>cristata</i>	The Kentish ring-plover	Lath.
849	Do. <i>dubia</i>	The common ring-plover	Scop.
855	<i>Lobivanellus indicus</i>	The red-wattled lapwing	Bodd.
856	<i>Lobipluvius malabarica</i>	The yellow-wattled lapwing	Bodd.
859	<i>Oedienemus scolopax</i>	The stone-curlew	Gm.
860	<i>Srepsilsus interpres</i>	The turnstone	Lin.
861	<i>Dromas ardeola</i>	The crab-plover	Payk.
862	<i>Hematopus ostralegus</i>	The fyster-catcher	Lin.
865	<i>Grus communis</i>	The common crane	Bechst.
866	<i>Anthropoides virgo</i>	The Numidian or Demoiselle crane	Lin.
867	<i>Scolopax rusticola</i>	The wood cock	Lin.
868	<i>Gallinago nemoricola</i>	The wood snipe	Hodgs.
870	Do. <i>sthenura</i>	The pin-tail snipe	Kubl.
871	Do. <i>corlitis</i>	The fan-tail or common snipe	Gm.
872	Do. <i>gallinula</i>	The jack snipe	Lin.
873	<i>Rhyngæna bengalensis</i>	The painted snipe	Lin.
874	<i>Pseudoscolopax semipalmatus</i>	The snipe-billed godwit	Jerd.
875	<i>Limosa limosa</i>	The small godwit	Lin.
876	<i>Terekia cinerea</i>	The avocet sand-piper	Gould.
877	<i>Numenius lineatus</i>	The eastern curlew	Cuv.
878	Do. <i>phaeopus</i>	The whimbrel	Lin.
880	<i>Machetes pugnax</i>	The ruff	Lin.
882	<i>Tringa subarquata</i>	The curlew stint	Gould.
884	Do. <i>minuta</i>	The little stint	Loisl.
885	Do. <i>temminckii</i>	The white-tailed stint	Loisl.
886	<i>Limicola platyrhynchos</i>	The broad-billed stint	Tem.
891	<i>Rhyacophila glareola</i>	The spotted sand piper	Lin.
892	<i>Totanus ochropus</i>	The green sand-piper	Lin.
893	<i>Tringoides hypoleucus</i>	The common sand-piper	Lin.
894	<i>Totanus glottis</i>	The green shanks	Lin.
895	Do. <i>stagnatilis</i>	The lesser green shanks	Bechst.
896	Do. <i>fuscus</i>	The spotted red shanks	Lin.
897	Do. <i>calidris</i>	The red shanks	Lin.
898	<i>Himantopus candidus</i>	The stilt	Bonn.
899	<i>Recurvirostra avocetta</i>	The avocet	Lin.
900	<i>Parra indica</i>	The bronzo-winged jacana	Lath.
901	<i>Hydrophasianus chirurgus</i>	The pheasant-tailed jacana	Scop.
902	<i>Porphyrio poliocephalus</i>	The purple coot	Lath.
903	<i>Fulica atra</i>	The common or bald coot	Lin.

List of the Birds of Malabar—cont.

Jerdon's No.	Scientific name.	Trivial name.	Author's name.
905	<i>Gallinula chloropus</i>	The water-hen	Lin.
907	<i>Erythra phœniceura</i>	The white-breasted water-hen	Penn.
909	<i>Porzana maruetta</i>	The spotted crane	Leach.
910	Do. <i>bailloni</i>	Baillon's crane	Vieill.
911	Do. <i>fusca</i>	The ruddy crane	Lin.
912	<i>Rallina oryzonoides</i>	The banded rail	Lath.
913	<i>Hypotaenidia striata</i>	The blue-breasted banded rail	Lin.
914	<i>Rallus indicus</i>	The Indian water rail	Bln.
915	<i>Leptoptilus argalus</i>	The adjutant	Lath.
916	Do. <i>javanicus</i>	The black adjutant or hair-crested stork.	Horsf.
917	<i>Xenorhynchus asiaticus</i>	The black-necked stork	Lath.
918	<i>Ciconia nigra</i>	The black stork	Lin.
920	<i>Dissura episcopa</i>	The white-necked stork	Bodd.
923	<i>Ardea cinerea</i>	The heron	Lin.
924	Do. <i>purpurea</i>	The purple heron	Lin.
925	<i>Herodias torra</i>	The large white egret	B. Ham.
926	Do. <i>intermedia</i>	The lesser white egret	Hass.
927	Do. <i>garzetta</i>	The little egret	Lin.
928	<i>Demigretta gularis</i>	The white-throated reef heron	Bosc.
929	<i>Bubulcus coromandus</i>	The cattle egret	Bodd.
930	<i>Ardeola grayi</i>	The pond heron	Sykes.
931	<i>Butorides javanica</i>	The little green bittern	Horsf.
932	<i>Ardetta flavicollis</i>	The black bittern	Lath.
933	Do. <i>cinnamomea</i>	The chestnut bittern	Gm.
934	Do. <i>sinensis</i>	The yellow bittern	Gm.
937	<i>Nycticorax griseus</i>	The night heron	Lin.
938	<i>Tantalus leucocephalus</i>	The pelican ibis	Forst.
940	<i>Anastomus oscitans</i>	The shell ibis	Bodd.
941	<i>Ibis melanocephala</i>	The white ibis	Lath.
942	<i>Inocotis papillosus</i>	The warty-headed ibis	Tem.
943	<i>Falcinellus igneus</i>	The glossy ibis	Gm.
944	<i>Phoenicopterus antiquorum</i>	The flamingo	Tem.
950	<i>Sarcidiornis melanonotus</i>	The comb duck	Penn.
951	<i>Nettion coromandelianus</i>	The cotton teal	Gm.
952	<i>Dendrocygna javanica</i>	The whistling teal	Horsf.
953	Do. <i>fulva</i>	The large whistling teal	Gm.
954	<i>Casarea rutila</i>	The ruddy shell drake	Pall.
957	<i>Spatula clypeata</i>	The shoveller	Lin.
959	<i>Anas pascilorhyncha</i>	The spot bill or grey duck	Forst.
961	<i>Chaulelasmus streperus</i>	The gadwall	Lin.
962	<i>Dafila acuta</i>	The pintail	Lin.
964	<i>Querquedula crecca</i>	The common teal	Lin.
965	Do. <i>circia</i>	The garganey	Lin.
967	<i>Fuligula rufina</i>	The red-crested pochard	Pall.
968	Do. <i>ferina</i>	The pochard or dabchick	Lin.
969	Do. <i>nyroca</i>	The white-eyed pochard	Gould.
971	Do. <i>cristata</i>	The tufted pochard	Lin.
975	<i>Tachybaptus fluviatilis</i>	The little grebe or dabchick	Tunst.
979	<i>Larus ichthyaetus</i>	The great black-headed gull	Pall.
980	Do. <i>brunneicephalus</i>	The brown-headed gull	Jerd.
981	Do. <i>ridibundus</i>	The laughing gull	Lin.
983	<i>Sterna anglica</i>	The gull-billed tern	Mont.
984	<i>Hydrochelidon hybrida</i>	The small marsh tern	Pall.
987	<i>Sterna melanogaster</i>	The black-bellied tern	Tem.
988 ter.	Do. <i>Saundersi</i>	Saunders' little tern	Hume.
989	Do. <i>bergii</i>	The large sea tern	Licht.
990	Do. <i>media</i>	The lesser sea tern	Horsf.
992	Do. <i>anæsthesia</i>	The panayan tern	Scop.

List of the Birds of Malabar—cont.

Jerdon's No.	Scientific name.	Trivial name.	Author's name.
992 bis.	<i>Sterna fuliginosa</i>	The sooty tern	Gm.
993	<i>Anous stolidus</i>	The common noddy	Lin.
995	<i>Rhynchops albicollis</i>	The Indian skimmer	Sws.
996	<i>Phaeton rubricaudus</i>	The red-tailed boatswain bird	Bodd.
996 bis.	Do. <i>indicus</i>	The short-tailed boatswain bird	Hume.
1000 bis.	<i>Fregata minor</i>	The lesser frigate bird	Gm.
1004	<i>Pelecanus manillensis</i>	The spotted billed pelican	Gm.
1004 bis.	Do. <i>roseus</i>	The eastern white pelican	Gm.
1006	<i>Phalacrocorax fuscicollis</i> .. ..	.....	Steph.
1007	Do. <i>pygmaeus</i>	The little cormorant	Pall.
1008	<i>Plotus melanogaster</i>	The Indian snake-bird	Penn.

APPENDIX V

List of some of the Butterflies of Malabar and the Western Ghats.

No.	Author's name.	Scientific name.	Remarks.
1	Boisduval	Danaïs (Parantica) grammica.	
2	Moore	Do. (Chittira) Nilgiriensis.	
3	Cramer	Do. (Tirumala) linariae.	
4	Butler	Do. (Do.) septentrionis.	
5	Linnaeus	Do. (Salatura) chrysippus.	
6	Cramer	Do. (Do.) genutia.	
7	Do.	Euplaea core.	
8	Hewitson	Mycalesis (Virapa) anaxias.	
9	Linnaeus	Do. (Calysisme) mineus.	
10	Guerin	Do. (Telinga) Adolphei.	
11	Butler	Do. (Nissanga) junonia.	
12	Moore	Lethe todara.	
13	Guerin	Do. Nilgiriensis.	
14	Hewitson	Do. Ceylonica.	
15	Guerin	Ypthima chenni.	
16	Moore	Melanitis bela, variety.	
17	Cramer	Do. ismene.	
18	Butler	Elymnias caudata.	
19	Fabricius	Teuchinia violae.	
20	Do.	Cirrhochroa thais.	
21	Drury	Messaras erymanthis.	
22	Do.	Atolla phalanta.	
23	Linnaeus	Acidalia niphe.	
24	Drury	Vanesa chatceia.	
25	Hubner	Pyrameis callirhoe.	
26	Linnaeus	Do. cardui.	
27	Do.	Junonia lemonias.	
28	Do.	Do. aenone.	
29	Do.	Do. asterie.	
30	Do.	Do. orithyia.	
31	Cramer	Precis iphita.	
32	Moore	Kallima Wardii.	
33	Westwood	Ergolis Taprobana.	
34	Linnaeus	Do. Ariadne.	
35	Boisduval	Cyrestis thyodamas.	
36	Linnaeus	(Hypolimnas) holina.	
37	Do.	Do. misippus.	
38	Moore	Limenitis canniba.	
39	Do.	Neptis varmona.	
40	Do.	Do. jumba.	
41	Do.	Do. nandina.	
42	Do.	Rahinda plagiosa.	
43	Linnaeus	Athyma leucothoe.	
44	Stoll	Dophla Evelina.	
45	Forster	Symphacra naia.	
46	Westwood	Charaxes psaphon.	
47	Drury	Do. athamas.	
48	Moore	Libythea lepita.	
49	Godart	Do. myrrha.	
50	Westwood	Spalgis opius.	
51	.....	Pithecopa species.	
52	Drury	Caretis thetys.	
53	Horsfield	Cyaniris puspa.	
54	Do.	Do. akusa.	

List of some of the Butterflies of Malabar and the Western Ghats—cont.

No.	Author's name.	Scientific name.	Remarks.
55	.....	Cyaniris species.	
56	Kollar	Zizera maha.	
57	Fabricius	Tarucus Plinius.	
58	Do.	Castalius rosamon.	
59	Moore	Do. hamatus.	
60	Cramer	Jamides bochus.	
61	Moore	Nacaluba ardatus.	
62	.....	Do. species.	
63	Fabricius	Catochrysops Strabo.	
64	Linnaeus	Polyommatus bacticus.	
65	Fabricius	Lampides aelignus.	
66	Godart	Do. elpis.	
67	Guerin	Talicula nyscus.	
68	Druce	Calapacilina elegans.	
69	Fabricius	Rathinda amor.	
70	Moore	Dendrox epijarbas.	
71	Do.	Rapala lezulin.	
72	Cramer	Aphnaeus etolus.	
73	.....	Do. species.	
74	.....	.....	
75	.....	Pratapa species.	
76	Cramer	Loxura atymnus.	
77	Horsfield	Bindahara Sugriva.	
78	Moore	Surendra quereetorum.	
79	.....	Do. species.	
80	Moore	Amblypodia naradoides.	
81	.....	Hypolycaena species.	
82	Fabricius	Nychitona xiphia.	
83	Linnaeus	Terius hecub.	
84	Horsfield	Do. drona.	
85	Cramer	Catopsilia catilla.	
86	Do.	Do. crocale.	
87	Fabricius	Do. gnoma.	
88	Linnaeus	Do. pyranthe.	
89	Butler	Ixias latifasciata.	
90	Cramer	Do. Marianne.	
91	Linnaeus	Hebomoia ghaucippe.	
92	Butler	Callosine purus.	
93	Do.	Do. pernotatus.	
94	Do.	Do. pseudexantho.	
95	Wallace	Idmais fulvia.	
96	Felder	Colias Nilgiriensis.	
97	Boisduval	Catophaga neombo.	
98	Cramer	Do. Paulina.	
99	Moore	Hiposeritia narendra.	
100	Fabricius	Appias libythea.	
101	Do.	Huphina phryne.	
102	Spartman	Mancipium canidia.	
103	Cramer	Belenois mesentina.	
104	Moore	Nepheronia pingasa.	
105	Druy	Delias eucharis.	
106	Felder	Papilio (Dalechima) teredon.	
107	Do.	Do. (Zetides) doson.	
108	Linnaeus	Do. (Do.) Agamemnon.	
109	Cramer	Do. (Orpheides) erithonius.	
110	Fabricius	Do. (Harimala) erino.	
111	Cramer	Do. (Hades) polymnestor.	
112	Linnaeus	Do. (Charus) Helenus.	
113	Do.	Do. (Laertias) pammon.	
114	Do.	Do. (Menelaides) Hector.	
115	Fabricius	Do. (Do.) aristolochia.	

List of some of the Butterflies of Malabar and the Western Ghats—cont.

No.	Author's name.	Scientific name.	Remarks.
116	Linnaeus	Papilio (Chilasa) elytia.	
117	Moore	Do. (do.) tamilana.	
118	Cramer	Do. (Ornithoptera) minos.	
119	Fabricius	Badamia exclamatorius.	
120	Guerin	Chorospes Benjaminii.	
121	Fabricius	Parata Alexis.	
122	Cramer	Do. Chromas.	
123	.....	Baracus species.	
124	Butler	Astictopterus stellifer.	
125	Moore	Baoris kimara.	
126	Do.	Parnara narvosa.	
127	Fabricius	Chapra Mathias.	
128	Moore	Telicota bambusa, variety.	
129	.....	Padraona species.	
130	Butler	Do. mesoides.	
131	Hewitson	Taractrocerus coramus.	
132	Do.	Halpe beturia, variety.	
133	Cramer	Hyarotis adrastus.	
134	Fabricius	Tagiades Atticus.	
135	Mabille	Do. obscurus, variety.	
136	Cramer	Udaspes folus.	
137	Moore	Plesionetura umbreosa.	
138	.....	Do. species.	
139	Fabricius	Caladenia Dan.	
140	Moore	Do. indrani.	
141	Felder	Abaratha Ransometi.	
142	Moore	Do. agama.	
143	Fabricius.	Hesperia galba.	
144	.....	Unnamed	
145	.....	Isoteinon species.	

APPENDIX VI

List of Timber Trees.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order II.—MANGOLIACEÆ.		
MICHELIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
M. Nilagirica	Western Ghats ..	.....
M. champaca	Wynaad Plateau ..	.....
Order III.—ANONACEÆ.		
GONIOTHALAMUS, <i>Blume.</i>		
G. Wightii	Pulghat Hills ..	3,000 to nearly 5,000 feet.
G. Wynaensis	Wynaad .. ..	.....
CYATHOCALYX, <i>Champ.</i>		
C. Zeylanicus	Malabar	1,000 to 3,000 feet.
UNONA, <i>Linn, F.</i>		
U. Punnosa	Western Ghats ..	Up to 3,500 feet.
U. Lawii	Malabar .. ..	.....
POLYALTHIA, <i>Bl.</i>		
P. coffeoides	Wynaad	1,000 to about 3,500 feet.
PHEANTHUS.		
P. Malabaricus	Malabar .. ..	.....
MILAUZA, <i>Lesch.</i>		
M. montana	Western Ghats ..	.....
M. Indica .. .. .	.....	.....
M. Nilagirica .. .. .	.....	.....
OROPHEA, <i>Blume.</i>		
O. Thomsoni .. .. .	.....	1,000 to 4,000 feet.
O. uniflora	North Canara Ghats.	.....
BERBERIDACEÆ.		
<i>Berberis, L.</i>		
B. Nepalensis	Nilgiris and Western Ghats.	5,000 feet [and upwards.
CAPPARIDACEÆ.		
<i>Cratogeom, Linn.</i>		
C. murvata	Malabar .. ..	.....
MORINGACEÆ.		
<i>Moringa.</i>		
M. pterygospermum	Malabar .. ..	.....

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order III.—ANONACEÆ— <i>Cont.</i>		
BIXINÆÆ.		
<i>Flacourtia, Commers.</i>		
<i>F. Ramontchi</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>F. cataphracta</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
HYDNOCARPUS, <i>Gerth.</i>		
<i>H. Wightiana</i>	Malabar	About 2,000 feet.
<i>H. inebrians</i>	Malabar	Up to 2,000 feet.
PITTOSPOREÆ.		
<i>Pittosporum, Banks.</i>		
<i>P. floribundum</i>	Western Ghats	Up to 4,000 feet.
Order X.—POLYGALEÆ.		
XANTHOPHYLLUM, <i>Roxb.</i>		
<i>X. Arnottianum</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>X. Angustifolium</i> .. .. .	....	....
Order XI.—TAMARISCINÆÆ.		
<i>TAMARIX, Linn.</i>		
<i>T. ericoides</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
Order XII.—GUTTIFERÆ.		
GARCINIA, <i>Lam.</i>		
<i>G. purpurea</i>	Wynaad .. ..	....
<i>G. Morella</i>	Western Ghats	2,000 feet.
<i>G. conicarpa</i> .. .. .	....	....
XANTHOCHYMUS, <i>Roxb.</i>		
<i>X. ovalifolius</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
CALOPHYLLUM, <i>Linn.</i>		
<i>C. inophyllum</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
MESUA.		
<i>M. speciosa</i>	Malabar	Up to nearly 5,000 feet.
<i>M. ferrea, Linn.</i> .. .. .	....	....
Order XIII.—TERNSTROMIACEÆ.		
<i>Eurya Japonica</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
SHOREA, <i>Roxb.</i>		
<i>S. lacceifera</i>	Wynaad .. ..	....
HOPEA.		
<i>H. parviflora</i>	Malabar and South Canara.	....

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order XIII. —TERNSTROEMIA- C.E.E.—cont.		
VATERIA, <i>L.</i>		
V. Malabarica	Malabar	3,000 to 4,000 feet.
V. Indica .. .. .	.....	.....
Order XV. —MALVACEÆ.		
Kydia calycina	Malabar	3,000 to 5,500 feet.
HIBICUS, <i>Linn.</i>		
H. tiliaceus	Western Coast .. .. .	.....
THESPESIA, <i>Cur.</i>		
T. populnea	Malabar .. .. .	.....
BOMBAX,		
B. Malabaricum	Malabar .. .. .	.....
ERIODENDRON, <i>D.C.</i>		
E. enfractuosum	Malabar .. .. .	.....
CELLENIA, <i>Wight.</i>		
C. excelsa	Wynaad	Up to 4,000 feet.
STERCULIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
S. Balanphas	Wynaad .. .. .	.....
S. villosa	Malabar .. .. .	.....
HERITIERA, <i>Ait.</i>		
H. littoralis	Malabar .. .. .	.....
HELICTERES, <i>Linn.</i>		
H. isora	Malabar .. .. .	.....
PTEROSPERMUM, <i>Schreb.</i>		
P. Rubrifolium .. .. .	.....	Over 2,500 feet.
P. Heyneanum	Malabar .. .. .	.....
P. Glabrescens	Wynaad .. .. .	.....
ERIOLOENA, <i>D.C.</i>		
E. Hookeriana	Malabar	To about 4,000 feet.
E. Quinquelocularis	Wynaad .. .. .	.....
Order XVII.—TILIACEÆ.		
PITYRANTHE, <i>Thun.</i>		
Grewia tiliaefolia	Malabar	4,000 feet.
G. Asiatica	Malabar .. .. .	.....
G. hevigata	Malabar .. .. .	.....
ELEOCHARPUS, <i>Linn.</i>		
E. oblongus	Malabar .. .. .	.....
E. seratus	Western Ghats .. .. .	.....
E. Glandulifera	Wynaad	2,500 to 6,000.

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order XVII.—TILIACEÆ <i>—cont.</i>		
ERYTHROXYLON.		
E. Indicum	Malabar .. ..	.....
Order XIX.—GERANIACEÆ.		
AVERRHUA, <i>Linn.</i>		
A. bilimbi .. .. .	.....	.....
A. carambola	Malabar .. ..	.....
Order XX.—RUTACEÆ.		
Melicope Indica	Western Ghats .. ..	.....
EVODIA.		
E. triphylla	Wynaad .. ..	.....
GLYCOSMIS, <i>Corr.</i>		
G. pentaphylla	Malabar	To 5,000 feet.
MURRAYA, <i>Linn.</i>		
M. exotica .. .. .	.....	.....
M. Konighii	Malabar .. ..	.....
CLAUSENA.		
C. Willdenowii	Wynaad	3,000 feet.
LIMONIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
L. alata	Western Ghats	6,000 feet.
ATALANTIA, <i>Corp.</i>		
A. monophylla	Malabar .. ..	.....
A. racemosa	Malabar .. ..	.....
A. Missionis	Malabar	2,000 feet.
Order XXI.—SIMARUBEÆ.		
A. Malabarica .. .. .	.....	.....
A. excelsa	Malabar .. ..	.....
SAMADERA, <i>Gaertn.</i>		
S. Indica	Malabar .. ..	.....
GOMPHIA, <i>Schreb.</i>		
G. Angustifolia	Western Ghats	3,000 feet.
Order XXIII.—BURSERACEÆ.		
CANARIUM, <i>Linn.</i>		
C. strictum	Malabar	4,000 to 4,500 feet.
Order XXIV.—MELIACEÆ.		
MELIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
M. Azadirachta	Malabar .. ..	.....

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order XXIV.—MELIACEÆ— <i>cont.</i>		
DYSOXYLUM, <i>Bl.</i>		
<i>D. macrocarpum</i>	Wynaad .. ..	....
<i>D. sp.</i> .. .. .	....	....
BEDDOMEA.		
<i>B. simplicifolia</i>	Wynaad	2,000 to 4,000 feet.
<i>B. Indica</i>	Western Ghats ..	3,500 to 4,000 feet.
SWIETENIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
<i>S. mahoganii</i>	Nilambur	(Exotic.)
SOYMIDA, <i>A. Juss.</i>		
<i>S. febrifuga</i>	Palghat .. ..	....
CHICKRASSIA, <i>A. Juss.</i>		
<i>C. tabularis</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
CEDRELA, <i>Linn.</i>		
<i>C. toona</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
Order XXV.— CHAILLETIACEÆ.		
CHAILLETIA, <i>D.C.</i>		
<i>C. gelonioides</i>	Western Ghats ..	4,000 feet.
OPHIA, <i>Roxb.</i>		
<i>O. amentacea</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
GOMPHANDRA, <i>Wall.</i>		
<i>G. axillaris</i>	Western Forests ..	4,000 feet.
<i>G. coriacea</i>	Western Forests ..	3,000 to 7,000 feet.
Order XXVII.—ELICINEÆ.		
ILEX, <i>Linn.</i>		
<i>I. Malabarica</i> .. .. .	....	....
<i>I. Wightiana</i>	Western Ghats ..	6,000 to 8,000 feet.
Order XXVIII.— CELASTRINEÆ.		
EUONYMUS.		
<i>E. dichotomus</i>	Western Forests ..	4,000 to 4,500 feet.
<i>E. Goughii</i>	Malabar	3,000 to 4,000 feet.
<i>E. angulatus</i>	Western Ghats ..	....
<i>E. serratifolius</i>	Wynaad	3,000 feet.
GLYPTOPETALUM.		
<i>G. grandiflorum</i>	Wynaad	2,500 to 3,000 feet.
MICROTROPIS, <i>Wall.</i>		
<i>M. ramiflora</i>	Western Ghats ..	6,000 to 7,000 feet.
<i>M. densiflora</i>	Western Slopes ..	6,000 to 7,000 feet.
<i>M. Wallichian</i>	Western Ghats ..	5,000 feet.

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order XXVIII.—CELASTRINEÆ — <i>cont.</i>		
PLEUROSTYLIA.		
P. Wightii	Malabar .. ..	....
Order XXIX.—RHAMNEÆ.		
ZIZYPHUS, <i>Juss.</i>		
X. jujuba .. .. .	.....	....
Z. glabrata	Western Forests ..	....
Z. nummularia	Malabar .. ..	....
COLUBRINA, <i>Linn.</i>		
C. Asiatica	Malabar .. ..	....
RHAMNUS, <i>Linn.</i>		
R. hirsutus	Western Ghats ..	5,000 to 6,000 feet.
Order XXX.—SAPINDACEÆ.		
SCHLEICHERA, <i>Willd.</i>		
S. trijuga .. .. .	.....	....
SAPINDUS, <i>Linn.</i>		
S. emarginatus	Malabar .. ..	....
NEPHELIUM, <i>Linn.</i>		
N. erectum	Malabar	2,000 to 3,000 feet.
DODONÆA, <i>Linn.</i>		
D. viscosa	Malabar	8,000 feet.
Order XXXI.—SABIACEÆ.		
MELIOSMA.		
M. pungens	Malabar	5,000 feet.
M. simplicifolia .. .. .	.....	....
Order XXXII.—ANACARDIACEÆ.		
MANGIFERA.		
M. Indica	Malabar	4,000 feet.
ANACARDIUM.		
A. occidentale	Malabar .. ..	....
NOTHOPEGIA.		
N. Colebrookiana	Malabar .. ..	....
BUCHANANIA.		
B. latifolia	Malabar	4,000 feet.
ODINA.		
O. Wodiar	Malabar .. ..	....

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order XXXII.—ANACARDIACEÆ— <i>cont.</i>		
SEMECARPUS.		
<i>S. anacardium</i>	Malabar .. .. .	.....
<i>S. Grahami</i>	Malabar	2,000 to 3,000 feet.
SPONDIAS.		
<i>S. mangifera</i> .. .. .	.....	.....
Order XXXIII.—CONNARACEÆ.		
ROUREA.		
<i>R. santaloides</i>	Mercara .. .. .	.....
CONNARUS.		
<i>C. pinnatus</i>	Malabar .. .. .	.....
<i>C. monocarpus</i> .. .. .	.....	.....
Order XXXIV.—LEGUMINOSÆ.		
MUNDULEA.		
<i>M. suberosa</i>	Malabar .. .. .	.....
SESBANIA.		
<i>S. grandiflora</i>	Malabar .. .. .	.....
<i>S. Ægyptiaca</i>	Malabar .. .. .	.....
Tribe HEDYSARÆÆ.		
<i>Ougeinia, Benth.</i>		
<i>O. dalbergioides</i>	Western Ghats	4,000 feet.
DESMODIUM.		
<i>D. cephalotes</i>	Malabar .. .. .	.....
<i>D. umbellatum</i> .. .. .	.....	.....
Tribe PHASEOLÆ.		
<i>Erythrina, Linn.</i>		
<i>E. Indica</i>	Malabar .. .. .	.....
Tribe DALBERGIEÆ.		
<i>Dalbergia, Linn.</i>		
<i>D. latifolia</i>	Malabar .. .. .	.....
<i>D. paniculata</i>	Malabar .. .. .	.....
PTEROCARPUS, <i>Linn.</i>		
<i>P. marsupium</i>	Malabar .. .. .	.....
PONGAMIA.		
<i>P. glabra</i> .. .. .	.....	.....
Sub-Order II.—CÆSALPINIÆÆ.		
Tribe CÆSALPINIÆÆ.		
<i>Cæsalpinia.</i>		
<i>C. sappan</i>	Nilambur and all Malabar.	Up to 2,500 feet.

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order XXXIV.—LEGUMINOSÆ —cont.		
Sub-Order II.—CÆSALPINIÆÆ —cont.		
<i>Aerocarpus</i> .		
A. fraxinifolius	Wynnad	4,000 feet.
<i>Poinciana</i> .		
P.olata	Malabar .. ..	.....
P. regia	Malabar .. ..	.....
Tribe CASSIÆÆ.		
<i>Cassia</i> .		
C. florida	Palghat .. ..	.....
C. Roxburghii	Malabar .. ..	.....
C. fistula	Malabar .. ..	.....
Tribe BAUHINIÆÆ.		
<i>Bauhinia</i> .		
B. Malabarica	Malabar	4,000 feet.
B. Purpurea	Malabar .. ..	.....
Tribe AMHERSTIÆÆ.		
<i>Humboldtia</i> .		
H. Brunonis	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>Tamarindus</i> .		
T. Indica	Malabar .. ..	.....
Tribe CYNOMETRÆÆ.		
<i>Cynometra</i> .		
C. ramiflora .. .. .	.....	.....
Sub-Order MIMOSEÆÆ.		
Tribe ADENANTHERÆÆ.		
<i>Adenanthura</i> .		
A. pavonina .. .. .	.....	.....
<i>Xylin</i> .		
X. dolabriformis .. .. .	.....	.....
Tribe ACACIÆÆ.		
<i>Acacia</i> , Wild.		
A. Arabica	Malabar	3,000 or 3,500 feet.
A. Catechu	Malabar	3,000 or 4,000 feet.
A. sundra	Malabar .. ..	.....
A. Farnesiana	Malabar	5,000 feet.
Tribe INGEÆÆ.		
<i>Albizia</i> , Surazini.		
A. Lobbek	Malabar	50 feet.
A. odoratissima	Malabar	3,000 feet.

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order XXXIV.—LEGUMINOSÆ —cont.		
Sub-Order MIMOSÆ—cont.		
Tribe INGRÆ—cont.		
<i>Albizia</i> —cont.		
<i>A. Wightii</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>A. procera</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
Order XXXV.—ROSACEÆ.		
<i>PHOTINIA</i> , Lindl.		
<i>P. Linfeyana</i>	Western Ghats ..	5,000 to 8,000 feet.
Order XXXVI.—RHIZOPHOREÆ.		
<i>RHIZOPHORA</i> .		
<i>R. mucronata</i>	Western Coast ..	....
<i>R. conjugata</i> .. .. .	.....	....
<i>CERTOPS</i> , Arnd.		
<i>C. Candolleana</i>	Western Coast ..	....
<i>KANDELIA</i> , Arnd.		
<i>K. Rhoeodii</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>BRUGUIERA</i> , Lam.		
<i>B. Rhoeodii</i> .. .. .	.....	....
<i>B. cylindrica</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>CARALLIA</i> , Roeb.		
<i>C. integerrima</i> .. .. .	.....	4,000 to 5,000 feet.
<i>BLEPHARISTEMMA</i> , Wall.		
<i>B. corymbosa</i>	Malabar	2,500 feet.
Order XXXVII.—COMBRETACEÆ.		
<i>TERMINALIA</i> , Linn.		
<i>T. tomentosa</i>	Malabar	3,000 or 3,500 feet.
<i>T. paniculata</i>	Malabar	2,000 or 3,000 "
<i>T. Arjuna</i>	Malabar	3,500 or 4,000 "
<i>T. Bellorica</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>T. catappa</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>T. chobula</i> .. .. .	.....	4,000 feet.
<i>ANOGNEISSUS</i> , Wall.		
<i>A. acuminatus</i>	Palghat .. ..	....
<i>LUMNITZERA</i> , Willd.		
<i>L. racemosa</i>	Balasore (Malabar).	....

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order XXXVIII.—MYRTACEÆ.		
EUGENIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
E. jambolana .. .. .	.....	.....
E. nervosa	Malabar	3,000 feet.
E. calophyllifolia	Malabar	5,000 to 6,000 feet.
E. Arnottiana	Malabar	6,000 to 7,000 feet.
E. montana	Malabar .. ..	.....
E. Malabarica .. .. .	.....	.....
E. caryophyllæa	Malabar	3,000 feet.
E. lanceolata	Western Ghats .. ..	.....
E. Wightii	Western Ghats .. ..	.....
E. Munroii	Western Ghats .. ..	.....
E. bracteata	Malabar	5,000 feet.
E. Willdenovii .. .. .	.....	.....
E. Mooniana	Western Ghats	4,000 feet.
E. Wynadensis	Wynaud	2,000 to 3,000 feet.
E. Argentea	Wynaud	3,000 feet.
BARRINGTONIA, <i>Forst.</i>		
B. racemosa	Malabar .. ..	.....
Order XL.—LYTHRARIÆ.		
WOODFORDIA, <i>Salisb.</i>		
W. tomentosa	Malabar .. ..	.....
PEMPHIS, <i>Forst.</i>		
P. acidula	Malabar .. ..	.....
LAWSONIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
L. alba	Malabar .. ..	.....
LAGERSTRÆMIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
L. Regiæ	Malabar	2,000 feet.
L. microcarpa	Malabar .. ..	.....
SONNERATIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
S. acida	Malabar .. ..	.....
PUNICA, <i>Linn.</i>		
P. granatum	Malabar .. ..	.....
CASEARIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
C. Wynadensis	Malabar	2,000 to 3,000 feet.
Order XLIII.—ARALIACEÆ.		
ARALIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
A. Malabarica	Wynaud .. ..	.....
HEPTAPLEURUM, <i>Gertn.</i>		
H. obovatum	Western Ghats	2,000 to 6,000 feet.

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order XLVI.—RUBIACEÆ.		
<i>ANTHOCEPHALUS</i> , <i>A. Rich.</i>		
<i>A. Cadambus</i> .. .. .	....	....
<i>ADINA</i> , <i>Salish.</i>		
<i>A. cordifolia</i> .. .. .	....	....
<i>NAUCLEA</i> .		
<i>N. elliptica</i>	Malabar	2,000 feet.
<i>HYMENODICTYON</i> , <i>Wall.</i>		
<i>H. excelsum</i> .. .. .	....	....
<i>H. Utile</i>	Pulghat .. ..	....
<i>WENDLANDIA</i> , <i>Beril.</i>		
<i>W. Notoniana</i> .. .. .	....	....
<i>MUSSELENDIA</i> , <i>Linn.</i>		
<i>M. frondosa</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>GARDENIA</i> , <i>Linn.</i>		
<i>G. latifolia</i>	Pulghat	3,500 feet.
<i>PLECTRONIA</i> , <i>Linn.</i>		
<i>P. Rheedii</i>	Wynaud	5,000 feet.
<i>P. Leschenaultii</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>IXORA</i> , <i>Linn.</i>		
<i>I. parviflora</i> .. .. .	....	....
<i>I. barbata</i>	Malabar	4,500 feet.
<i>I. polyantha</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>I. coccinea</i> .. .. .	....	....
<i>PAVETTA</i> .		
<i>P. Indica</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>COFFEA</i> , <i>Linn.</i>		
<i>C. Bengalensis</i> .. .. .	....	....
<i>MORINDA</i> , <i>Linn.</i>		
<i>M. bracteata</i>	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>M. umbellata</i>	Western Ghats ..	4,000 feet.
<i>SAPROSMA</i> , <i>Blume.</i>		
<i>S. Wightii</i>	Western Ghats ..	6,000 feet.
<i>S. glomerata</i>	Western Ghats ..	2,000 to 4,000 feet.
Order XLVII.—COMPOSITÆ.		
<i>VERNONIA</i> , <i>Schreb.</i>		
<i>V. volkameriifolia</i> .. .. .	....	5,000 feet.

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order XLVIII.—ERICACEÆ.		
VACCINIUM, <i>Linn.</i>		
V. Nilgherrense	Wynaad	2,000 to 3,000 feet.
Order XLIX.—MYRSINÆÆ.		
EMBELIA, <i>Burm.</i>		
E. robusta	Wynaad .. ..	.....
ARDISIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
A. patuciflora	Malabar .. ..	.....
A. paniculata	Malabar .. ..	.....
A. elliptica	Western Forests ..	.....
ÆGICERAS, <i>Curt.</i>		
Æ. majus	Malabar .. ..	.....
Order L.—SAPOLACEÆ.		
BASSIA, <i>Linn.</i>		
B. latifolia	Malabar	50 feet.
B. Malabarica	Malabar	4,000 feet.
Section ISONANDRA.		
Bassia Wightiana	Western Ghats ..	2,000 to 6,000 feet.
MIMUSOPS, <i>Linn.</i>		
M. Roxburghiana	Malabar .. ..	.....
Order LI.—EBENACEÆ.		
DIOSPYROS, <i>Linn.</i>		
D. sylvatica	Western Forests ..	4,000 feet.
D. ovalifolia	Wynaad	1,000 to 4,000 feet.
D. Candolliana	Wynaad .. ..	.....
D. Nilagirica	Western Ghats ..	3,000 to 4,000 feet.
D. paniculata	Wynaad	2,000 to 3,000 feet.
D. pruriens	Wynaad	3,000 feet.
D. microphylla	Wynaad	3,000 feet.
MABA, <i>Forst.</i>		
M. buxifolia	Malabar	6,000 feet.
Order LII.—STYRACEÆ.		
SYMPLOCOS, <i>Linn.</i>		
S. spicata	Malabar	7,000 feet.
S. nervosa	Nilgiri .. ..	.....
S. pulehra	Nilgiri	3,000 to 4,000 feet.
S. acuminata	Wynaad	5,000 feet.
Order LIII.—JASMINEÆ.		
LIGUSTRUM, <i>Linn.</i>		
L. robustum	Malabar .. ..	.....

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order LIII.—JASMINEÆ— <i>cont.</i>		
CHIONANTHUS, <i>Linn.</i>		
C. Malabarica	Western Ghats ..	....
Order LIV.—APOCYNÆÆ.		
CARISSA, <i>Linn.</i>		
C. carandas .. .. .	....	....
CERBERA, <i>Linn.</i>		
C. odallum	Western Coast ..	....
TABERNAMONTANA, <i>Linn.</i>		
T. coronaria	Malabar .. ..	....
WRIGHTEA.		
W. tomentosa	Wynaad (Malabar) ..	....
W. Wallichii	Wynaad (Malabar).	4,000 feet.
ALSTONIA.		
A. scholaris .. .. .	....	....
A. venenata	Malabar	3,000 to 4,500 feet.
Order LV.—LOGANIACEÆ.		
STRYCHNOS, <i>Linn.</i>		
S. nux-vomica .. .. .	....	....
S. potatorum	Malabar	3,000 feet.
FAGREA.		
F. obovata	Malabar .. ..	....
Order LVI.—BORAGINÆÆ.		
CORDIA.		
C. Wallichii .. .. .	....	....
C. myxa	Malabar .. ..	....
C. monoica	Travancoro ..	2,000 feet.
C. Rothii	Western Forests ..	....
C. Perrottetii	Western Forests ..	....
C. fulvosa	Western Forests ..	....
EHRETIA.		
E. buxifolia	Malabar .. ..	....
Order LVIII.—BIGNONIACEÆ.		
BIGNONIA.		
B. Indica	Malabar	3,000 feet.
SPATHODEA.		
S. falcata .. .. .	....	....
S. Rheedii	Tellicherry (Malabar).	....
S. crispa	Malabar .. ..	....
S. arcuata	Palghat .. ..	....

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order LVIII.—BIGNONIACEÆ —cont.		
STEREOSPERMUM.		
S. suaveolens	Malabar .. ..	....
PAJANELIA.		
P. Rheedii	Malabar	Up to 2,000 feet.
Order LIX.—VERBENACEÆ.		
VITEX, Linn.		
V. pubescens	Malabar .. ..	....
PREMNA, Linn.		
P. purpurascens	Wynaad .. ..	....
CALLICARPA, Linn.		
C. lanata	Malabar	Up to 4,000 feet.
CLERODENDRON, Linn.		
C. infortunatum	Malabar	Up to 5,000 to 6,000 feet.
TECTONA, Linn.		
T. grandis	Malabar .. ..	....
AVICENNIA, Linn.		
A. officinalis	Malabar .. ..	....
Order LXI.—MYRISTICEÆ.		
MYRISTICA, Linn.		
M. laurifolia .. .. .	....	....
M. Malabarica .. .. .	....	....
LASIOSIPHON, Fresen.		
L. eriocephalus	Malabar	Up to 5,000 feet.
Order LXVI.—SANTALACEÆ.		
SANTALUM.		
S. album	Malabar .. ..	....
Order LXVII.—SALICACEÆ.		
SALIX.		
S. tetrasperma .. .. .	....	....
Order LXVIII.—LAURINEÆ.		
PERSEA, Nees.		
P. lanceolata	Wynaad	3,000 feet.
CINNAMOMUM.		
C. Zeylanicum	Malabar .. ..	....

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation/
Order LXVIII. LAURINEÆ— <i>cont.</i>		
TETRANTHERA, Jacq.		
T. tomentosa .. .. .	....	....
T. laurifolia .. .. .	....	....
T. ligustrina .. .. .	....	....
T. venulosa .. .. .	....	....
T. (Cyclodaphne) sebifera ..	....	....
ACTINODAPHNE, Nees.		
A. angustifolia	Malabar	4,000 to 5,000 feet.
Order LXIX.—EUPHOR— BLACÆÆ.		
Tribe I. —PHYLLANTHEÆ.		
<i>Aetephila</i> , Blume.		
A. excelsa	Malabar	Up to 5,500 feet.
<i>Phyllanthus</i> , Linn.		
P. emblica	Malabar .. ..	....
P. juniperinoides	Wynaad .. ..	....
P. distichus	Malabar .. ..	....
P. Indicus	Wynaad	Up to 3,000 feet.
<i>Glochidion</i> , Forst.		
G. littorale	Malabar .. ..	....
G. nitidum	Malabar .. ..	....
G. lanceolatum	Malabar .. ..	....
G. tomentosum	Malabar .. ..	....
G. Hohenackeri	Malabar .. ..	....
G. asperum	Malabar .. ..	....
G. diversifolium	Malabar .. ..	....
G. Malabaricum	Malabar .. ..	....
G. velutinum	Malabar	Up to 4,000 feet.
G. Heyneanum	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>Breynia</i> , Forst.		
B. rhamnoidea	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>Securigta</i> , Juss.		
S. obovata	Malabar .. ..	....
S. leucopyrus	Malabar .. ..	....
<i>Baccaurea</i> , Lour.		
B. sapida	Wynaad .. ..	....
<i>Bischofia</i> .		
B. Javanica .. .. .	....	....
<i>Hemigelia</i> , Wight and Arnt.		
H. sepiaria	Malabar	Up to 3,000 feet.
H. vomusta	Western Ghats ..	2,000 to 4,000 feet.
<i>Cyclostemon</i> .		
C. Indicus	Malabar .. ..	....

List of Timber Trees—cont.

Scientific name.	Habitat.	Elevation.
Order LXIX.—EUPHOR— BIACEÆ— <i>cont.</i>		
Tribe I.—PHYLLANTHÆÆ — <i>cont.</i>		
<i>Antidesma.</i>		
A. Ghacembilla	Malabar	Up to about 4,000 feet.
A. Bunius	Western Ghats	
A. Diandrum	Malabar .. .. .	.....
Tribe BRIEDELÆÆ.		
<i>Briedelia, Willd.</i>		
B. stipularis	Malabar .. .. .	.....
<i>Cleistanthus, Hook.</i>		
C. Malabaricus	Malabar .. .. .	.....
Tribe CROTONEÆ.		
<i>Croton, Linn.</i>		
C. oblongifolium	Malabar	Up to 4,000 feet.
C. Malabaricum	Malabar	
Tribe ACALYPHÆÆ.		
<i>Aleurites, Forst.</i>		
A. Moluccana .. .. .	.....	.....
<i>Agrostistachys, Dalzell.</i>		
A. Indica	Malabar	3,000 to 5,000 feet.
<i>Sarcoclinium, Wight.</i>		
S. longifolium	Western Ghats	2,000 to 4,000 feet.
<i>Mallotus.</i>		
M. albus	Western Forests	Up to 4,000 feet.
M. muricatus	Western Ghats .. .. .	.....
M. Lawii	Malabar .. .. .	.....
M. Philippinensis	Malabar .. .. .	.....
<i>Macaranga.</i>		
M. Indica	Malabar .. .. .	.....
<i>Homonoya, Lour.</i>		
H. riparia	Malabar .. .. .	.....
H. ritusa	Malabar .. .. .	.....
<i>Codiaeum, Rumph.</i>		
C. umbellatum	Western Ghats	Up to 3,000 feet.
<i>Euclea, Linn.</i>		
E. insignis	Malabar	Up to 5,000 feet.
E. Cochinchensis	Malabar	
E. Indica	Malabar	
E. oppositifolia	Malabar	
E. agallocha	Malabar	

List of Timber Trees—cont.

<i>Scientific name.</i>	<i>Habitat.</i>	<i>Elevation.</i>
Order LXIX.—EUPHOR— BLACEÆ—cont.		
Tribe EUPHORBIÆ.		
<i>E. nivulia</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>E. antiquorum</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>E. trigona</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>Sarcococca, Lindley.</i>		
<i>S. saligna</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
Order LXX.—URTICÆÆ.		
<i>Ulmus, Linn.</i>		
<i>U. integrifolia</i>	Wynaad .. ..	.....
<i>Celtis, Torr.</i>		
<i>C. serotina</i>	Wynaad	At 2,500 feet.
<i>Sesonia, Comm.</i>		
<i>S. Wightii</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>S. Volutina</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>S. Orientalis</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>Artocarpus, Linn.</i>		
<i>A. hirsuta</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>A. integrifolia</i>	Malabar	Up to 4,000 feet.
<i>A. incisa</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>Plecosperrum, Trecul.</i>		
<i>P. spinosum</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>Streblus, Lour.</i>		
<i>S. aspera</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>Taxotrophis, Blume.</i>		
<i>T. Roxburghii</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>Ficus, Linn.</i>		
<i>F. religiosa</i> .. .. .	.....	.....
<i>F. infectoria</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. Wightiana</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. Bengalensis</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. tomentosa</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. Mysorensis</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. laccifera</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. Tsiela</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. retusa</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. Benjaminea</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. nervosa</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. asperima</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. parasitica</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. hispida</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>F. glomerata</i>	Malabar .. ..	.....
<i>Laportea, Goudich.</i>		
<i>L. crenulata</i>	Western Ghats ..	.....

List of Timber Trees—cont.

<i>Scientific name.</i>	<i>Habitat.</i>	<i>Elevation.</i>
Order LXX.—URTICACEÆ— <i>cont.</i>		
BEHMERIA, <i>Jacq.</i>		
B. Travancorica	Wynaad	Up to 4,500 feet.
MONOCARPUS.		
M. longifolius	Malabar	Up to 7,000 feet.
Order LXXI.—CASUARINACEÆ.		
CASUARINA, <i>Linn.</i>		
C. equisetifolia	Malabar .. ..	....
Sub-class IV.—Gymnospermeæ.		
Order LXXII.—CYCADACEÆ.		
CYCAS, <i>Linn.</i>		
C. circinalis	Malabar	Up to 500 feet.
Class II.—MONOCOTYLEDONS.		
Order LXXIV.—PALMEÆ.		
Caryota urens	Malabar .. ..	....
Corypha umbraculifera	Malabar .. ..	....
Areca concinna	Malabar .. ..	....
Order LXXV.—PANDANACEÆ.		
PANDANUS, <i>Linn.</i>		
P. odoratissimus	Malabar .. ..	....
P. furcatus	Malabar .. ..	....
Order LXXVI.—GRAMINEÆ.		
Tribe BAMBUSACEÆ.		
Arundinaria, <i>Michaux.</i>		
A. Wightiana	Western Ghats ..	6,000 feet.
Bambusa, <i>Schreb.</i>		
B. arundinacea	Malabar	3,000 feet.
Oxytenanthera, <i>Munro.</i>		
O. Thwaitesii	Western Ghats ..	....
Section III.—BACCIFERÆ.		
Teinostachyum, <i>Munro.</i>		
T. Wightii	Western Ghats ..	Up to 3,000 to 4,000 feet.
Beesia, <i>Rheed.</i>		
B. Rheedii	Malabar .. ..	....
Dendrocalamus, <i>Nes.</i>		
D. strictus	Wynaad	Up to 3,000 feet.

APPENDIX VII.

List of Roads in the district of Malabar.

N B.—The spelling of the names of places is, to facilitate reference, that to be found in sheets Nos. 44, 61 and 62 of the Indian Atlas.

District No. (1)	Name of roads. (2)	Situated in the following taluks. (3)	Length in miles in each taluk. (4)	Total length in district. (5)	Deduct. (6) (7)		Length actually maintained by the Local Fund Board. (8)	Remarks. (9)
					Lengths kept up by Municipalities or French Government.	Length outside Municipal limits common to a line previously entered in this list.		
			M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	
	<i>Main lines consecutively numbered from North to South.</i>							
1	Coast road from Beypoor railway station to Canara frontier near Peyrncotha via Calicut, Tellicherry, Cannanore and Tullipurmbu.	{ Calicut .. Kurumbra-nad. Kottayam.. Chirakkal ..	{ 14 5 30 2 7 7 44 2	97 0	15 1	..	81 7	{ Of the entry in col. 6, Calicut Municipality maintains 6 miles in Calicut taluk; French Government maintains 1 mile in Kurumbra-nad taluk; Tellicherry Municipality maintains 3½ miles in Kottayam taluk; and Cannanore, Military cantonment, 4½ miles in Chirakkal taluk. This line includes trace north of Tullipurmbu, viz., 15 miles, which is unopened.

2	Cannanore Fort <i>via</i> Perambady ghaut, to Coorg and Mysore <i>via</i> Coodally, Mattanur, Ulleyil, and Gunnoth.	Chirakkal .. 12 5 Kottayam .. 21 6	34 3	..	3 4	30 7	{ Of the entry in col. 7, part is "Military," part coast road No. 1.
3	Tellicherry <i>via</i> Pariah ghaut, to Mysore frontier (Bawally bridge) <i>via</i> Coothpurmbu, Cannoth, Pariah, and Mananta-waddy.	Kottayam .. 22 7 Wynad .. 38 5	61 4	1 6	..	59 6	{ The entry in col. 6 relates to Tellicherry Municipality in Kottayam taluk.
4	Calicut <i>via</i> Tamaracherry ghaut, to Mysore frontier near Ponglycottah <i>via</i> Tamaracherry, Pudukaddy, Vyteery, Culpetta, and Gumapuddyyvuttum.	Calicut .. 35 0 Wynad .. 37 3	72 3	3 2	..	69 1	{ The entry in col. 6 relates to Calicut Municipality in Calicut taluk.
5	Calicut <i>via</i> Careoor ghaut, to Nilagiris and Mysore <i>via</i> Coondoty, Arreacode, Nellumboor, and Yeddakurra.	Calicut .. 6 3 Ernad .. 53 5	60 3 [sic]	3 0	..	57 3	Do. do.
6	Calicut <i>via</i> Coondoty, Mullapuram, Munaur, Palghat railway station, and Palghat, to Coimbatore frontier at Walliar.	Calicut .. 6 6 Ernad .. 25 6 Walluvanad. 39 0 Palghat .. 29 4	101 0	7 2	13 6	80 0	{ Of the entry in col. 6, Calicut Municipality in Calicut taluk maintains 3 miles; Palghat Municipality in Palghat taluk maintains 4.2.8 miles; common to No. 5; 13.6/8 miles in Calicut and Ernad taluks.
7	Palghat to Ponnani <i>via</i> Purley, Puttanby, and Tritala.	Palghat .. 14 4 Walluvanad. 24 0 Ponnani .. 16 5	55 2	1 2	..	54 0	{ The entry in col. 6 relates to Palghat Municipality in Palghat taluk.
<i>Branch lines and railway feeders consecutively numbered from north to south.</i>							
8	Peyrncotha on No. 1 to Yedanaad on No. 9 <i>via</i> Wudawudur and Allakatu.	Chirakkal .. 11 1	11 1	..	..	11 1	
9	Kuvoy to Bimlipatam on No. 1 <i>via</i> Kunjammunglum and Maudoy.	Do. .. 19 3	19 3	..	..	19 3	

List of Roads in the district of Malabar—cont.

(1) District No.	Name of roads. (2)	Situated in the following taluks. (3)	Length in miles in each taluk. (4)	Total length in district. (5)	Deduct. (6) (7)		Length actually maintained by the Local Fund Board. (8)	Remarks. (9)
					Lengths kept up by Municipalities or French Government.	Length outside Municipal limits common to a line previously entered in this list.		
	<i>Branch lines and railway feeders consecutively numbered from north to south—cont.</i>		M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	
10	Kunjamunglum on No. 9 to Tullipurambu on No. 1.	Chirakkal ..	5 6	5 6	..	..	5 6	
11	Kunjamunglum on No. 9 to Kuthur.	Do. ..	7 4	7	..	..	7 4	
12	Tullipurambu on No. 1 to Irrity bridge on No. 2 via Nedwullur, Surrukundapuram, and Eroocur.	Do. ..	27 6	27 6	..	..	27 6	
13	Eroocur on No. 12 to Calliaud ..	Do. ..	2 6	2 6	..	..	2 6	
14	Billipatam on No. 1 to Cannanore via Chalautu.	Do. ..	5 5	5 5	2 3	..	3 2	The entry in col. 6 relates to Cannanore Military cantonment in Chirakkal taluk.
15	Iyecode to Chalautu on No. 14.	Do. ..	4 6	4 6	..	..	4 6	
16	Cheracul on No. 1 to Katampully.	Do. ..	1 7	1 7	..	..	1 7	
17	Cannanore fort to Kakaud backwater.	Do. ..	3 5	3 5	2 7	..	0 6	The entry in col. 6 relates to Cannanore Military cantonment in Chirakkal taluk.
18	Aychoor at 8th mile on Coorg road No. 2 to junction with No. 19.	Do. ..	1 1	1 1	..	..	1 1	

19	Chuviel on No. 1 to Mattanur on No. 2 <i>via</i> Anjeracundy.	{ Chirakkal .. Kottayam.	{ 7 5 6 0 }	13 5	..	..	13 5	The entry in col. 6 relates to Tellicherry Municipality in Kottayam taluk.
20	Chuviel on No. 1 to Coothpurnbu on No. 3 <i>via</i> Mambram ferry.	{ Chirakkal .. Kottayam.	{ 7 7 4 4 }	12 3	..	..	12 3	
21	Coothpurnbu on No. 3 to Mattanur on No. 2.	Do.	8 1	8 1	..	..	8 1	
22	Tellicherry to Eroocur on No. 12 <i>via</i> Pinroy and Anjeracundy.	{ Kottayam. Chirakkal ..	{ 13 2 6 0 }	19 2	..	..	19 2	
23	Nittur on No. 22 to junction with No. 3 at Peirce, Leslie and Company's coffee works.	Kottayam.	2 1	2 1	..	..	2 1	
24	Irrity bridge on No. 2 to Nedimpoya (foot of Pariah ghaut) on No. 3.	Do.	12 1	12 1	..	..	12 1	
25	Kottayam to Perinkulatur on No. 27 <i>via</i> Paunur.	Do.	7 3	7 3	..	..	7 3	
26	Kudatur on No. 3 to Paunur on No. 25.	Do.	5 1	5 1	..	..	5 1	
27	Loop line from Tellicherry to Manantawaddy on No. 3 <i>via</i> Perinkulatur, Nadapuram, Kuttindi ghaut, and Corote Angaddy.	{ Do. Kurumbra- nad. Wynad ..	{ 6 2 23 1 19 5 }	49 0	0 2	..	48 6	
28	Ammannay on No. 3 to Coorg frontier <i>via</i> Vagoor.	Wynad ..	9 5	9 5	..	..	9 5	
29	Tirunelly valley to junction with No. 28.	Do. ..	10 4	10 4	..	..	10 4	Common to No. 27 in Wynad taluk.
30	Pariah on No. 3 to Corote Angaddy on No. 27.	Do. ..	9 4	9 4	..	..	9 4	
31	Vyteery on No. 4 to Manantawaddy on No. 3 <i>via</i> Turrioterah and Kuthirapandi ferry.	{ Do. .. Do. ..	{ 8 7 18 5 }	27 4	..	6 4	21 0	
32	Branch from Tulapoya bridge on No. 4 to Vyteery lodge on No. 31.	Do. ..	1 1	1 1	..	..	1 1	
33	Branch from No. 31 near Kundloth to No. 35 near Kellur Angaddy.	Do. ..	1 0	1 0	..	..	1 0	
34	Old loop line from Manantawaddy <i>via</i> Pullikul Angaddy to Ariccurah on No. 27.	Do. ..	8 0	8 0	..	..	8 0	

List of Roads in the district of Malabar—cont.

District No. (1)	Name of roads. (2)	Situated in the following taluks. (3)	Length in miles in each taluk. (4)	Total length in district. (5)	Deduct. (6)		Length actually maintained by the Local Fund Board. (8)	Remarks. (9)
					Lengths kept up by Municipalities or French Government. (6)	Length outside Municipal limits common to a line previously entered in this list. (7)		
	<i>Branch lines and railway feeders consecutively numbered from north to south—cont.</i>		M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	
35	Manantawaddy via Punnamurth-cotah and Gunapuddyyuttom (Sultan's battery) on No. 4 to Nilgiri boundary near Molapilly.	} Wynad Do.	12 1 24 7	} 37 0	..	11 5	25 3	{ 4 miles and 2 furlongs common to No. 27, and 7 miles and 3 furlongs common to No. 4; both in Wynad taluk.
36	Old loop line from Manantawaddy via Veetoyary to Punnamurth-cotah on No. 35.		8 0		..	..	8 0	
37	Punnamurthcotah on No. 35 to Culpetta on No. 4.	Do. ..	9 3	9 3	..	2 5	6 6	Common to No. 4 in Wynad taluk.
38	Chundale on No. 4 by Maypady to Nilagiri boundary near Moop-yenad.	Do. ..	19 0	19 0	..	..	19 0	
38-a	Kulpathi to junction with No. 38.	Do. ..	3 4	3 4	..	..	3 4	
39	Gunapuddyyuttom (Sultan's battery) on No. 4 to Nilagiri boundary near Chulicod on road to Cherambadi.	Do. ..	6 4	6 4	..	..	6 4	

40	Junction with No. 1, two miles north of Wuddakurray (Badagara) to Nadapuram on No. 27.	Kurumbra-nad.	7 1	7 1	..	..	7 1	The entry in column 6 relates to Calicut Municipality in Calicut taluk.
41	Junction with No. 1 at Wuddakurray (Badagara) to termination of canal.	Do.	0 5	0 5	..	..	0 5	
42	Coolyaddy (mis-spelt for Kuttadi) on No. 27 <i>via</i> Melnoniam and Neddiavenur to Ulliary on No. 44.	Do.	16 0	16 0	..	..	16 0	
43	Junction with No. 1, five miles south of Wuddakurray (Badagara) <i>via</i> Pyolli to Melnonian on No. 42.	Do.	10 7	10 7	..	..	10 7	
44	Coilandy on No. 1 to Tamara-cherry on No. 4 <i>via</i> Ulliary.	} Do. Calicut	15 1	18 7	..	..	18 7	
45	Pudianguddy on No. 1 to junction with No. 46 near Kokotri bridge.		3 6		..	..	2 5	
46	Calicut <i>via</i> Karaparamba to Kokolur on No. 44.	Do.	2 5	2 5	..	..	2 5	
47	Junction with No. 46 near Kara-paramba to toll-gate on No. 4.	Do.	15 1	15 1	3 0	..	12 1	
48	Tamaracherry on No. 4 to junction with No. 49.	Do.	1 2	1 2	..	..	1 2	
49	Mokoth on No. 4 to Arreacode on No. 5.	Do.	8 2	8 2	..	..	8 2	
50	Calicut by Chowoyur to Moppuram.	Do.	17 0	17 0	..	..	17 0	The entry in column 6 relates to Calicut Municipality in Calicut taluk.
51	Toll-gate on No. 4 to Chowoyur on No. 50.	Do.	18 0	18 0	0 6	..	15 2	
52	Arreacode on No. 5 to junction with No. 57.	Ernad	2 3	2 3	..	..	2 3	Common to No. 5 in Ernad taluk.
53	Eddamunnah (Eddawanna) on No. 5 <i>via</i> Wundoor, Wallaghaut and Sissapara to Nilagiri boundary at Nadgani.	Do.	10 0	10 0	..	0 7	9 1	
		Do.	29 0	29 0	..	..	29 0	

List of Roads in the district of Malabar—cont.

District No. (1)	Name of roads. (2)	Situated in the following taluks. (3)	Length in miles in each taluk. (4)	Total length in district. (5)	Deduct		Length actually maintained by the Local Fund Board. (8)	Remarks. (9)
					Lengths kept up by Municipalities or French Government. (6)	Length outside Municipal limits common to a line previously entered in this list. (7)		
	<i>Branch lines and railway feeders consecutively numbered from north to south—cont.</i>		M. F.	M. F.		M. F.	M. F.	
54	Puttamby railway station <i>via</i> Parumthallamunna (Angadipuram), Pandikad, and Wundoor to junction with No. 5 near Cherupoya bridge.	Walluvanad.	23 3	38 3	..	..	38 3	Common to No. 6 in Walluvanad taluk.
		Ernad ..	15 0					
55	Munjary on No. 57 to Munaur on No. 6 <i>via</i> Pandikad and Mahautoor.	Ernad ..	10 7	28 6	..	2 6	26 0	
		Walluvanad.	17 7					
56	Munjary on No. 57 to Mangoth on No. 6.	Ernad ..	5 4	5 4	..	..	5 4	
57	Tiroor railway station <i>via</i> Mulla-puram on No. 6 and Munjary to Eddamunnali (Eddawanna) on No. 5.	Ponnani ..	5 0	30 2	..	..	30 2	
		Ernad ..	25 2					
58	Junction line between No. 53 and No. 57 near Tirculluncotur.	Do. ..	4 4	4 4	..	..	4 4	
59	Junction line between No. 57 and No. 6 <i>via</i> Anakayam bridge and Mungadda.	Do. ..	0 6	9 2	..	..	9 2	
		Walluvanad.	8 4					

60	Beypoor railway station to Tritala on No. 7 <i>via</i> Pudiangaddy and Cootipooram railway station.	Ernad ..	10 6	37 0	..	2 1	34 7	Common to No. 7 in Ponnani taluk.
61	Purpenangady railway station to Mullapuram on No. 57 <i>via</i> Tiru-angaddy.	Ponnani ..	26 2	18 3	..	1 2	17 1	Common to No. 6 in Ernad taluk.
62	Coondoty on No. 5 to Tiru-angaddy on No. 61.	Ernad ..	18 3	..	..	1 0	8 5	Common to No. 71 in Ernad taluk.
63	Pilamanthole bridge on No. 54 to Nuradi iron girder bridge on No. 57 <i>via</i> Collatore.	Do. ..	9 5	9 5	..	..	14 4	
64	Mooliarchy on No. 54 to Malaut- toor on No. 55.	Walluvanad.	14 4	14 4	..	..	5 5	
65	Cootipooram railway station <i>via</i> Collatore to Bugavuddykavu on No. 6.	Do. ..	5 5	5 5	..	..	16 6	Common to No. 63 in Wallu- vanad taluk.
66	Loop line from Paranthalia- munna (Anguddypooram) on No. 6 <i>via</i> Cherpelcherry to Mundoor on No. 6.	Ponnani ..	8 5	17 0	..	0 2	28 0	Common to No. 54 in Wallu- vanad taluk.
67	Goondiar (near Mundur) on No. 6 to Triallicode on No. 66.	Walluvanad	8 3	..	..	0 6	9 0	
68	Tanoor railway station to Tanoor.	Do. ..	20 4	28 6	..	..	1 2	
69	Tannaloor on No. 60 <i>via</i> Wakatoor and Kawoo to Coopum on No. 54.	Palghat ..	8 2	..	..	..	21 5	
70	Tiroor railway station to Ponnani <i>via</i> Pudiangaddy on No. 60.	Do. ..	9 0	9 0	..	..	10 1	
71	Tiroor railway station to Ponnani on No. 7 <i>via</i> Pulliendavoo.	Ponnani ..	1 2	1 2	..	..	9 2	Common to No. 70 in Ponnani taluk.
72	Pudiangaddy on No. 60 to Perony.	Do. ..	16 3	21 5	..	..	3 2	
73	Cootipooram railway station to Eddapal on No. 7.	Walluvanad.	5 2	..	..	0 6	5 0	Common to No. 60 in Ponnani taluk.
74	Tritala on No. 7 to Chowkaad ..	Ponnani ..	10 1	10 1	..	..	9 7	The total length of this road which begins and ends in British Territory is 17 miles 4 furlongs of which 7 miles 5 furlongs lie in Cochin Territory.
75	Ferry on No. 7 between Puttamby railway station and Tritala to Coopum on No. 54.	Do. ..	5 3	5 3	..	0 3	4 6	
		Do. ..	9 7	9 7	..	..		
		Walluvanad.	4 6	4 6	..	..		

List of Roads in the district of Malabar—cont.

District No. (1)	Name of roads. (2)	Situated in the following taluks. (3)	Length in miles in each taluk. (4)	Total length in district. (5)	Deduct (6)		Length actually maintained by the Local Fund Board. (8)	Remarks. (9)
					Lengths kept up by Municipalities or French Government. (6)	Length outside Municipal limits common to a line previously entered in this list. (7)		
	<i>Branch lines and railway feeders consecutively numbered from north to south—cont.</i>		M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	
76	Puttamby railway station to Kutnaad.	} Walluvanad. Ponnani ..	0 1 3 0	} 3 1 11 1	..	..	3 1 11 1	The total length of this road which begins and ends in British Territory is 19 miles 2 furlongs; of which 7 miles 2 furlongs lie in Cochin Territory. Common to No. 77 in Walluvanad taluk.
77	Puttamby railway station to Cherpelcherry on No. 66.		11 1					
78	Junction with No. 7 via Shoranoor railway station to the iron girder bridge.	Do.	2 7	2 7	..	..	2 7	
79	Shoranoor railway station to (Padinjar) Angady on No. 7 via Kutnaad.	Ponnani ..	12 0	12 0	..	..	12 0	
80	Wauniancolumeurra on No. 7 to Kothakurishi, 5 miles on No. 81.	Walluvanad.	3 6	3 6	..	..	3 6	
81	Wootapollium railway station to Cherpelcherry on No. 66.	Do.	11 2	11 2	..	0 5	10 5	
82	Luckady railway station feeder from No. 7.	Do.	1 6	1 6	..	..	1 6	

83	Purley railway station on No. 7 to Mundoor on No. 6.	Palghat	..	4 1	4 1	..	1 0	3 1	0.2 common to No. 7 in Palghat taluk, and 0.6 common to No. 66 in Palghat taluk.
84	Palghat on No. 6 to Coimbatore boundary near Meengairi via Poodoonagrum and Colungode.	Do.	..	20 2	20 2	2 1	..	18 1	The entry in column 6 relates to Palghat Municipality in Palghat taluk.
85	Loop line from Palghat on No. 6 to Muncurray on No. 7 via Poodoor and Chembracolum.	Do.	..	11 0	11 0	1 0	..	10 0	Do. do.
86	Palghat via Allatoor and Wurrakunchairi to Cochin frontier at Vaniampara.	Do.	..	24 5	24 5	2 1	..	22 4	Do. do.
87	Palghat on No. 6 via Yellapooly to Cochin frontier at Erratakulam.	Do.	..	10 4	10 4	..	3 0	7 4	Common to No. 6 in Palghat taluk.
88	Palghat on No. 6 to Cochin frontier near Chittur.	Do.	..	8 0	8 0	1 2	..	6 6	The entry in column 6 relates to Palghat Municipality in Palghat taluk.
89	Loop line from Palghat on No. 6 via Kodawayoor on No. 92 to Koonishairy on No. 90.	Do.	..	10 5	10 5	1 4	..	9 1	Do. do.
90	Palghat on No. 6 via Koonishairy to Cochin frontier near Vullangy.	Do.	..	10 7	10 7	1 4	..	9 3	Do. do.
91	Conjeevode railway feeder from No. 6.	Do.	..	0 2	0 2	..	..	0 2	
92	Poodoonagrum on No. 84 via Kodawayoor to Muncurray on No. 7.	Do.	..	17 0	17 0	..	..	17 0	
93	Colungode on No. 84 to Allatoor on No. 86 via Koonishairy on No. 90.	Do.	..	12 0	12 0	..	2 0	10 0	
94	Colungode on No. 84 to Cochin frontier near Vullangy.	Do.	..	3 7	3 7	..	..	3 7	
95	Munbalom bridge on No. 86 to Cochin frontier near Vullangy.	Do.	..	7 3	7 3	..	..	7 3	
96	Ponnani via Veleankode, Chaitwe, and Muddoolokathoo to Cochin frontier near Kodungaloor.	Ponnani	..	42 6	42 6	..	..	42 6	
97	Chowkaud to Yennamakkal dam.	Do.	..	8 6	8 6	..	..	8 6	
Total ..			..	1,568 5	..	..	1,463 4		

ROADS

Kochi

APPENDIX VIII.

Port Rules, etc., of the Major Ports.

CANNANORE.

Boat fees at Cannanore.

	RS.	A.	P.
1. Boats of 2 tons and under, laden or unladen—			
To all vessels in 3 fathoms	0	6	0
Do. 5 and under	0	14	0
Do. 7 and over according to agreement	1	8	0
For every ton or fraction of a ton beyond 2 ..	One-half of these rates additional.		
2. Transhipping trip and return trip	Half the above rates.		
3. Trip between 6 p.m. and 5 a.m. in monsoon, and on Sundays and close holidays.	Double the above rates.		
4. Detention alongside of vessels more than three hours.	Do.		
5. With an awning	Four annas additional.		

NOTE.—This scale prevails also at Tellicherry.

Scale of fees for measuring vessels.

	RS.
Under 50 tons	7
50 tons and under 100 tons	11
100 do. 150 do.	15
150 do. 200 do.	19
200 do. 250 do.	23
250 do. 300 do.	27
300 tons and upwards	30

NOTE.—This scale prevails at all the ports.

Port rules for Cannanore.

RULE 1.—All vessels within the port of Cannanore shall be bound to take up such berth as may be appointed for them by the conservator, and shall change their berths or remove when required by such authority.

RULE 2.—All vessels taking in or discharging ballast, or any particular kind of cargo within the port of Cannanore, shall take up such berth as the conservator may direct.

RULE 3.—A free passage shall be kept to piers, jetties, landing places, wharves, quays, docks, and moorings; and all vessels shall be bound to move when required by the conservator to clear such passages.

RULE 4.—All vessels within the port of Cannanore shall anchor, moor, and unmoor, when and where required by the conservator.

RULE 5.—The cargo boat rules published by Government, under date the 30th September 1867, shall be in force at the port of Cannanore.

RULE 6.—No vessels within the limits of the port of Cannanore shall boil any pitch or dammer on board, or shall draw off spirits by candle or other artificial lights.

RULE 7.—All vessels in the roadstead of Cannanore shall when at anchor between sunset and sunrise, have a good light hoisted at the starboard foreyard arm; and all vessels under weigh at night, shall show a good light at the foreroyal or upper foremast head, and when under weigh in tow of a steamer, shall, in addition, show a light at each foreyard arm; the steamer showing the usual light prescribed by the Admiralty Regulations.

N.B.—An infraction of rules 2 and 6 renders a commander liable to a penalty of 200 rupees, and an infraction of any of the other rules to a penalty of Rs. 100.

TELLICHERRY.

The port rules for Tellicherry are the same as those in force at Cannanore, except that rule 7 runs as follows:—

RULE 7.—All vessels in the roadstead of Tellicherry whether steamships or sailing vessels, shall, when at anchor between sunset and sunrise, exhibit at the starboard foreyard arm, but at a height not exceeding 20 feet above the hull, a white light in a globular lantern of eight inches in diameter and so constructed as to show a clear, uniform, and unbroken light visible all round the horizon, and at a distance of at least one mile.

CALICUT.

Rate of boat-hire at Calicut, Beypore.

1. Boats conveying 1 ton and under, laden or unladen—

	RS.	A.	P.
To all vessels under 3 fathoms	0	6	0
Do. in 3 and under 5 fathoms	0	14	0
Do. in 5 and under 7 fathoms	1	8	0

In and beyond 7 fathoms, the rate to be at the option of parties contracting.

For every quarter ton over one ton .. One quarter of the above rates additional.

2. Transhipping trip and return trip .. Half the above rates.

3. Trip between 6 p.m. and 5 a.m. in monsoon, and on Sundays and close holidays. Double the above rates.

4. Detention alongside of vessels more than three hours. Do.

5. With an awning Four annas additional.

The port rules at Calicut are the same as at Cannanore, except that rules 5 and 7 run as follows:—

RULE 5.—The cargo boat rules published by Government, under date the 23rd April 1847, shall be in force at the port of Calicut

RULE 7.—All vessels in the roadstead of Calicut, whether steamships or sailing vessels, shall, when at anchor between sunset and sunrise, exhibit

at the starboard foreyard arm, but at a height not exceeding 20 feet above the hull, a white light in a globular lantern of eight inches in diameter and so constructed as to show a clear, uniform, and unbroken light visible all round the horizon, and at a distance of at least one mile.

BEYPORE.

The port rules for Beypore are similar to those in force at Cannanore,¹ except in regard to the following :—

RULE 2.—All vessels within the entrance of the backwater shall, if required by the conservator, rig in their jib and driver-booms, and strike their masts and yards.

RULE 3.—All vessels within the entrance of the backwater shall remove any anchor or spar, or other substance projecting from her side, if required to do so by the conservator.

RULE 5.—A free channel shall be kept for ships moving up and down the backwater, and also free passage to piers, jetties, landing places, wharves, quays, docks, and moorings, and all vessels shall be bound to remove, when required by the conservator, to clear such channels or passages.

RULE 7.—All vessels within the entrance of the backwater shall be moored or warped from place to place as required by the conservator, and no vessel shall cast of a warp that has been made fast to her to assist a vessel in mooring without being required to do so by the conservator or officer-in-charge of the vessel mooring.

RULE 10.—Every vessel, whether a steamer or a sailing vessel, when riding at anchor, shall exhibit, where it can best be seen, but at a height not exceeding 20 feet above the hull, a white light in a globular lantern of eight inches in diameter, and so constructed as to show a clear, uniform and unbroken light visible all round the horizon, and at a distance of at least one mile.

N.B.—An infraction of any of the above rules renders a commander liable to a penalty of 100 rupees under section 9 of Act XXII of 1855.

COCHIN.

Instructions to commanders of vessels entering the port of Cochin.

SIR,—I am desired by the Master Attendant, Administrative Department, at Madras, to request that you will, without delay, fill up the accompanying report and return it by the bearer, the hour of whose departure from your vessel should be noted on the report.

2. Your *immediate* and most particular attention is requested to the imperative necessity of your entering in the report herewith forwarded *the state of health of your crew and passengers, and whether any infectious and malignant or other disease has appeared on board during the voyage. In the event of any such sickness having occurred, you are hereby ordered and directed to prevent all communication with other vessels in the roads or with the shore, until the Port and Marine Surgeon shall have duly reported such intercourse to be free from objection. If sickness has appeared and still prevails, you are required to hoist the flag R of the Commercial Code by day, or two lighted lanterns one over the other at the fore by night. On*

¹ Rules 1, 4, 6, 8 and 9 are identical with rules 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 respectively of the *o* in force at Cannanore.

either of these signals being hoisted, the commander or other person in charge of such vessel shall consider himself in quarantine. No dead bodies are to be thrown overboard in the roadstead.

NOTE.—No boats to be allowed alongside until the ensign is hoisted at some mast-head in token that the Commander accepts the responsibility of the proceeding caution.

3. Your attention is particularly directed to the following rules.

4. The best anchorage in the roads is with the following bearings :—

Flagstaff E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. to E. N. E. in $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, soft ground, about 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles off shore.

5. All post office packets and letters are to be delivered to the post office peon who is sent for them.

6. Commanders are requested to fill up and return the accompanying paper relating to the port light, and the Master Attendant, Administrative Department, at Madras, invites them to forward to him any observations they may wish to offer regarding this or any other light along the coast which they may have passed.

7. Commanders are required to report themselves in person on landing at the Master Attendant's office, and to bring with them the ship's register, with two lists of the officers, ship's company and passengers; and no vessel will be admitted to entry at the custom-house without producing a certificate from the Master Attendant that the provisions of this article have been complied with. In the case of certain vessels arriving in port to load part cargo for foreign ports, although the goods to be exported in them may be afloat, commanders must come on shore immediately after anchoring for the purpose of entering their vessels at the marine and customs offices, and if any of the export cargo afloat is taken on board before permission is obtained by signal from the flagstaff, they will be liable to a penalty of 1,000 rupees under sections 61 and 136 of the Sea Customs Act of 1878.

8. Commanders are also required, previous to clearing out, to deliver to the Master Attendant two lists of the officers, crew, and passengers proceeding by the vessel, together with notification of all casualties which may have occurred during her stay in port, whether by death, discharge, or desertion. No vessel will be granted port clearance until the production of a certificate from the Master Attendant that the port rules have been complied with.

9. Commanders requiring a pilot to enter the inner harbour are to hoist the union jack at the foreroyal mast-head. Applications for pilots inwards and outwards are to be made to the Master Attendant in writing.

10. No cargo is to be landed in ship's boats under a penalty of 50 rupees and confiscation of the boat.

11. No ballast is to be thrown overboard in less than 9 fathoms; nor is any to be discharged on the beach, or elsewhere, from which it would be liable to be washed into the port. The penalty for infringing this rule is 500 rupees.

12. Commanders of vessels having more than 50 lb. of gunpowder or other combustibles on board are, under a penalty of 200 rupees for default, to report the same to the conservator, who will arrange, if necessary, for landing and storing the excess.

13. When the surf is so high as to render communication with the shore dangerous, a red and white chequered flag will be hoisted at the Master Attendant's flagstaff. When the surf is impassable the first distinguishing pendant will be displayed under that flag.

14. Should a boat be urgently required during the night, three lights should be hoisted horizontally, and in case of danger from fire or other causes, blue lights should be burnt and guns fired.

15. No boats are to be detained alongside after 6 p.m. The detention of a boat during the day for more than three hours will entail double hire. Commanders and officers are particularly requested to abstain from ill-using boatmen or other natives. All complaints will be promptly inquired into.

16. In the event of boisterous weather having been experienced, commanders are requested to report the same to the Master Attendant for the information of the Marine Superintendent, forwarding, if likely to be useful copy of the log detailing the circumstances.

17. No vessel of 200 tons and upwards is to be moved in the inner harbour without having a pilot or the conservator on board; and no vessel exceeding 100 tons and less than 200 tons is to be moved without a pilot, except under the authority of the conservator, under penalty in each case of 100 rupees.

18. All vessels in the inner harbour shall have their jib and driver booms rigged in, and their yards and top masts struck, unless otherwise permitted by the conservator. All projections from the ship's side must be removed.

19. All vessels moored in the stream shall keep a clear hawse.

20. No vessel anchored between the buoys and inner harbour shall have lights exhibited aloft or above the deck.

21. No warps are to be made fast to the fairway buoys.

22. A free passage of half a cable's length or 120 yards shall be kept between the wharves, jetties, landing places, and dockyards, and the position of the vessels moored in the inner harbour.

23. The Madras Ports Acts can be seen at the Master Attendant's office, and copies of them can be had at six annas each.

24. Schedules of the boat hire, pilot, and other charges of the port are hereto annexed.

NOTE.—Similar instructions to the above are sent to commanders of vessels entering the other ports of the district.

SCHEDULE A.

Boat-hire to the outer roads.

	RS.	A.	P.
Boats carrying 6 large pipes of oil, or 7 small pipes or 12 puncheons or 20 hogsheads.	2	8	0
Boats carrying 50 bales yarn or fibre, or 50 cases of coffee or 12 bales hides.	3	0	0
Boats carrying 100 bags rice, coffee, pepper, etc.	3	12	0
Boats carrying 100 cwt. coir yarn in dholls or ballasts, or 100 cwt. coir rope.	3	8	0

	RS.	A.	P.
One cargo boat measuring not less than 8 tons, carrying general cargo or ballast or passengers.	3	8	0
One cargo boat measuring less than 8 tons and above 3 tons carrying general cargo or ballast or passengers.	2	8	0
Return trip, loaded from same vessel—Half the above rates.			
Return trip, loaded from another vessel—Three quarters of the above rates.			
Transshipping from one vessel to another ..	2	0	0
Ordinary trip, passenger or Quilon boat, to or from the roads.	1	8	0
Return trip, passenger or Quilon boat ..	0	12	0

Boats carrying more than the above quantities of specified cargo, to be paid proportionately for the excess.

Double the above rates in foul weather, in going to and from vessel in and beyond 7 fathoms and at night.

Boat hire in the inner harbour.

	RS.	A.	P.
For 1 boat load of cargo to or from a vessel ...	1	0	0
Return trip from same vessel—Half the above rates.			
Do. another vessel—Three quarters the above rates.			
Passenger or Quilon boat to or from a vessel.	0	2	0

In cases of extraordinary service, as proceeding to a vessel beyond the limits of the port, or rendering aid to a vessel in distress under circumstances of peril, etc., the Master Attendant shall adjudge to be paid such additional hire as the service may seem to warrant, reporting the same for the confirmation of the Collector.

SCHEDULE B.

Pilot Charges.

I.-For every vessel of any burden exceeding 100 tons, but not exceeding 200 tons—

	Per foot.		
	RS.	A.	P.
(a) Drawing 4 feet and over 3 feet of water ..	0	10	0
(b) Do. 5 do. 4 do. ..	0	11	0
(c) Do. 6 do. 5 do. ..	0	13	0
(d) Do. 7 do. 6 do. ..	0	15	0
(e) Do. 8 do. 7 do. ..	1	4	0
(f) Do. 9 do. 8 do. ..	1	9	0

						Per foot.
						RS. A. P.
(g)	Drawing 10 feet and over 9 feet of water	..	1	14	0	
(h)	Do. 11 do. 10 do.	..	2	8	0	
(i)	Do. 12 do. 11 do.	..	3	2	0	
(j)	Do. 13 do. 12 do.	..	3	12	0	

(The draft of water will be calculated upon a whole foot, *e.g.*, a vessel drawing $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet will be charged at 4 feet or Rs. 2-8-0; and one drawing less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ at 3 feet or Rs. 1-4-0.)

		RS.
II.—(a)	For every vessel whose burden exceeds 200 tons, but does not exceed 400 tons.	30
(b)	For every vessel whose burden exceeds 400 tons, but does not exceed 600 tons ..	40
(c)	For every vessel whose burden exceeds 600 tons	50

SCHEDULE C.

		RS. A. P.
For the use of the anchor boat from 8 A.M. to sunset per diem.	20	0 0
For the use of a hawser (besides making good any injury it may sustain per diem)	5	0 0
Transporting a vessel from one position to another after she has been moored, of 300 tons and upwards	7	0 0
Do. do. do. under 300 tons ..	3	8 0

SCHEDULE D.

Scale of fees for measuring vessels.

The same as at Cannanore.

The port rules for Cochin are identical with those in force at Beypore except that rule 8 runs as follows:—

RULE 8.—The cargo boat rules published by Government in G.O. No. 317, dated 16th December 1873, shall be in force at the port of Cochin.

NARAKAL.

Directions for vessels bound to the roads of Narakal.

1. The port of Narakal is situate about 5 miles to the north of Cochin, and its flagstaff is in latitude $10^{\circ} 2' N.$ and longitude $76^{\circ} 13' 36'' E.$

2. Owing to a mud flat extending off the place, and breaking the force of the ocean swell, the usual sea existing in an open roadstead is barely felt in a depth of five fathoms; but under three fathoms the water is perfectly smooth. A first-class red buoy is moored on the flat in 18 feet water and bears from the Narakal flagstaff W. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.

3. In consequence of the total absence of surf on the beach abreast, a free and easy communication with the shore can be maintained at all periods of the year, and in all weathers, by boats of every description.

4. Vessels intending to seek this anchorage during the south-west monsoon, or in bad weather, should take up a berth with the Narakal flagstaff bearing from E. b. S. to E. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.—the Cruz Milagre gap S.E. to S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. and the Cochin lighthouse, which is distinctly visible, S.E. $\frac{3}{4}$ S. to S.E. by S. distance off shore about 3 miles in 4 to 5 fathoms.

5. Cruz Milagre is a conspicuous opening formed in the belt of coconut trees which fringes the coast, and is clearly discernible from a ship's deck either when approaching from the northward, or from the offing abreast of Narakal. But coming from the southward, the gap is not open to view until abreast of it.

6. Close attention should be paid to the lead while approaching the flat, as from the extreme softness of the mud, the contact with the bottom is scarcely felt, and an error may lead vessels into shallow water.

7. Vessels unable to remain in the roads of Cochin from stress of weather, or bound to that port during the south-west monsoon, will find Narakal, a perfect safe anchorage, and can ride securely and communicate with Cochin either by land or backwater, in less than two hours.

8. Ships intending to leave the roads of Cochin for Narakal should steer a N. W. b. N. course until abreast of the place, and then run in for the anchorage according to the bearings given. In the event of the wind being scant, vessels should endeavour to leave Cochin during the ebb tide, as the flood is likely to sweep them in shore.

9. An ordinary light, visible about 8 miles, is exhibited from the flagstaff at Narakal during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon from the 10th May to the 30th September, which is a good guide to ships wishing to make for that anchorage during the night.

10. Boats intending to communicate from ships in the anchorage to the shore at Narakal in bad weather, should make direct for the flagstaff where they can safely be hauled up on the beach, which is free of surf to the extent of two miles; but should avoid going far to the north or south before making for the shore, as heavy breakers prevail in the outer surf line during the prevalence of a heavy monsoon.

11. Provisions and water can easily be obtained, and to vessels, navigating this part of the western coast during the south-west monsoon, and receiving any damage or loss, Narakal affords a very desirable place of resort where such injuries can be remedied by the facilities which Cochin offers.

12. At the first burst of the monsoon, previous to which the surrounding sea is calm and quiet, there is always a sea prevailing in Narakal roads and on the shore; but after the lapse of about a week, when the surrounding sea is much disturbed by the violence of the weather, the waters at Narakal subside into their normal serenity which continues till the end of the year.

APPENDIX IX.

Port Rules, etc., of the minor ports.

In the exercise of the power conferred by section 7 of the Indian Ports Act No. XII of 1875, the Governor of Fort St. George in Council hereby prescribes the following port rules for each of the undermentioned ports * :—

Port rules.

RULE 1.—All vessels within the port shall be bound to take up such berths as may be appointed for them by the conservator, and shall change their berths or remove therefrom when required by such authority.

RULE 2.—All vessels within the entrance of the backwater shall, if required by the conservator, rig in their jib and driver-booms and strike their masts and yards.

RULE 3.—All vessels within the entrance of the backwater shall remove any anchors, spars or other things projecting from their sides if required to do so by the conservator.

RULE 4.—All vessels taking in or discharging ballast or cargo or any particular kind of cargo within the port shall, whilst so engaged, occupy such stations respectively as the conservator may from time to time direct.

RULE 5.—Free passages of such width as the conservator shall from time to time direct shall be kept for ships moving up and down the backwater and also along or near to the piers, jetties, landing places, wharves, quays, docks, and moorings in or adjoining the port.

RULE 6.—All vessels within the port shall anchor, moor, and unmoor as may from time to time be required by the conservator.

RULE 7.—All vessels within the entrance of the backwater shall be moved or warped from place to place in such manner as may from time to time be required by the conservator, and no vessel shall cast off a warp that has been made fast to her to assist a vessel in mooring without being required to do so by the conservator or the officer in charge of the vessel mooring.

RULE 8.—The cargo boat rules published by Government under date the 30th September 1867, as modified by notification of Government under the Ports Act XII of 1875 of this date, and, by Madras Act I of 1881, in ports to which that Act shall be extended, shall be in force at the said ports.

RULE 9.—No pitch or dammer shall be boiled nor shall any spirits be drawn off by candle or other artificial light on board any vessel within the limits of the port.

RULE 10.—Every vessel, whether a steamer or a sailing vessel, when riding at anchor, shall exhibit, where it can best be seen, but at a height not exceeding 20 feet above the hull, a white light, in a globular lantern of eight inches in diameter, and so constructed to show a clear, uniform, and unbroken light, visible all round the horizon, at a distance of at least one mile.

* The minor ports mentioned at page 80 of the text.

APPENDIX X.

Proverbs.

1. If you put anything inside, it will surely be known outside.
2. Literally, Dagger within, plaster without.
3. Call one passing afar and you lose one-eighth of a pice.
4. Cf. "A bad workman quarrels with his tools."
4. Want of ingenuity finds fault with any material.
5. Alluding to false accusation.
5. The man on the opposite bank rolled the boat.
6. A kuran or mouse-deer is caught in a trap laid by A. B says to the deer "why starest," etc.
6. Why starest thou at me for being duped by Akkara Mavilon?
7. Why blamest thou thy mother for thy defeat in market?
8. Alluding to attempting impossibilities.
8. How to dig out the root of Angillapongu (a rootless plant floating on water)?
9. Why should you remove your shoes when water flows far off?
10. If the father be a *Mahout* (elephant-keeper), will the son also have a callosity on his hinder parts?
11. If there are five buffaloes to milk, the neighbourhood will come to know it. If you strain and drink the conjee (boiled rice with water) your breast will know it.
12. You can keep a betel-nut in your lap, but not a betel-nut tree.
13. The drum gets beaten, but the drummer gets the money.
14. Brothers should never get the length of blows.
15. Even an elephant will fall down if its foot slips.

16. Would you catch a leech and put it abed ?
17. The roof, if broken, will fall inside : a bridge falls into the current.
18. If eyes are given to the leech no chatty can be hung up from the roof.
19. A miry pit suits a leech.
20. A god will be recognized only if clad accordingly.
21. Though I hurt my throat, I will not renounce my share.
22. "The best can do no more."
22. A squirrel does what it can.
23. No mirror is necessary to see one's brother's foot.
24. Short life for being overwise.
25. Covetousness will lead to unusual labour.
26. The thirteenth constellation, royal anger, bilious complaint, and paternal curse, cease not until they produce their effect.
27. Danger follows avarice.
28. If my food could give me good strength and God gives me a long life, you will see me in the battle-field called Man-nattal.
29. Spoken of a time-server.
29. Put oil to the sword that is used daily.
30. Applies to artisans and others who have to take their labour to the market daily.
30. Do not benight yourself with a piece of work that cannot be done in one day.
31. If love fails, right fails also.
32. A gift made with a good heart is nectar.
33. Will not you be satisfied with eating the bread ? Why should you count the air-holes in it ?
34. If you practice you can carry an elephant.
35. A door is a morsel (lit. *pappatam*) to him who devours a temple.
36. In practising, a good many arrows are lost and a good many cadjans used as *copy-books*.
36. He who has lost a great many arrows, becomes a good archer : he who has spoiled a great many cadjans, a good writer.

37. A Dutchman's anchor ?
37. The arrow is at Kumbalath, the bow at Sekkalath, but the Nayar who uses them has reached Pannangat gateway.
38. If the mother is a harlot, the daughter is also one.
39. Mother in the *zoo* (net-work for suspending pots), sister below it, and the wife in mortar (rice-pounding).
40. If mother is beaten, father should enquire about it ; and if sister is beaten, brother-in-law should enquire about it.
41. In allusion to a story wherein the "uncle" and the cow are put *in statu quo* by an umpire. Is repeated by a man when he stops a quarrel, etc.
41. Let uncle stand where he used to stand, and the cow where she used to stand.
42. If you take more than your share, the sky will fall down on your head.
43. She who leaves her husband, falling in love with a king, gets neither.
44. Is there war after the king is slain ?
45. Instant death results from the biting of a salamander.
46. It is said that the reptile forgets a thing ere its tail (while creeping) has reached where its head was.
46. Forgetfulness is with salamander.
47. Borrowed from the weaver ; meaning, with reference to any difficulty, that there is as much of it as there is in disentangling half a pallam of yarn.
47. Difficulty of half a pallam weight of thread.
48. Half a pallam weight will waste away when any one goes by side of another.
49. The dog ate the rice and bit the carpenter woman, and yet it snarls.
50. A thousand crows will come if you throw rice.
51. If you (devour) subdue your anger, it will turn out nectar ; but if you devour (fail to use ?) your weapon, you will not keep up your manliness.

53. For the operation cannot improve the substance.
54. Is the complaint of a patient who has to swallow, unassisted, what the doctors compound.
61. Said of one in extreme agony.
62. Said of one hard-worked.
65. Said of a dying man.
67. Cf. "A worm will turn."
69. Deprecates overcrowding.
52. One in infirmity cannot be ceremonious, nor can one in destitution make presents.
53. What has been ground should not be pounded.
54. Many are there to grind, but there is only one to drink.
55. Riches (are) ruin.
56. A mean fellow becoming rich will cause an umbrella to be held up for him even at midnight.
57. Do half yourself and leave the other half to Providence.
58. Every clump of bushes is an elephant to an ignorant man.
59. One need not explain to men of understanding, nor should one explain to men of ignorance.
60. If you can give a thousand to be butchered, why cannot you give one to be reared ?
61. Like a cock that struggles having its head cut off.
62. Like a washerman's donkey.
63. Do not speak to a distressed Pulayi woman about a jungle full of firewood.
64. He is a bed or mattress to ten persons.
65. If all the gods come, it can be managed.
66. In the treatment of those who are not versed in Ashtanga Hridayam, turmeric is used as orris root and camphor as *Plumbago Ceylanica*.
67. Even a rat-snake will bite if attacked in its hole.
68. There will be no pulp in a jack-fruit that looks beautiful.
69. A plantain tree that grows in a cluster of several others will produce no bunch.
70. Put on the chains and log as soon as you see that an elephant is *mast*.
71. Will a goat know anything of the merchandise in a bazaar ?

72. Dress supplies what merit lacks.
 73. Like a jungle where goats are allowed to graze.
 74. Goats spoil a jungle just as a wandering king a country.
 75. How will an oil-monger behave if told off to weave?
 76. Give an elephant rather than give rise to hopes.
 77. Are ivory and the heart of the plantain tree equal to each other?
 78. The walking of an elephant and the running of a horse are equal.
 79. How can it be a procession if there is no elephant?
 80. When a dog barks at an elephant-keeper on the back of his elephant, how much will he be frightened?
 81. When elephants fight, the ants are crushed to death.
 82. To an elephant a horse is only a footstool.
 83. A palm-tree is sugar to an elephant.
 84. Do not hang bells on the neck of an elephant.
 85. One so careful that he looks to see if a worm has bitten a gold mohur.
 86. None but senseless words will be uttered, though thousands of instructions are poured into the ear.
 87. He holds a thousand gardens on rent, but has only oil-cakes to make curry with at night.
 88. A man will be called only half a physician if he has made a thousand men blind.
 89. One dose of arsenic is sufficient to kill a thousand crows.
 90. Having borne it a thousand leagues, do not drag it half a league.
74. The proximity of kings was dreaded in former days.
 75. "Out of one's element."
 77. The innermost part of a plantain tree that has brought out its bunch has a "heart" resembling ivory in colour, etc.
 79. "Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, without the part of Hamlet."
 84. An elephant needs no decoration.
 85. Alludes to people prone to find fault with anything and everything.
 86. Spoken of a stupid fellow.

91. Better to see one sovereign than a thousand ministers.
 92. A thousand proverbs are not injurious to life, but a thousand curses are.
 93. He who pretended to possess a thousand senses, has now a rock on his breast; and the other who pretended to possess a hundred, is strung on the rib of a cocoanut leaf; but I who am said to possess only one sense may now leap off free.
 94. A thousand words have not the weight of half a pallam (one quarter pound).
 95. If grown there will be a thousand cocoanuts (tengnga), otherwise the loss is but a thousand shells (tongna).
 96. However fondly you may bring up a stranger, he will ever remain a stranger.
 97. The Variyan is blamed for another's fault.
 98. You may a thousand times kiss another's child, but not once slap it.
 99. Better (more servicable) our own gums than the teeth of other people.
 100. If there is nobody else, then give me a Pattar. If there is nothing else to eat, then give me *Tal* (edible plant).
 101. A hundred languages in half a dozen districts.
 102. Even if you spill it in a stream, it should be measured.
 103. Like Ali's going to Nagapuram.
 104. If you drink milk at the cattle-pen you will not have butter-milk at home.
93. Not quite clear, but is probably spoken by a tiny fish, and has reference to its own escape through the meshes of the net, while the turtle is caught and placed on its back with a stone upon it and the larger fish are strung on an "ikkil."
95. The words of a person about to plant a thousand nuts.
97. Is commonly repeated when one is blamed for another's fault.
100. A Pattar (foreign Brahman) gets a Nayar girl when no one else will have her. *Tal* is eaten only when nothing else is procurable.
102. Teaches the importance of accounts.
103. In allusion to a stupid errand-boy who, as soon as he was told he must run an errand to a certain place, went thither without waiting to receive the message and returned.

105. You should not strike a cow on its muzzle when it is coming to the pen.
106. "When you are at Rome do as the Romans do."
106. When one flying-fox visits another, the one takes one branch, the other another.
107. The result of your deeds during the prime of your life will be seen at the time of your death.
108. Avaricious men will fall into great danger.
109. In Malabar a carpenter begins life by making coconut-shell spoons ; in old age he earns a scanty livelihood by making the same description of useful articles.
109. Drudgery at the beginning of life and the end, like (the career of) a carpenter.
110. "Necessity knows no law."
110. When necessity compels, a temple is a mere compound.
111. Precious stones are not unfrequently valued according to the worth of the wearer.
111. The worth of the gem depends on the worth of the man who wears it.
112. "If you want a thing done, do it yourself."
112. Better go yourself than send many.
113. What the root is to a tree, such is help to a man (who needs it).
114. A long pole for a deep pit.
115. "Grasp your nettle."
115. There is no chilliness if you plunge deep (into water).
116. "Distance lends enchantment to the view."
116. When seen from this side, the opposite side looks green.
117. "Itala" (a fast-burning wood) is not suitable for cremation : nor is a Sudra (for the purpose now in hand).
118. Like a snake that heard thunder.
119. Like a tree struck down by lightning.
120. Do not associate with one that has no friend.
121. If you associate with one that has no friend, you will lose all your nine friends and at last yourself.
122. Children brought up by a beggar will not leave off mendicancy.

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| 123. Fit for no work. | 123. Like a snake that has devoured its prey. |
| 124. Probably in allusion to constant calls the maid has to attend to. | 124. Like the door of a room in which a maid-servant sleeps. |
| | 125. Do not stretch out your legs before you are seated. |
| 126. The would-be donor is certainly liberal. | 126. When the rock at Iringath becomes gold, half of it will be given to Devar. |
| 127. Improvements should never begin at the wrong end. | 127. Do not thatch your gate-house till after you have thatched your dwelling. |
| 128. Spoken of things that have found their way to people's hands and never will return. | 128. Will (red-hot) iron belch the water it has drunk ? |
| 129. A grave wrong is not counteracted by a slight act of the opposite kind. | 129. If you swallow an iron bar, will drinking ginger-water enable you to digest it ? |
| | 130. The horse knows the taste of iron and the elephant the weight of a chain. |
| | 131. Iron and skill will go bad if not used. |
| 132. Falling between two stools. | 132. If you put your feet in two boats you will find yourself in the middle (of the stream). |
| | 133. If you cut down a tree on which you are seated, the tree will come uppermost and you undermost. |
| | 134. An idle fellow will not know what appetite is, but he will who digs hard. |
| 135. Probably meaning that when there is a greater man present, a lesser one should not make much ado | 135. When flesh is present, the feathers should not struggle. |
| | 136. The man who went for meat, died of shivering (having been benighted in the jungle), and the man who sent for it died of greediness. |
| | 137. Meat is eaten, but the horns are not strung up and hung around the neck. |
| | 138. If there is want in the Brahman's house, you need not expect to find anything in the King's palace. |

139. He that can be useful at home, will not go abroad as a serving man.
140. A man with plenty at home finds plenty abroad.
141. The birth of a daughter is to a Brahman the beginning of anxiety and expense.
141. Why do you look like a Brahman to whom a daughter has been born ?
142. Homeward a man will carry even seventy-five (measures) [an extraordinarily heavy load.]
143. An emaciated child certainly does not indicate plenty at home.
143. The circumstances of the family can be guessed from the child'ship.
144. Has access to all parts of the house (?)
144. Like the cat in a Brahman's house.
145. *Amata* (superfine gold) is to the poor the same as common gold.
146. A wife, if not liked, is found fault with in whatever she does.
147. Money is a hatchet for severing friendship.
148. Do not plant (a tree) head downwards.
149. A young deer does not know the jungle tracks ; an old deer is not strong enough to run.
150. Making a deal of noise (with the feet).
150. Like a dog on a heap of cockle-shells.
151. Like a monkey who has got a lump of bread.
152. Both are apt to take advantage and worry you.
152. Do not show your sore to a fly nor your toothless gums to a child.
153. Some mishap (to an enemy) in the nick of time.
153. Sore-mouth to crows when dates ripen.
154. Is a louse to be the wages for removing a nit ?
155. What the miser Mayan had acquired, the prodigal Mayan consumed.
156. She that went to act as a midwife brought forth twins.
157. The reason is not known ; possibly because intercourse with the island was forbidden to Brahmans, or because the trip thither was attended with danger.
157. The Brahman who sees Ceylon will never see his home again.

158. Is that stump of the stalk for me and the coconut for Mullappalli (a Nambutiri) ?
159. For fear of hurting himself (?) 159. Will a man who has a sore on his hip pass through a narrow stile ?
160. How can a man who has no clothes to wear, use a clothes line ?
161. A child that has eaten well will jump and play about, but a child that has not, will play seated in one place.
162. We should not put pebbles in rice left over after meals.
163. A man who has taken his meals will not know the hunger of a man who has not taken it.
164. The man who has taken his meals wants a mat; but the man who has not done so wants a plantain leaf (off which to eat).
165. You should not wish to make an attachment (distrain) in a house where you have lived as a boarder.
166. *Vide* 143. 166. The appearance of a child tells the distress prevailing.
167. No presents at meals and no ceremonies in sleep.
168. If destitute of any other things, take rice made of seed paddy, and if no clothing, wear silk.
169. As their "luck" so the crops. 169. The good luck of the people who are to eat, can be seen at the place ploughed.
170. If you are industrious you can have your dinner.
171. Real merit alone will retain its place. 171. If you force anything up it will slide down of itself.
172. Better to be drowned in a well with a stone hung on our neck than to be mounting both ends of a pestle (rice-pounder) for which there is no use (rice to be pounded).
173. Nothing salted will be more saltish than salt.

174. If any one eat salt, he will drink water.
175. If salt is saltish, then the Map-pilla (shop-keeper) will cheat.
176. Underwent hardship in a useless occupation.
176. He was exposed to smoke while pounding paddy husks.
177. *I.e.*, You must allow for wastage. *Tudi* and *ural* are alike in shape, but the latter is several times larger than the former.
177. A small drum (*tudi*) will be formed of it even if you make it as large as a mortar (*ural*).
178. One must expect to get blows if seated at the foot of a mortar.
179. The former is operated upon on one side only, while the latter is beaten on both sides at least in Malabar.
179. A mortar (for pounding rice) complains to a finger-drum.
180. See 177.
180. Being cut for a pestle, turned out a short stick.
181. Even an *uri* (a net work for suspending household pots) will laugh if the truth is spoken.
182. A poor man's iron bar is required for stealing a rich man's gold.
183. If you jump up without knowing your strength, you are sure to break your hip.
184. The former hastens to the feast. The pig, frightened at the sound of the "horn," runs for its life.
184. A Pattar (foreign Brahman) who has heard of a rice choultry and a pig that had heard of a chase (run equally fast).
185. In eating and bathing be first, and in war, umbrella, and mud, take the middle.

APPENDIX XI.

*Vocabulary of the language—Mahl—spoken in the Island of Minicoy.
Taken down from Ali Malikhan Amina (Headman) of the Island.*

English.	Mahl.	English.	Mahl.
Man	Pirihenu.	Saturday ..	Onihiru.
Woman	Angahenu-	One	Ekke.
Child	Kudi.	Two	Do.
Boy	Pirihen Kudi.	Three	Tine.
Girl	Angahen Kudi.	Four	Hattari.
Young	Kuta.	Five	Pahe.
Old	Bodu.	Six	Hayo.
Husband ..	Phirimiha.	Seven	Hatti.
Wife	Abimiha.	Eight	Areg.
Son	Pirihen Darivu.	Nine	Nuve.
Daughter ..	Angahen Darivu.	Ten	Dihe.
Marriage ..	Kavini Kuram.	Eleven	Egara Ekhus.
House	Ge Goti.	Twelve	Doloss.
Room	No word.	Thirteen ..	Doloss ekke.
Door	Doru.	Fourteen ..	Doloss Do.
Window ..	Kudi Daru.	Fifteen	Doloss Tine.
Roof	Timi.	Sixteen	Doloss Hattari.
Earth	Binmatti Bimka.	Seventeen ..	Doloss Paho.
Sky	Udu.	Eighteen ..	Doloss Hayo.
Fire	Aliphang.	Nineteen ..	Doloss Hatti.
Water	Pheng.	Twenty	Doloss Areg.
Air	Ve Madu.	Twenty-one ..	Doloss Nuve.
Wind	Ve Gada.	Twenty-two ..	Doloss Dihe.
Cloud	Vila.	Twenty-three.	Doloss Ekhus.
Sun	Iru.	Twenty-four ..	Phasihi.
Moon	Hadu.	Twenty-five ..	Phasihi Ekke.
Star	Tari.	Twenty-six ..	Phasihi Do and so
Rain	Par.		on.
Light	Havali	Thirty-six ..	Tintoloss.
Darkness ..	Antiri.	Thirty-seven ..	Tintoloss ekke
Morning ..	Hentumu.		and so
Noon	Menturugam.	Forty-eight ..	Phanass.
Evening ..	Haviru.	Sixty	Phattoloss.
Day	Duvalu.	Seventy-two ..	Phahitti.
Night	Regam.	Eighty-four ..	Haidoloss.
Week	No word.	Ninety-six ..	Hiya.
Month	Mastuvass.	One hundred.	Hiya Hattari,
Year	Ahari.		Sattika.
Sunday	Aditta.	One hundred ..	Sattika ekke.
Monday ..	Oma.	and one.	
Tuesday ..	Angara.	Two hundred.	Dwi Satta.
Wednesday ..	Buda.	Three hundred	Tin Sattika.
Thursday ..	Buraswati.	Four hundred.	Hattari Sattika
Friday	Hukkuru.		and so on.

English.	Mahl.	English.	Mahl.
One thousand	Ha He.	Island ..	<i>No word</i> ¹ .
Ten thousand	Dihass.	Leper ..	Bodu Bali ¹ .
One hundred thousand.	Sattika Hass.	Far ..	Duru.
Quarter ..	Kal.	Near ..	Gahi.
Half ..	Be.	New ..	Au.
Three-quarters	Mukkal.	Sick ..	Bali Nukare.
East ..	Irumatti.	Fever ..	Hum Hattave.
West ..	Olakumatti.	Small-pox ..	Khari Vadili.
North ..	Utturu.	Cholera ..	Hode Bade lagatti
South ..	Dekkunu.	Love ..	Lobive.
Hair ..	Ittari.	Fear ..	Biru Gani.
Head ..	Bo.	Anger ..	Ruli Hatuve.
Eye ..	Lo.	Friend ..	Rahu Mattiri.
Nose ..	Nephai.	Foe ..	Jussman.
Mouth ..	Anka.	Good ..	Hevu.
Tooth ..	Dai.	Bad ..	Nube.
Face ..	Munu.	Black ..	Khalu.
Neck ..	Kharu, Khautura.	White ..	Dom.
Ear ..	Kampai.	Red ..	Reyi.
Arm ..	Ai.	Blue ..	Nu.
Hand ..	<i>No word.</i>	Yellow ..	Rintu.
Belly ..	Badu.	Green ..	<i>No word.</i>
Leg ..	Phe.	Dry ..	Hikki.
Foot ..	Daphe.	Milk ..	Kiru.
Finger ..	Imgili, Atu-ingili.	Rice (boiled)	Bai.
Toe ..	Phe-ingili.	Blood ..	Le.
Skin ..	Hamg.	Cloth ..	Pheli.
Heat ..	Hunu.	Iron ..	Dagadu.
Hot ..	Hunuve.	Silver ..	Rihi.
Cold ..	Ihu.	Gold ..	Rain.
Thunder ..	Guguri.	Copper ..	Lo.
Lightning	Vidum.	Brass ..	Hudulo.
Tree ..	Gass.	Lead ..	Timara.
Dog ..	Pirihen Lati.	Tin ..	Tuttiya.
Bitch ..	Amgahen Lati.	To walk ..	Higani.
Cat ..	Bulo.	To do ..	Kurani.
Bull ..	Pirihen Geri.	To sit ..	Ittani.
Cow ..	Amgahen Geri.	To see ..	Phene.
Rat ..	Midau.	To hear ..	Ive.
Fish ..	Mass.	To smell ..	Vassduve.
Flesh ..	Mass.	Lie (down) ..	Ottani.
Sea ..	Khadu.	Speak ..	Vahakadakkani.
Ship ..	Nau.	Ask ..	Ahani.
Boat ..	Barkass.	Dig ..	Konnani.
God ..	Khalamki, Deva-tanki.	Plough (to) ..	<i>No word.</i>
Idol ..	Bhuddhu.	Plough (noun).	<i>Do.</i>
Mosque ..	Missakkuyi (? Mosque).	Horse ..	Ass.
Father ..	Baphu.	Eat ..	Khani.
Mother ..	Ama.	Beat (Strike).	Thalani.
		Kill ..	Marani.
		Bury ..	Valulani.
		To call ..	Banika.

¹ They use the word for "Country" — "Rahrum".

English.	Mahl.	English.	Mahl.
To cook ..	Bai Kakkani.	Net ..	Dau.
To cut ..	Khatani.	Hook (fishing) ..	Buli.
To stab ..	Thoru Pheli.	Deep ..	Phum.
Salt ..	Lonu.	Long ..	Digu.
Chilly ..	Onu.	Short ..	Kuru.
Mustard ..	<i>No word.</i>	Broad ..	Phulau.
Oil ..	Thevu.	High ..	Ussming.
Butter ..	Venne.	Narrow ..	Phulaumi, Hanivi
Mat ..	Kunan.	Yon ..	Tha Khalig.
Pillow ..	Khanni.	I ..	Aphuring Ma.
Doubt ..	Urappanai.	We ..	Aphuriming.
Certainty ..	Urapp.	He ..	Eyi.
Path ..	Magu (S. Marga).	She ..	Eya.
Hedge ..	Phula.	They ..	Eyiming.
Paper ..	Kharudass.	That ..	Eyuti.
To write ..	Liyani.	This ..	Miyuti.
Read ..	Hiyani.	Yours ..	Thage.
Right ..	Thedu.	Mine ..	Aphuring Ma.
Wrong ..	Hamanuvi.	His ..	Eyi.
Owner ..	Oni.	Hers ..	Eya.
Property ..	Mutal.	Their ..	Eyiming.
Money ..	Ruppiya.	Whose ..	Khagi.
Right ..	Kanayi.	When ..	Kong Regu.
Left ..	Vayi.	Where ..	Kontaka.
Front ..	Kurimatti.	Why ..	Kevu Gante.
Back ..	Phuragass.	Which ..	Konch.
Above ..	Mati.	Me ..	Ma.
Below ..	Tiri.	Him ..	Esoru.
Grass ..	Huyi.	Her ..	Egoyya.
Stone ..	Gau.	Them ..	Eyiming.
Sand ..	Domveli.	You (objective) ..	Tha.
Sin ..	Phap.	Complainant.	Sariyai Kuramiya.
Large ..	Bodu.	Defendant ..	Prati.
Small ..	Kuta.	Witness ..	Sakshi.
Fowl ..	Kukkulu.	Document ..	Adaram.
Egg ..	Biss.	Trial ..	Sariyai Kurani.
Lamp ..	Vvo.	Decision ..	Vidhi.
Cot (bedstead) ..	Entu.	Fine ..	Phesa.
Pot ..	Phuphe.	Imprisonment ..	Tatavu.
Spade ..	Hutali.	Medicine ..	Bess.
Axe ..	Phuru.	Physician ..	Bess Kuramiya.
Chisel ..	Vatankari.	Dish ..	Tharhi.
Knife ..	Kuraphai.	Copper vessel.	Lo.
Needle ..	Thinoss.	Wodden vessel	Tharagi.
Cap ..	Thakhiya.	Chair ..	Adarada Gonti.
Shoe ..	Phevamg.	Spoon ..	Samusa.
Sail (of a ship) ..	Riyan.	Ink-bottle ..	Davadu.
Tail ..	Phintu.	Price ..	Agu.
Box ..	Phori.	Body ..	Harigamg.
Gun ..	Badi.	To sleep ..	Nidani.
Gunpowder ..	Badi Bess.	To drink ..	Boni.
Bullet ..	Bodu Unta.	To bathe ..	Erani.
Shot ..	Kudi Unta.	To steal ..	Vakkan Kurani.

English.	Mahl.	English.	Mahl.
Tank ..	Valu.	Sugar ..	Ussakkuru.
Well ..	Phempuvalu.	Honey ..	Mamuyi.
River ..	Koru.	Sea-beach ..	Attiri.
To laugh ..	Higoni.	Plantain ..	Khevu.
To cry ..	Roni.	Emergent ..	Vehe Avakka.
Pain ..	Thadu.	Book ..	Phoyi.
Pleasure ..	Oha.	Koran ..	Tiriss ¹ .
Sorrow ..	Hittadu.	School ..	Kiyavagge.
I speak ..	Aphuring Bu- nani, Ma Bu- nani.	Teacher ..	Kiyavade Miha.
You speak ..	Khalig Bunani.	Student ..	Kiyava Kudi.
He speaks ..	Eyi Bunani ; Esoru Bunani.	Dream ..	Huva Phing.
They speak ..	Eyiming Bunani.	Firewood ..	Daru.
I do ..	Aphuring Ku- rani Ma Ku- rani.	Who are you ?	Tha Sibahari Ka- kute.
You do ..	Khalig Kurani.	What is your name ?	Khalik Namakki Kekati.
He does ..	Eyi Kurani ; Esoru Kurani.	What is your age ?	Kitamg Aharn Vej jate.
They do ..	Eyiming Kurani.	When did you leave your country ?	Rarum Phuri Kontuvaha Kute.
I go ..	Aphuring Higa- dani Ma Higa- dani.	I left my country on last Friday.	Diya Hukkuru Duvahu Ra- rum Phuri.
He goes ..	Eyi Higadani ; Es- oru Higadani.	How do you know that ?	Tharag Engumi Kina Kunte.
You go ..	Khalig Higadani.	I came in an Odam.	Ma Odiyagge Ayi.
They go ..	Eyiming Higa- dani.	How long were you at sea ?	Khaduge Ginadu- vass Viyang.
I see ..	Aphurina Phene ; Ma Phene.	Where did you land ?	Hontakatte Phebi.
He sees ..	Esoru Phene.	What things have you brought ?	Khalik Konch Ginai.
You see ..	Khaligaya Phene.	I have brought	Ma (1) Ronu (2) (1) coir, (2) Kabari, (3) Boli, coconuts, (3) (4) Kampuphai, cowries, (4) (5) Hakkuru, tortoise. Maghai shell, and (5) jaggery.
Eye-brow ..	Buma.	Was there any sickness in your coun- try when you left it ?	Tha Rarum Phur Iruge Balimadu Khami Ulai- ang.
Monstache ..	Mattimass.		
Beard ..	Tumpuli.		
Tears ..	Lolu Phang.		
Nails ..	Nivati.		
Ring ..	Mudi.		
Lip ..	Tumpai.		
Tobacco ..	Dumpai.		
Snuff ..	Vahi.		
Betel-leaf ..	Bileyi.		
Areca-nut ..	Phuva.		
Coat ..	Libass.		
Stick ..	Asa.		

¹ The Hindustani word (corrupted) for 30, because in the big copy of the Koran it is written on 30 (Jus) of 12 leaves (Pheigam) each or 360 leaves in all. A Jus does not take heed of where the Suras begin and end. The Islanders are without exception Muhammadans.

English.	Mahl.	English.	Mahl.
What do you wish to buy here ?	Mitanu Tharaphi Tuge Oti Konch Gananti.	He says he has a " <i>Sankadam</i> " (grievance).	Essura Samkatam Ebutti.
Are your accounts ready ?	Khalig Khanakku Ganass Obiyya.	I have no time today ; come tomorrow or the day after it.	Mihintakku Nu- phenevene Ma- ta Makku Nu Enadupahu Anantahare.
How many persons have you got ?	Khalig Gatuge Kita Siphai Ebarute.	Can you climb that tree ?	Khalig Yeg Ega- hia Aram Ke- renahe.
Who draws toddy in your country ?	Khalig Raruge Ra Nagani Kompetti.	He fell down	Esuru Gahum Ve- tij.
When do you go back ?	Kalig Kom Ira- kunte Higa- dani.	He got a wound.	Esuru Aiburivejji.
I want a barber.	Aphurina Bobala Mihe Benume.	He is a fool . .	Esuru Muyaki.
Can he shave ?	Tha Bobala Danche.	No, he is very clever.	Nu-Esuru Ram- kulu Gulakki.
Look at me . .	Magayi Balahare.	Yes, you speak truth.	Khalig Thedu Bunani.
Run after him.	Maphahattuga Ana Hare.	Where do you live ?	Khalig Kontaku The Uluni.
Bring that goat.	Oyo Bakkar Ginnahari.	In a shop . .	Phiyarageya.
Shut my box.	Aphuring Phori Thalu Lahari.	I remember it.	Mara Hantamg Obayi.
Send this to him.	Mi Gemkuss Dehere.	I will see you next year.	Naga Aharu Kha- lige Maphin- nani.
Ask him what he wants.	Thara Koncham- gahe Benumi Eha Balahari.		

APPENDIX XII.

COLLECTION OF DEEDS.

No. I.

a. Hail! Sri--The King who has taken the supreme rule, King (Perumal) Sri Bhaskara Ravi Varman, wielding the sceptre and ruling for many 100,000 years, in his time, in the thirty-sixth year against¹ the second cycle (literally, year), on the day when he was pleased to sit in Muyirikodu, he was pleased to grant this favor.

[N.B.—The Jewish translation, particularly incorrect in the rendering of this sentence, deserves perhaps, to be listened to in its translation of Muyirikodu “residing in Kranganur or Kodungalur.” Perhaps the Musiris of the ancients is to be sought so far south. The calculation of the thirty-sixth year against the second cycle, which Mr. Whish has attempted, guided by the authority of other documents of considerable age, I am not prepared to criticize, as I am doubtful of the signification of “*Etir*” against (before?).]

b. We have given to Joseph Rabban (the principality) Anjuvannam, along with the 72 Janmi² rights, such as (going) with elephants and (other) conveyances, tribute from subordinate landholders, and the possession (or revenue) of Anjuvannam, the light by day, the spreading cloth, the litter, the umbrella, the Vaduca drum (Jews’ transl.: “drum beaten with two sticks”), the trumpet, the gateway with seats, ornamental arches, and similar awnings and garlands (charawu, *i.e.*, T. *சராவு*) and the rest.

[N.B.—Here the name of Anjuvannam has been mistaken by the Jewish and other translators. The Jews translate it “five colours,” and the revenue of Anjuvannam is converted by them into a right to convert from the five castes. But the language of the document forbids to take “*anju*” for the numeral 5: it would have been “*aintu*” as in the later document, IIa³. The present translation of *vidu peru*, generally mistaken for a gift of houses, or even for a gift to 72 families is fully secured by document II⁴ in several places; *vidu* (*cf.* II, k⁵) is the verbal noun of *vidu*, “to leave,” signifies “remittance, freedom,” hence in ancient T. Synonymous with S. *mocsha*; the derived meaning is “freehold, Janmam,” hence the modern signification “gardens house.” Some of the privileges are not quite determined; *pacudam* (T. tribute) is, in the Jewish translation the right of calling from the corners of the street that low castes may retire. After “umbrella” the Jews have inserted a word of which they do not know the meaning.]

c. We have remitted to him the tribute to the Supreme Government (literally, the world-bearing-hire of II⁶ l).

[N.B.—The Jews translate literally, but ungrammatically, “and the revenue of the land and balances their hires he remitted.”]

¹ Compare a similar use of the word “*Etir*” in Deed No. 4. “The date of this deed cannot be later than the eighth century A.D.” Nor can the deed be “older than the beginning of the eighth century.” Burnell in *Ind. Ant.* III. 324: “Probably not later than the ninth century A.D., nor earlier than the seventh.” Caldwell, *Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, *Introdn.*, 89, *Edn.* 1875, “About 750.” Burnell, *South Indian Palaeography*, 2nd *Edn.* 149.

² See the note which follows: the word used is *Viduper*.

³ No. 3 in this collection.

⁴ Deed No. 3, Clause (l).

And we have enacted with this copper-deed that when the other town inhabitants pay taxes to the (Perumal's) palace, he shall not have to pay; when they receive, he shall also receive.

[N.B.—Nothing of the Jewish version can here be of any use; they are quite misled by the word *Coyil*, which they take for synagogues, and hence conclude the sense to be this: "and he shall be chief to the rest of the cities in which there are synagogues and Jewish inhabitants," without any attention to the structure of the sentence. But the sentence is difficult on account of the (antiquated) double *aru*, which I take for "time, term;" of Boschi's *arum* "tax paid at fixed times;" and the derivative *aru*, used in Malayalam and Canarese for "when." From a comparison of this and the first¹ document, it appears that the residence of the Jewish and Christian chieftains was not in the little principality given to them, but that they remained in the metropolis as the seat of commerce. The Jewish translation may give confirmation to the tradition that there were Jews and synagogues in many cities, and that naturally enough their naturalized Emir had jurisdiction over the whole nation, which he represented in the system of Government then established.]

d. (Given) to Joseph Rabban, the owner of Anjuvannam, and to his posterity, sons and daughters, nephews and sons-in-law—a hereditary appendage for the time that earth and moon exist --Anjuvannam, a hereditary appendage. Sri.

[N.B.—*Praeriti* "what is natural, essential to," I take it for synonymous with *janmam*, which also first signifies "birth," then in Malayalam "hereditary property." Different is the use of *praeriti* in IIa.² The Jews translate it here with "standing."]

e. Thus do I know Govardhana Marttandan, owner of Venadu (or Travancore). Thus do I know Kotei Sri Candan, owner of the Venavali province (perhaps Bembali, wherein now Cottayam. May it not be the older name of Odunadu, P.)

[N.B.—These are the two southern vassals.]

f. Thus do I know, Mana Vepala Mana Viyan, owner of Erala province (the name of the Tamutiri, changed by the Jewish version, according to the current tradition, into Mana Vicrama, *vulgo* Mana Vikkiran), thus do I know Rayaran Chattan, owner of Valluva province.

[N.B.—These are the two northern vassals, as¹ I.]

g. Thus do I know, Cotei Ravi, owner of Nedumpureiyur district (Jewish version corrupted by the writers, but the tradition that this is the Pakkadu Raja seems correct. Nedumpureiyur is an old temple on the Palghatcheri road, from which Mr. Whish obtained some inscriptions).

Thus do I know Murkhan Chattan, commanding the Eastern Army. The Jews take Kilpadei for a proper name. It seems these two are the great eastern vassals on the road which leads through the Coimbatore gap to the old fields of battle between the Pandi, Chola and Chera princes. I conclude from Document¹ I, that in a later period the Chera country, properly speaking, had been taken from the Cheramans).

[According to Ellis it was divided among the great vassals as early as A.D. 389, and finally, though at what period is uncertain, was reduced to a province of the Pandyan government. (Trans. Madras Lit. Society, p. 19.).]

¹ No. 2 in this collection.

² No. 3 in this collection.

h. Candan of Great Taleicheri Kil-way ("under-mouth, eastern commander or viceroy, i.e., dhalawa, "army-mouth" or general), the mountain-splitter. The writing of Kelappa.

[N.B. —It is open to question whether these persons are two or three. The Jewish version has only the first and the last, leaving out the middle altogether. If Kil-way be the name of a place, we must render "the writing of Kil-way Kelappan, the mountain-splitter," and the latter appellation may be taken for a title given to the writer because he deals in metals (compare the *grand-goldsmith* of the I¹ document). But as Buchanan says the Jews find in the names of the subscribing Rajas the Colattiri and the Chumbenadu rulers, we may find it possible to recognize in the Candan of Taleicheri a family member or vassal of Colattiri, who with this sea-town recognized the rule of the Perumal, and in the mountain-splitter the chieftain of the Chumbar or jungle-dwellers, so called either from his mines at Tamracheri or from a pass he opened through the ghats. It does not seem that in the time of these three documents the northern Malabar or Colattiri did belong to the Perumals; for if it did, its Rajas would certainly have obtained as high and conspicuous a place in the line of witnesses as their relations of Venadu, to whom in old times they appear certainly superior. They recognized² perhaps a Tulu or Maisur dynasty as supreme lords.]

["Perimpadappu, who is now the Raja of Cochin, is here not mentioned, because (the Perumal) made him his heir and successor." There is certainly some truth in this remark, from what is said³ I. about the name Vira Keralu, now the standing appellation which the Perimpadappu assumes on his accession to the throne.]

Note.—This translation of the Cochin Jews' deed was published by Dr. Gundert in the *Madras Journal Lit. Sc.*, XIII, Part I, p. 137. Other translations by Ellis and Burnell are to be found in *Madras J.L.S.* XIII, II, and *Ind. Ant.* III, 34; also by K. Kulu Nayar in *M.J., L.S., N.S.*, V, 42.

No. 2.

Hari Sri. Adoration to Ganapati.

The blessed rule having devolved from the earth-ruler Man-lord Chacravarti Vira Kerala³ (the first of the line), through regular succession, upon Sri Vira Raghava Chacravarti, now wielding the sceptre for many 100,000 years (in the year), Jupiter⁴ in Capricornus, the 21st of the Mina month, Saturday, Rohani⁵ asterism, the following grant was made in the royal palace (of the Perumal). We have given to Iravi Corttan of Mahodeverpattanam (henceforth to be called Grand Merchant of the Cheraman world (Kerala)), the lordship of Manigramam. We also have given to him (the right of) the feast-cloth(?), house-pillars (or pictured rooms?), all the revenue, the curved⁶ sword (or dagger), and in (or with) the sword the sovereign merchantship, the right of proclamation, the privilege of having forerunners, the five musical instruments, the conch, the light (or torch burning) by day, the spreading cloth, litter, royal umbrella, Vaduca drum (drum of the Telugu's or of Bhairava?), the gateway with seats and ornamental arches, and the sovereign merchantship over the four classes⁶ (or streets), also the oilmakers and the five

¹ No. 2 in this collection.

² It is suggested in the text that *Keralam* was at this time more or less under the Western Chalukya Kings and that the northern Kolattiri family had not at this time been founded.

³ This is, so far as known, the earliest instance of the use, within Malabar itself, of this dialectic (Chamuse) form of the ancient name, *Chera*, of the country.

⁴ "A.D. 774 is the only possible year."—Dr. Burnell in *Indian Antiquary* I, p. 220.

⁵ The knife variously styled the war knife, Nayar knife, Mappilla knife, etc., is probably referred to. See *Kodungakatti* in Glossary. The possession of this weapon is now illegal.

⁶ *Cheri*—probably foreign settlers—as corporate bodies.

kinds of artificers ¹ we have subjected to him (or given as slaves to him). We have given as eternal (literally, "water" ²) possession to Iravi Corttan, the lord of the town, the brokerage and due customs of all that may be measured ³ by the para, weighed ³ by the balance, stretched ⁴ by the line, of all that may be counted ³ or carried, contained within salt sugar, musk, and lamp-oil, or whatever it be, viz., within the river-mouth of Codungalur and the tower, or between the four Talis (temples of the deputy Brahmans) and the gramams belonging to them. We have given it by an unreserved ¹ tenure to Iravi Corttan, Grand Merchant of the Cheraman world, and to his sons and sons' sons in proper succession.

Witnesses are :—

With the knowledge of the two Brahman ⁵ divisions of Panniyur and Chowaram village have we given it ; with the knowledge of the Venadu and Odunadu (rulers) have we given it ; with the knowledge of the Eranadu and Valluwanadu (rulers) have we given it ; given for the time that sun and moon shall last ; with the knowledge of the above, written by Nambi Chadayan, grand goldsmith of the Cheraman world.

Note.—The above is one of the deeds belonging to the Syrian Christians of the Cochin and Travancore States. This translation, by Dr. Gundert, appeared in the Madras "*Journal of Literature, etc.*," Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 118.

No. 3.

The following is the translation, as far as it can be made out, with short remarks in brackets.

a. Hail ! In the time (literally, year) of Perumal (Cō, king, or Gō) Sthanu Ravi Gupta, who now rules gloriously for many 100,000 years, treading under foot hostile heads, in his fifth⁶ year, this year under the concurrence of His Excellency the Ayyan Adigal, governing the Venadu (the Travancore king is still called Venad Adigal, "the adorable feet of Venadu") of Anjuwannam (the Jewish principality of Deed No. 1) and of Punnattala's Lord⁷ (the next neighbour, *vide d*), the following grant of a freehold⁸ has been given by His Excellency the Ayyan Adigal to the Tarisa⁹ church (and community), established (or built) by Isodata Virai of Curakkeni Collam. (The name Tarisa is perhaps to be recognized in the Dariaygal of the Syrian tradition).

b. (This sentence is the most difficult of the whole, first, on account of the many antiquated terms of country customs ; secondly, on account of the construction, *perar* being the negative verb which gives no plausible

¹ 1, Goldsmith ; 2, Carpenter ; 3, Founder ; 4, Ironsmith ; 5, Coppersmith.

² In the case of the Jews' grant there was no transfer by "water". Did this part of the ceremony come into the country with the Vedic Brahmans ? See Deed No. 38.

³ "*Quæ pondere, numero, mensuræ constant.*" Is there here a relic of the Roman trade with Muziris ? i.e., the Codungallur of this grant ?

⁴ This grant is chiefly of privileges and dignities of sorts, though made with "water".

⁵ See pages 269-273 of the text.

⁶ Probably fifty years later than Deed No. 2. "Ninth Century" (Haug).—Burnell in *Ind. Ant.* III, 315.

⁷ *ṡṡ* (*pati*).

⁸ *ṡṡṡ* (*peru*).

⁹ Dr. Burnell thinks *Tarisa* is of Semitic origin, signifying study. In modern Persian *Tarsa* means prayer.—*Ind. Ant.* III, 310. Other scholars have found in this word the Biblical "Tarshish."—*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, XIII, Part I.

translation. I prefer to read *perar*, and take it as the nominative for the genitive.) And I also (one of the above lords of Maruwan Sapir Iso or the church, *vide n*), who formerly had the possession of the share¹ staff (ചണ്ടക്കുഴൽ, feudal tenure ?) of the four families of Ilawar ("Sinhalese, also Tiayar, Dwipar, Islanders," now palm-tree cultivators), and of the eight families of Ilakeyar (Sihala low castes or slaves ?) belonging to them, and one family of washermen coming from the same stock as these—all these being entitled to the fetter-right² (കുള: the foot-rope for mounting coconut trees ?) and ladder-right³ (for reaping pepper ?), to the tax for the elephant feeder, and to the wash gold ("eri, perhaps ari), which the Chandan ("great person ? sun ?") is wont to get (*mattu*, "hook in" T., "get by ruse" M.), as well as to the harvest gold ("polipon," gold of interest ? shining gold ?), to the nightly meal of rice and to the pot measure—I, possessed of this share-staff, and of the Cavvan (or *cappam* ? "tribute"), and of those five Kandis (pieces of ground or shares ?), have given them by a free and unrestricted transfer.

c. Maruwan Sapir Iso (Maruwan, the Syrian lord ?), who has received the water (hereditary possession) of this town, having arranged that these four families of Ilawar (with their servants and washerman), two families of—³ one family of carpenters, and four families of Vellalar (Tamil agriculturists)—the latter being Caralar (T. ploughmen, M. temple-servants, used, *Clause m*, for trustees, hence *Clause i*, the noun *Caranmei*, "trusteeship") of the Alave (or *Aladeiya*) land—that all these may do their duty⁴ to the God, the planter by planting (rice, etc.), the setter by setting (trees, or by building, offering ?), so that the required ceremonies, such as the oil for the church, suffer no diminution, has enacted and given to the Tarisa church the land now to be described.

d. Decreed with the sanction of the Palace-major (Koyilatikarikal) Vyaraka Devar (probably Commissioner of the Perumal, since he is repeatedly mentioned before the Travancore vassal), and power given with (the ceremony of) water⁵ drops for seizing and possessing, under the concurrence of His Excellency the Ayyan Adigal, His Excellency the second Raja Rama (brother of the former and next heir), his officers and ministers, and of the 600⁶ (a local authority, *vide f*): also of the (neighbouring) lords of Punnattala ("place of Calophyllum trees") and Pulacudi ("dwelling of silk cotton trees"), the land bounded so that the east border be Vayalcadu (open waste plain) and the backwater included; the south-east border be the wall near the little door-gate ?

¹ The shares of produce, etc., due to the *Ko* (king) and to the *patti* (over-lord) were styled *varam* (see i). The possession of the *varakkol* probably gave the holder authority to collect those dues.

² കണ്ടൽ (*kannam*).

³ *Sic.*

⁴ The various members of the community were evidently told off to perform various functions; those customary functions were hereditary: hence caste. See pages 108–112 of the text. The community was evidently organized on the model of a well-ordered household.

⁵ See note to Deed No. 2. In this case the transfer was of land and other things; the things transferred by Deed No. 2, with "water," were privileges of sons.

⁶ Compare the notice of the "Six hundred" in Deed No. 4. It is almost certain that the *Karanavar* of all the *Taras* (Nayar villages) in the *Nad* constituted the "Six Hundred;" but Dr. Gundert in the translation of Deed No. 4 says, though with some doubt, "Bodyguard." See pages 87–90 and 132–34 of the text and the word "*Kuttam*" in the Glossary, App. XIII.

(*Chiru nutil cal nutil*); the west border the sea; the north border the Torana garden; the north-east border the garden of the unapproachable (*andilan*) of Punnattala; the land enclosed within these four borders I have empowered to take, and by executing this copper-deed have given, for the days that earth, moon and sun exist.

e. And it has farther been settled with the concurrence of His Excellency the Ayyan Adigal, His Excellency Rama, and the Palace-major, that the church people (Palliyar, probably heads of the Tarisa citizens) alone have power to punish the (Heathen) families of this land for any offence¹ whatsoever, and receive the fines, expenses, head-price and breast-price (probably the right of selling males and females for serious caste offences):

f. mine own relations, whoever they be, whatever the charges be, shall never have the right there to speak as heads of the land dealing with subjects. Let the 600² (see d), the Anjuwannam³ and Manigramam⁴ (Jewish and Christian principalities) be the protectors.

g. Let them, even Anjuwannam and Manigramam act both with the church and the land according to the manner detailed in this copper deed for the times that earth, moon and sun exist.

h. Ordered with the sanction of the Palace-major Vyaraka Devar, and with the sanction of His Excellency the Ayyan Adigal, and His Excellency Rama, and free tenure granted to these (Palliyar) as follows:—

i. (Again a difficult sentence. I take *Ulaku*, i.e., loka for the official name of the citizens, Christian freemen formed into a corporation⁵ and distinguished both from the Palliyar, who are their headmen, and from the Cudi or Heathen families, who live on their grounds as farmers or slaves.) There being 61 citizens, the number not to be increased nor to be diminished; no personal tax to be received for the slaves they buy (or, “the person tax to be received” if you read *perar*); for admitting any conveyances or letting them out they are to receive 8 coins (*Kachuwayinam* is *vahanam*, understand horses, waggons); in the case of (female) elephants and of boats, whether for letting in or letting out, they are to receive 4 coins; merchandise belonging to the citizens to be disposed of (or removed) by them with the cognizance of the above (the Palliyar? or the protecting lords?); and that they (the Palliyar) do all the business (rights and duties) of a lord (swami) on the place of packing the wares

¹ Among the privileges recited in a “Malabar Jonnum” deed granted by the Kolattiri Raja to the Honorable Company’s linguist at Tellicherry in October 1758 are the following: “Penalties or condemnations and customs, beginning with one principal and ending with all other things,” which was explained to the Joint Commissioners (Diary 15th February 1793) as meaning “the power of administering justice, both civil and criminal, even to the cutting off the hands of a thief.”

² The deed, it will be observed, makes no allusion here to the headman of the Jewish and Christian communities, although it is known from Deeds Nos. 1 and 2 that such headmen had been appointed. The conclusion is, therefore, that the power of protection here assumed resided not in the headmen, but in the communities as corporate bodies. This strengthens the view in the note to para (d) that the “Six Hundred” were really the *Kuttam* (see Appendix XIII) of the *Karanavar* of the *Nad*.

³ *Viduper*.

⁴ This and the succeeding para. (h) prove conclusively that Dr. Gundert’s position here is correct. The Jews and Syrians were organized in guilds or corporations precisely similar to the Nayers, the *Palliyar* corresponding to the *Tavavad* (*Tara-pad*) *Karanavar*, and *Anjuwannam* and *Manigramam* to the “600” of the *Nad*.

(or on spots where poles with leaves are set up as signs of prohibition) and elsewhere, only after deliberation with the above mentioned (Anjuwannam and Manigramam ?): that Anjuwannam and Manigramam protect the citizens in every coming generation; that in the space within the four gates (or in the four public offices ?) and on the spot where land for sale (or "under prohibition") is given in trust, the palace (or Supreme Government) having received the king's tithe² (Ko-pata-waram), Anjuwannam and Manigramam receive the Lord's tithe³ (Pati-ppata-waram).

k. with the sanction of the Palace-major Vyaraka Devar, who has given to these (the Palliyar) the 72 janmi⁴ rights (*viduperu*), such as for marriages (or processions), the elephant's back, the earth, the water, etc. (or "earth and water on the elephant," at all events, marks of nobility), and with the concurrence of His Excellency the Ayyan Adigal, His Excellency Rama, the ministers and officers, the 600, and the Lords of Punnattala and Pulacudi, let Anjuwannam and Manigramam carry out this unrestricted possession right in the manner described by this copper-deed for the time that earth, moon and sun exist.

l. If any injustice be done to these (the Palliyar ? or Anjuwannam and Manigramam ?), they may withhold the tribute ("world-bearing hire") and remedy themselves the injury done to them. Should they themselves commit a crime, they are themselves⁵ to have the investigation of it.

m. And let whatever the two chieftains in Anjuwannam and Manigramam, who have taken the water (possession) as trustees for this town (*Caralur*, see c.), may do in unison be counted for one act.

n. And let Maruwan Sapir Iso, who took the water for this town, since he acquired (or transferred ? *peruttu*) the share-staff (*Varakol* of b), and those 5 pieces (or *Anjacandi*) which formerly were the property of the Palliyar, pay for it the full price to the church. This also I have given over by unrestricted transfer.

o. I have ceded to the Tarisa church people, by full and unrestricted tenure, every kind of revenue by this copper-deed for the time that earth, moon and sun do last.

p. Those Ilawar⁶ are permitted to follow out their occupations (?) in the bazar and on the wall. The washerman⁷ may come and do his work in the bazar⁷ and on the wall.

² நானு வாதிலத்தும் வில (or ல) க்கும் (? vilakum = for cultivation) பூமிமாக காராண்மை கொடுக்குமெத்தும் கொப்பதவாரம் கொயில்கொண்டு பழம்பதவாரம் அஞ்ச வண்ணமும் மணிக்கிராமவும் கொள்ளதாக.

³ There is here the earliest intimation of what "*Pattam*" was originally. See the Glossary. The king (*Ko-pat*) and the over-lord (*Pati-pat*) had each a share (*varam*) of the produce, not necessarily of the land alone. Is it too far-fetched to derive *pattam* from *patta-varam* ?

⁴ See note to Deed No. 1.

⁵ The Muhammadan community in Malabar does not seem to have possessed this privilege—*Tahafut-ul-Mujahideen* by Rowlandson, pp. 72, 73.

⁶ The allusion here to the headmen (see Deeds 1 and 2) shows that their respective corporate bodies or guilds acted through them, though the real power (see Note to paragraph f) rested with the community. So too must it have been in the Nayar organisation by *Nads*.

⁷ Presumably these were some of the families of the land conveyed along with it in paragraph (c).

⁸ Presumably outside the limits of the land conveyed by paragraph (d).

g. Nor have the Island¹ ruler (or Tiyar headman) and the Wall officer, or whoever it be, any power to stop them on any charges whatsoever. Though they should commit a trespass, the Palliyar alone have to try them.

i. I have given this in the manner detailed in the copper-deed, for the time that earth, moon, and sun do last, by full, free and unrestricted tenure.

s. The person who made this full, free and unrestricted transfer to the Tarisapalli through His Excellency the Ayyan Adigal, is Maruwan Sapir Iso.

t. To those who keep this and care to see it observed let God himself be gracious (what is *anugramam* or *anucramam*?). The writing of Ayyan : and may this benefit (*vel*, or is it a compound word?) be equal to Cula Sundara's (Vishnu?). Rule victoriously!

Note.—The above is one of the deeds belonging to the Syrian Christians of the Cochin and Travancore States. This translation, by Dr. Gundert, appeared in the "*Madras Journal of Literature, & c.*," Vol. XIII. Part I, p. 130.

No. 4.

Srasti Sri. -In the year that runs for the Kolavalan : (or Kerala-
valan ?) Ramar the fourth, opposed¹ to the fourth year, in this year has
the ruler of Rama-vala-nadu, Kannankandan of Vali (or Valiyattu), and
his officers and the 600² (body-guard ?), in concert with the house-gods
(ancestors ? Brahmins ?), performed the following act :—Chellan, the
father (or stay ? lord) of Kanayapalli, wanted to purchase Tirumunur,
the Padarar's³ domain, and, finding the gold required for it not forth-
coming, delayed the purchase. (Here the verb *ചെലക്ക* seems plain
but its meaning is obscure. Can it be Tamil *ചെലക്ക*, revolve in mind ?)
The purchase of this domain⁴ of the Padarar, with all⁵ that belongs
to it, has then been made by the ruler of Cheranadu (or Chara ?) and his
officers, and the image of the god of the Padarars, with their sovereignty
(*prabhutvam*), has been subjected⁷ to the 600, and is possession⁸ (*Kanam*
or mortgage ?) held under⁹ the king (*Iran*). They may burn a lamp
of joy (*nanda vilakku*, an old privilege, see Curian's Essay, 1872, p. 12).
The Uralan is to be the hand of the Padarar. The 600 ought to make
the Padarar perform the service with one Nali rice. Let them also look
after Tirukkunam, the property of these (or this) Padarar and protect¹⁰

¹ See Glossary under *Tiyar*, & c.

² The first part of this word is not very clear in the original, but there is little doubt that it is not *Keralavalan*. It may be either *Kolavalan* or *Cheravalan*.

³ *Etir*, the same word that occurs in the Jews' Deed No. 1.

⁴ See notes to Deed No. 3.

⁵ *Padarar mel*.

⁶ *Eppereppattatum*.

⁷ *Arunuruvarkkum Kilpattu*.

⁸ *Iranukku Kilittu kanam*. This is the earliest instance excepting Clause (b) of No. 3, of the use of this important word *Kanam*. The "600" were evidently appointed to be the *Kanakkarar* (overscers or protectors) of the Padarar's estate. —*Conf.* p. 133 of the text.

⁹ See note to paragraph (f) of Deed No. 3. This sentence, taken in connection with the use of the word *Kanam* above, shows that the duty [see note to paragraph (c) of Deed No. 3] of the *Kanakkarar* was to supervise and protect. The collection of the *pattam* [see notes to paragraphs (b) and (i) of Deed No. 3] on behalf of the *Ko-pud* would naturally be part of that duty. The share of the *pattam* due to the *Patipad* went into their own exchequer as a corporate body, or into the exchequer of their headman, or perhaps partly into the one and partly into the other. Compare notes to paragraphs (i) and (m) of Deed No. 3, and the word *Kanam* in the Glossary as to the derivation of the word *Kanam*. *Conf.* also p. 133 of the text.

(*ilazikka* = *razikka*) it for them, even the 600, and the agreeing party furnish them for this purpose with good liquor (*madhu*), fire and water (or holy ashes?). When the agreeing party (mortgagor?) maintains the temple offerings, then the Potaval has to go and hand to them what they order. It is not the 600 that have thus to serve (different meaning, if *ilazikka* should have to be read). (Follows something, which I cannot read, about the expense at the fane of Tirukkunam. The last line is readable, except the end.) The Uralan, if he be guilty of embezzlement(?), shall be fined 25 Kalanju gold.

Note.—This translation of an inscription on stone in old Vatteluttu characters is by Dr. Gundert. The stone was found at Tiruvannur (the "Tirumunnur" of the inscription), one of the residences of the Zamorin Maharaja Bahadur in Calicut town.

No. 5.

Kumbha Vyalam, on the 5th of Karkitakam solar month (നവംബർ), in the dignified presence (പ്രഭാതം) of our Kalle Kulangara Emur Bhagavati, in the northern entrance of the temple (വടക്കുതടം), Sekhari Varma *alias* 'Tekkunathan,' with the knowledge (സാക്ഷ്യം) of the four immediate successors (നാലുതലമുള) of the two Tamburattis (തേളരായ രാട്ടിയം = two queens, ladies), of the two Anantiravars in the female line (രണ്ടു അന്തിരവർമ്മരവതിരാജാക്കന്മാരും), of the Kurur Namburipad (കുരുന്നമ്പൂരി പാട്ടം), of the inhabitants (നാട്ടുകാരും) of Rayirinallara and Kumarapuram (രായിരിനല്ല: കുമാരപുരം), of townspeople (നഗരക്കാരും) of Yogakkar (യോഗക്കാരും) of Koppana Mannadi (കൊപ്പനമ്മണ്ടി), and of two Kodakartakkanmar¹ (കൊടകർത്താക്കന്മാർ) our Emur Bhagavati Devasvam nilam, called Kottapadi (കൊട്ടപടി), and lands (ഭൂമി) sowing 242 kalams (കാലം = a Tamil measure of 12 maricals) of seed, (comprised) in the 14 Cherikkal² (ചേരികൾ) under (the place called) Kunnumpara (കുന്നമ്പറ), with the parambas (പറമ്പ്) and tanks by their (lands) banks (തടക്കം), and lands (ഭൂമി) sowing 1,200 kalams (കാലം = 12 maricals) of seed, including nanja and punja (നഞ്ച പുഞ്ച), (comprised) in the 42 Cherikkal (ചേരികൾ) (extending) from Chembana (ചെമ്പന) to Kachanada (കച്ചനട) at the ghat (ചെങ്കൽ) = literally, within the hill), and the Akamala³ (അകമല = valley), Puramala⁴ (പുരമല), Chiramala⁵ (ചിരമല), and Kilamala⁶ (കീഴമല) of the ghat (ചെങ്കൽ): these are given as Manyam⁷ (മാന്യം വിട്ടം), to last till stones (പുല്ല), and Cavery (കാവേരി), and grass (പുല്ല), and the earth (ഭൂമി) exist, in order that with the income (വരുമാനം) derivable from them the expenses of Puja (പൂജ), and of feeding (ഭക്ഷണം = generally feeding of Brahmans), and of songs (പാട്ടം = probably songs at temple), and of the subjects (പ്രജക്കൾ) may be met without any distinction (!)

¹ Tekkunathan (literally, southern lord), that is, the Southern Nayakkan of Palghat, the ruler of Temmalapuram.

² Kurnalcha, from Dravidian *kuru* (= part, share) and Dravidian *valcha* (= living prosperously, reigning, governing). The immediate successors of a Raja had share in the administration.

³ Probably intended for Kottu-Kartakkanmar = literally, fort lords. Perhaps the same as the Cotuul (Kottavali) of the Portuguese.

⁴ Lands set apart for the support of Rajas.

⁵ These four words probably denote "the valleys and mountain spurs."

⁶ Manyam (Sanskrit) = deserving of honor or regard, and lands nearly or altogether exempt from tax. Note that this is the case of a Raja parting with a portion of the lands set apart for his own use (Cherikkal).

(കൂറുപിടം വെക്കുക). Besides this, with the pattam¹ (പാട്ടം) of 411 kalams (കാലം) sowing seeds special ceremonies (ചെടിക്കു നടയുണ്ടാകും) will go on (പോകും). Whoever does harm (പ്രഹരം) to these, will merge (പോകുമ്പോൾ) in those who murder Brahmans (ബ്രഹ്മഹത്യാ) on the banks of the Ganges (ഗംഗ). With the knowledge of the witnesses Vadakkunathan (വടക്കുന്നാഥൻ) and Vilvadrinathan (വിലവദ്രിനാഥൻ).

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Nellisseri Siva Ramayyan of Palghat town. The document is in places barely intelligible.

No. 6.

Letter (പത്രം) from Kandan Damodaran. To be read over by Mangat Menon (മംഗാടൻ = accountant) and communicated (റിതയ്ക്കൽ ഉണ്ടാക്കുക = awaken the blessed mind) to Trissivaperur (Trichur) Natuvile Matattil Kakkote Tirumanassu (നീരുമസ്സ = blessed mind, a term applied to Nambutiris, etc.), who looks after the affairs of Tiruvalattur Bhagavati, our household goddess (പാട്ടംവേല): the object (കാര്യം), then, is that, with a view that prosperity may come to us (നമുക്ക് ശുഭമസ്സംഭവിക്കേണ്ടതിന്നു്) by removing the displeasure (പ്രിയപ്പെടാത്തതുകൊണ്ടു്) contracted from റിതയ്ക്കൽക്കൊണ്ടു്, a particular term for the displeasure of Nambutiris, Rajas, etc.), of the Bhagavati, incurred by our having done something (ചെയ്ത കാര്യംകൊണ്ടു്) = did some deeds by the hand) to Chuvath Nambi from Sanketam (സങ്കേതം = an asylum or holy refuge exempt from war and profanation), we have made a gift (ദാനം ചെയ്തു്), by way of atonement (പ്രായശ്ചിത്തമായി), of our property (സ്വത്തു്) Meletattakku, bounded on the east by Elayachchapara, Ariyampaka and Parakkatavu, on the south by river (നദി) on the west by Pantillottumakku, and on the north by Pantittodu (പണ്ടിട്ടു് = canal), lands for 12 (പാലം) kalams (കാലം, a Tamil measure = 12 maricals) of seed, and parambas situated within these boundaries, Etavantikavil Ayyan (ഐയ്യൻ or ഐയ്യൻ = deity of hunting), the Ayyappan Variyam (വരിയം = Variyar's house), Kambu kulam (കമ്പു = tank), Kula nilam (കുലം = land), and 20 paras of paddy as Melvaram (മേൽവരം), out of the Micharam due to us on account of Oravan Kandam, 60 paras lands demised (മാർഗ്ഗം) to Kottavali (Nambutiri). Thus Kartikanyayar (കാർത്തികേയനായർ = in the solar month of Kartika) of Bahudhaniya² Varsham (വർഷം = year) May Kartiyayini (കാർത്ത്യായനി = female deity) be pleased and become protectress. With the knowledge of Tiruvalattur Potuval Chutanarayanan Vadamuli Kumaran Kandan, the witness to this.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Nellisseri Siva Ramayyan of Palghat town. The language of this deed is ordinary modern Malayalam. It is placed here in the list because its date is, like the dates of those that precede it, not referable to the Kollam or Putuveppu era, but it is an ordinary modern deed.

No. 7.

In the month of Makaram of the year 465, ¹ Vayalmanakkal Shangara Narayanan, the proprietor² (ഉടമ) of Parayat Desam, has conveyed

¹ See note to paragraph (i) of Deed No. 3. It is to be inferred that this pattam was derived from other land than that conveyed as *Manyam*. Probably it was from land of which the temple had already obtained the "water right" and the *Pati-patta-raram* or *pattam* of which was now also given up.

² See above. This was the head (Northern Nayakkan) of the other branch of the Palghat Raja's family.

³ The twelfth year in the Brihaspati (60 years) Cycle.

⁴ A.D. 1290.

⁵ This is the same phrase as that used in Deeds Nos. 1 and 2 to express the connection between a ruling chief and his nad.

[എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്തു = literally, wrote (and) gave] for 48,101 old fanams¹ to Ayikkare, Ittikota, and Itichakki, by a copper-plate (ചെമ്പെട്ട) executed by Shangara Narayanan in the blessed (തല) presence of Villiyar Vatta Svarupam,² his lands (ചുരുവതികൾ) and parambas (പറമ്പുകൾ) in the Parayat Desam (which are) bounded on the east by Aynarikkal channel (അറുട്ട), on the south by Kotatha ferry, on the west by Kuttiruthi channel (അറുട്ട), and on the north by Kayanutti channel (അറുട്ട), as well as the Sthanamanangal (സ്ഥാനമാനങ്ങൾ = literally, rank and honors; but per Gundert "rank and emoluments of office"), Yekku³ (യെക്കു sic?), Chollu (ചൊല്ലു = command), Kuttu (കുട്ടു = probably authority over transactions, such as signing deeds), Vilakku⁴ (വിളക്കു = lamp), right of digging and splitting (ചെട്ടുകയം പിടിക്കുകയം), cows having five nipples to the udder (അഞ്ചുമൂല), Chelli (ചെല്ലി = a sort of grass in the fields, ചെല്ലിയെഴുക = to stray as cattle. Gundert, Chelli = ? stray cattle), fighting bull (ചെങ്കൊമ്പ് = literally, red horn), dramatic ornaments or religious festival (ചെലയാട്ട സാധനം), enjoyment of crops (ചെലവെടുക്കൽ), the fish known as Camman in the tank (കമ്മൻ കടൽ), the hog that has fallen into a well (കിണത്തിൽ പന്നി), and civet cat (ചെവേ = probably ചെരു) and tigress (ചെരി), abnormal jackfruit (കൊമ്പുക) and bunch of plantains with tree (കലവാര), and all similar rank and honors (സ്ഥാനമാനങ്ങൾ). Thus Ayikkare, Ittikota, and Itichakki have taken by writing (എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാൻ) from Shangara Narayanan, in the blessed presence (തലമുമ്പ്) of Villiyar Vatta Svarupam, his lands (ചുരുവതികൾ) and parambas (പറമ്പുകൾ) specified in Parayat Desam, as well as the rank and honors (സ്ഥാനമാനങ്ങൾ), Yekku (യെക്കു sic), Chollu (ചൊല്ലു = command), Kuttu (കുട്ടു, see notes above), Vilakku (lamp), the right of digging and splitting (ചെട്ടുകയം പിടിക്കുകയം), cows having five nipples to the udder (അഞ്ചുമൂല), Chelli (ചെല്ലി, see above), the fighting bull (ചെങ്കൊമ്പ്), dramatic ornaments (ചെലയാട്ട സാധനം, see above), the fish known as Camman in the tank (കമ്മൻ കടൽ), the hog that has fallen into a well (കിണത്തിൽ പന്നി), civet cat (ചെവേ = probably ചെരു), tigress (ചെരി), abnormal jack (കൊമ്പുക) and bunch of plantains with tree (കലവാര), and all similar ranks. Thus Ittikota and Itichakki got by writing the Desam (അതേ അടക്കി എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാൻ), by paying 48,101 old fanams; the witnesses who know this being Tiriwalu Patteri, Talappu of Palutinepalli, Vaykot Kamal and Katammatt Menon.

Note.—It is not known whether the boundaries specified are the boundaries of the Desam, or only of a portion of it. The copy from which this translation was made was obtained from the Dewan of Cochin State.

¹ It will be seen in subsequent deeds that the price paid is never stated.

² The "Belartes" of the Portuguese, the Kodungallur (Cranganore) dynasty.

³ എക്കം (Elkkam) means turning for fight.—Gundert.

⁴ കരളവിളക്കു, if taken together, means "lamp with a long handle" used as insignia.

⁵ First-fruits would probably better express the meaning.

⁶ Varal—piral (North Malabar) -pral = Maral.

⁷ Jackfruit with a horn, abnormal growth.

⁸ Some of those "ranks" (Sthanam) and "honors" (Manam) are (see Glossary under "Revonuo") privileges supposed to appertain exclusively to ruling Rajas.

No. 8.

In the year 640,¹ Vrischika Vyalam, solar month (ആമർ) Kanni, under the orders of Ittikombi and Anantiravars (അന്തിരവർ), and of Kalpatti Mukkalvattams (കൽപ്പാട്ടുവട്ടങ്ങൾ = the oracles of *Velichapadu*), the land bounded on the east by the paramba north of the Chira (ചിറ = tank or embankment) and Tekka Telava, on the south by Maravalli Todu (തോട് = stream), on the west by patti Kadavu (കടവ് = ferry), and on the north by the Kalpatti Kadavu (കടവ് = ferry), is made a gift of with water (യാലാടം) to the temple (തോട്ടം), with the very superior (മേലമേല = superior and superior) use of protection (പ്രൊട്ടക്ഷൻ ഉപയോഗം), to the Brahmans living therein, and with the upper and lower produce (മേൽഫലവും കീഴ്ഫലവും) retainers and slaves (ആളടിയർ), cattle (ഏര), and iron (ഇരിമ്പ് = ploughshare), seed and valli (വിളക്കു പല്ലിയം), oil-mill (ചക്ക), and Mukkalvattam (മുക്കാട്ടു വട്ടം = also applied to the temples of Bhagavati, where the oracles were consulted), 130 Brahman houses existing therein, 132 fanams given to Tiranda Mana with interest of 132 fanams, the gold, silver, and copper vessels belonging to the temple, and every such thing. Nephew (നാമന്ദ്യൻ) Ittikombi and Anantiravars and these Mukkalvattam (മുക്കാട്ടുവട്ടം), are witnesses (to this) (സാക്ഷി കടവർ); the support to this (ഇതിന്നു ആശ്വാസംകൊണ്ടു) is Chokkathanan (Siva), Emur Bhagavati and Melkaranavan (chief administrator). Written to this effect by Rayiramkandatt Pangi.

Note.—The copy from which this translation was made was obtained from Nellisseri Siva Ramayyan of Palghat town.

No. 9.

Attipettolakarunam (അട്ടിപെട്ടൊലകരുണം), executed in Medam Nyayar (solar month), Makara Vyalam, of the year 699,² Pukavali Nakan Naranan³ has given, with water, the Attipper of his Chemnapuram Desam (മേടം), and Desadhipatyam (മേടാധിപത്യം), and Chennapuratt⁴ Ambalam (തമ്പലം = temple), and Ambalapadi Urayma (അമ്പലപടി ഉറയ്മ), and the Devasvam lands (ഉദയത്തടം), and parambas, and Cherumars (വല്ലിപത്തരങ്ങൾ), and Kolapuratt Taravad,⁵ and the lands (ഉൽപ്പത്തി), and parambas, and Cherumars (വല്ലിപത്തരങ്ങൾ), and Kudiyiruppus

¹ A.D. 1464.

² Transfers of the "water right" required formerly the sanction of the *Perumal*, as well as of the local chief, and his heir, and the "six hundred," and neighbouring lords (Deed 3). Here the transfer is made by the local chief with the concurrence, however, of the people, whose mouth-piece was the *Velichapad* or oracle. The *Perumal* or *Kon* of Keralam was now extinct. Each ruling chief of a nad had probably set himself up as *Kon*.

³ This deed adheres to the old line of providing for the "protection" of the inhabitants. Compare Deed 3.

⁴ "Nephew," that is of the Pulghat Raja. He was probably at the time the ruling chief, for the head of the house did not always possess executive functions.

⁵ The copy is to this effect, but *sakshi* (witness) has probably been mistaken for *sukshi*, which gives the more intelligible meaning, that these individuals would "take care" the deed of gift was carried out.

⁶ A.D. 1523.

⁷ Both parties to this deed are *Samandar*, the caste of the Zamorin Rajas.

⁸ Also called Koitodika temple, situated in the Cherupullasseri Amsam of Walluvanad Taluk.

⁹ See Glossary and Note to Deed No. 22.

(കുടിയിരുപ്പ്) belonging to the said Taravad, to Valayur¹ Kuriyetat Viyatan Manichan, after receiving from his hands (കയ്യൊർ) and the current market value thereof (അന്നപെരും അർത്ഥം) = literally, the then breeding money, i.e., the then market value. Thus Valayur Kuriyetat Viyatan Manichan has received, with water, the Attipper of the above-said Chennapuram Desam (ഭൂമി), and Desadhipatyam (ഭരണാധികാരം), and Chennapuratt Ambalam (അമ്പലം = temple), and Ambalapadi Urayma (അമ്പലപ്പടി ഉറയ്ക്കൽ), and the Devasvam lands (ഉദയസ്വമി), and parambas, and Cherumars (വെളിശുരർ), and Kola-puratt Taravad, and the lands (ഉപ്പുതണി), and parambas, and Cherumars (വെളിശുരർ), and Kudiyiruppus (കുടിയിരുപ്പ്) belonging to the said Taravad, after paying the current market value thereof (അന്നപെരും അർത്ഥം). Thus Pulavali Nakan Naranan has given, with water, the Attipper of the four boundaries (അമ്പലം), and parambas, and nilams, and produce (ഫലം = fruit), and all of these, etc., comprised in the said Desam (ഭൂമി), lands (ഉപ്പുതണി), parambas and Kudiyiruppus (കുടിയിരുപ്പ്), as also everything, of whatever² description (എല്ലാർപ്പമുള്ള), included in them, after receiving the current market value (അന്നപെരും അർത്ഥം). Thus Viyatan Manichan has received, with water, the Attipper of the four boundaries, and parambas, and nilams, and phalams, and all of these and everything else included in the said Desam, and in the lands (ഉപ്പുതണി), and parambas, and Kudiyiruppu after paying the market value (പെരും അർത്ഥം). That the Attipper is given with water and that the Attipper is received with water, is witnessed by Kandikundatt Nambutiri and Patinhare Kur.⁴ Written by Chattu.

Note.—The copy from which this translation was made was obtained from Kilepatt Teyyan Menon of Walluvanad Taluk, Malabar.

No. 10.

Veppolakarunam (വെപ്പൊലകരണം), executed in the solar month (ആയർ) of Chingam, 725,³ towards the end of Karkadaka Vyalam (കർക്കടകവൃശ്ചിക വേലം). Elaya Nambi Vittil Chattan Raman and heirs (അമ്പലം) received 111½ new fanams from (the hands of) Muttanambiar Vittil Kelan Kandan and heirs (അമ്പലം) in this manner. Now the object of receiving the above 111½ fanams is that Elaya Nambi Vittil Chattan Raman and heirs (അമ്പലം) grant (literally, write and give) Nambukkotil Kandan 2 plots, Pantarattil Kandan 1 plot, Kundu Kandan 1 plot, and Pulikkunmat compound (ചുറ്റു). Muttanambiar Vittil Kelan Kandan and Anantiravars accordingly obtain *Veppu* (വെപ്പ്) right on payment of the said sum. Thus written by the grantee, with the knowledge of Ayikkara Kandan Chattan, witness for the parties granting and obtaining *Veppu* (വെപ്പ്) right for the said amount.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Kilepatt Teyyan Menon of Walluvanad Taluk.

¹ Also called Vinakunnatt.

² "The price it will then fetch; so much as it is worth."—*Gundert*. Compare the second note to Deed No. 7. This phrase occurs frequently in subsequent deeds.

³ The same phrase occurs in Deed No. 4.

⁴ The branch of the reigning family, probably Zamorin of Calicut.

⁵ A.D. 1550.

⁶ *Veppu* signifies a deposit, hence a pledge for the sum advanced. It is equivalent to *Otti*. See Glossary.

No. 11.

Attippellolukaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെല്ലോലുകാരണം), executed in Kumbham Nyayar (ആയർ = solar month) of the year (which has) advanced (ചെന്നു) to 732,¹ Kilakke Kuttattil Chandu of Kannanuriyatt Ur (കുമാര = village) granted Attipper and water (അട്ടിപ്പെല്ലോലുകാരണം) of his Nirattu house,² granted Attipper and water of Kannanuriyatt Kisaliyakat Nirattu house,³ Kannanuriyatt Kisaliyakat Kuttattil⁴ Chandu granted Attipper and water of his Nirattu⁵ house by settling the price (പിള്ളിപ്പു). Kisaliyatt Chandu granted Attipper and water by settling the price (പിള്ളിപ്പു) and receiving the full value in gold (ചെറുവെള്ളം). In this way (ഇങ്ങനെ) the Uralan, in the blessed name (തിരുനാമം) of Nallatat Perillatta,⁶ fixed the price (പിള്ളിപ്പു) and obtained Attipper and water (അട്ടിപ്പെല്ലോലുകാരണം) of the said Nirattu house. In this way the witness⁷ (സാക്ഷി), knowing (this transaction) on behalf of the party who fixed the price and granted Attipper and water of the said house, and of the party who obtained (the same), is Talavattatt⁸ Kilakke Vittil Nambadi Kanakkampalli Kanuan. Written in the hand of Kanakkam Valli.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Huzur Shoristadar, Malabar Collector's Office.

No. 12.

Attippellolukaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെല്ലോലുകാരണം), executed in Tulu Nyayar (തൂലു = solar month) of the year (which has) advanced to (ചെന്നു) 793.⁹ Kunimal Micheri Kunhamu of Putuppattanatt Ur (കുമാര = village) received the current market value (അന്നപെരുപ്പിലെ അന്നവും വാങ്ങി) of the Ottakandam land (ഒറകണ്ടം) at the north-western extremity (മൂല) of Valayala land in a way extinguishing the water (right) (നീരി) and extinguishing the price (പിള്ളിപ്പു). The Uralars of Nallatat Nerillat Tiru namam [തിരുനാമംവയരാ (?) = blessed name] joining the nearest Anantiravars for the time being, and with the knowledge of the neighbours (അയലൂ) and of the over-lord (പാടി = lord, or master), and in the presence of the Kovil (കോവില = literally, palace, hence king) of that Nad,¹⁰ paid the full value in gold (ചെറുവെള്ളം), settled the price (പിള്ളിപ്പു), and obtained Attipper with water for full value (അട്ടിപ്പെല്ലോലുകാരണം). In the blessed name (തിരുനാമംവയരാ) of Urulleri Nallatat Perillatta paid the current market value (അന്നപെരുപ്പിലെ

¹ A.D. 1587.

² Literally, *Chandu* of the Eastern *Kuttam* (see Appendix XIII), belonging to the village of *Kannanuriyatt*.

³ See note to Deed No. 20.

⁴ Literally *Chandu* of the Eastern *Kuttam* (see p. 132 of the text), belonging to the village of *Kannanuriyatt*.

⁵ Literally, *nameless*.

⁶ Neither *Ko* nor *pat* was present at the execution of this deed apparently. The circle of the *Taras* did, however, probably witness its execution. See following note.

⁷ Probably intended for *Tala vattatt*. See notes to Deeds Nos. 13, 14 and 20.

⁸ A.D. 1617.

⁹ In Deeds Nos. 1, 2 and 3 the *Ko* was the *Perumal* or Emperor (*Chakravarti*) of Malabar. Here the *Ko* is merely king of a *nad*. In fact the *Naduvalli* has by this time become the *Ko*.

അതുകൊണ്ടു്) with the knowledge of the neighbours (അയല), of the over-lord (പതി), and of the Kovil (കോവിലു = palace, hence king) of that Nad, settled the price (വിലമുറപ്പ), and obtained Attipper with water (അട്ടിപ്പറ്റു നീരും) of the Ottakandam¹ land (കറകണ്ടം) for 60² Idangalis of paddy at the north-western extremity of Valayala Kandam (കണ്ടം = piece of land), belonging to the Putuppattanatt Kunimal Muvakkicheri Kunhamu. In this way written in the hand of Nallatat Perillat Taye Kanakkam³ Valli, witness knowing (this transaction) on behalf of parties who granted and who obtained Attipper with water of what is contained within these boundaries of the said piece of land—പൊയത്തിന്റെ കണ്ടം (God's land) on the east, Amat Kotta (അട്ടം = fortress) on the south, അടിയോടിന്റെ കണ്ടം (Adiyodis land) on the west, and Akkamvittil Nayar's Korappalli on the north.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Huzur Sheristadar, Malabar Collector's Office.

No. 13.

Attippettolukaranam (അട്ടിപ്പറ്റു നിലക്കണ്ടം), executed in Chinga Nyayar (ചിങ്ങം = solar month) of the year (which has) advanced to (പോന്ന) 795⁴. Putiyavittil Kunnummal Kandumalacheri Taye Chandu Kurup, Kora Kurup and Taye Kunhan Kurup of Putuppattanatt⁵ Ur (ഊർ = village), received the current market value (അന്നപ്പൊയ) of their Kunnummal house,⁶ and having received the full value in gold (പൊയന്ന), in a way extinguishing the water (right) and extinguishing the price, granted the Attipper and water (അട്ടിപ്പറ്റു നീരും), after settling the price (വിലമുറപ്പ), by joining the nearest Anantiravars for the time being (അന്നപ്പൊയ അന്നത്തിനപ്പൊയയ്ക്കു), and with the knowledge of the neighbours (അയല) and of the over-lord⁷ (പതി = lord or master). In this way (ഇപ്രകാരം), in the blessed name (വിശ്വനാഥ നായരേ) (?) of Nallatat Perillatta⁸ Taye, Kurulleri Uralars, sitting inside (കരുണാമുഖി ഉൾക്കരയിൽ), paid the current market value of the Kunnummal house belonging to (അയലക്കാര), the said Kandumalacheri Taye Chandu Kurup Kora Kurup, and Kunhan Kurup, settled the price (വിലമുറപ്പ) and obtained the Attipper and water (അട്ടിപ്പറ്റു നീരും). In this way (ഇപ്രകാരം) the good and bad stones (മറ്റും മറ്റും), stump of *nux vomica* (മാനക്കിടമറി) the front side and back side (മുൻപുവശം)? thorns (മുള), cobras (മുളകൾ), hidden treasure and the vessel in which it is secured (പൊയപ്പൊയ), and water included in the four boundaries of the said house (വില) are granted as Attipper and water

¹ It should be noticed that though the usual modern meaning of *Kandam* is *rice-field*, its original meaning is a *piece* or *fragment* or *share* of anything. When the Nayar "600" were breaking up their communal rights in land, this word probably meant share.

² This means the seed required to sow the land was 60 Idangalis.

³ Probably *Kanakkapilla* = writer, accountant of the temple.

⁴ A.D. 1620.

⁵ *Putuppattanam* (new town) was at one time the seat of the Southern Regent of Kolattunad.

⁶ See note to Deed No. 20.

⁷ The *Ko* (king) is not here mentioned, but see Deed No. 14.

⁸ Literally, *nameless*.

by settling the price. In behalf of the grantor, and in behalf of the purchaser of Attipper with water, the witnesses (താളി) knowing (this) are Taravattam¹ Tekkum Talasseri (തറവട്ടം തെക്കും താലാശ്ശേരി), Keli Kurup and Kileriye Karunakara Kurup. Written by the god's accountant (ദൈവത്തിന്റെ കണക്കപ്പിള്ള) with due publicity കേട്ടുകേൾപ്പിച്ചു = literally, heard and caused to be heard) in the blessed name (ബിത്തറം വായരം) (?) of Nallatatt Perillatta (nameless) god, with the Uralars sitting inside (ഉൾക്കൂട്ടിയതും).

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Huzur Sheristadar, Malabar Collector's Office.

No. 14.

Attippettalakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടെററാണമം), executed in Chinga Nyayar (ഞായർ = solar month) of the year (which has) advanced (ചെന്ന) to 795² Kuruvayilatt Tayatt Puttalatt Nambiar of Putupattantatt Ur (ഉര = village) received the current market value (അന്നപെരും വിലനരണം), and with the knowledge of the neighbours (അയൽ), and of the over-lord (പതി = lord³ or master), and in the presence (മുന്ദമകെ) of the king⁴ (കോവിൽ = palace, put for king) ruling (വാഴും) that Nadu (അന്നട്ട), received full value in gold (പൊന്നുകൊണ്ടും), and granted Attipper (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ട) and water (നീർ) by settling the price (വിലമുറിച്ച) in a way extinguishing the price (വിലയറ മുറിച്ച) of his share⁵ (ഭാഗം) (corruption of കഹരി = share) of his Mittalapavuttil, house, Pallikkara Vittil Uralan, in the blessed name (ബിത്തറം) of Perillatta⁷ Taya (god) of Nallatatt Ur (ഉര = village), purchased Vayara and Nir (വയരം നീരം = perhaps, including grass and water (?) by settling the price (വിലമുറിച്ച). In this way the boundaries of this house are, east Mekkombatt house, south as far as Mekkalam, west as far as Tayatt Puttillam, and north as far as Tirinnatt Kandi; the Kanyynra kuyi paramba and field (വയൽ), Chembu (ചെമ്പു) = inferior yellowish soil?, and water (നീർ) included in the above four boundaries; of these the Attipper and water (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടതും നീരം) are granted after settling the price (വിലമുറിച്ച). In behalf of him who granted the Attipper and water (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടതും

¹ *Taravattam* means "circle of Taras". The witnesses were evidently Karanavar of the Taras of the nad. See pp. 88 and 132 of the text. The *Pati* also know of the transaction. See above. Who was this *Pati*? Paragraph (i) to Deed No. 3 seems to make it clear that at that time the *Pati* was the "600" of the nad, the body that corresponded in the Jews' and Christians' organizations to Anjuvanam and Manigramam in their corporate capacities. Whether the "600" had by this time divided the common property (the *Pati-patta-varam*) among all the Taravads represented in the "600" it is difficult to say. On the whole, it is probably correct that the *Pati-pattam* was divided among all the *Taravad* families (see the items included under *Taravad* in Deed No. 9) and that the individual known as the *Pati* was either the hereditary military commandant of the *Desam* or the *Naduvati*, or perhaps some temporarily influential man in the nad.

² A.D. 1620.

³ Compare the note to Deed No. 13.

⁴ This deed is exactly similar to No. 13, and comes from the same part of the country. The omission of attestation by the *Ko* in No. 13 is therefore curious.

⁵ Compare the note to Deed No. 35. Were the original *vidus--manors*—hold jointly by the Tara? Does not this deed and No. 35 also afford evidence of the "gradual disentangling of the separate rights of individuals from the blended rights of a community?"—*Maine Anc. Law.*, pp. 269-70.

⁶ See note to Deed No. 20.

⁷ Literally, *nameless*.

നീരം വിലമുറിച്ചുകൊടുത്തതുകൊണ്ട്, and in behalf of him who purchased the Attipper and water (അട്ടിപ്പെരുമ്പനീരം വിലമുറിച്ചുകൊടുത്തതുകൊണ്ട്), the witness (രാജാ) corruption of (രാജാ) who knows this is Talavattutt¹ Putiya Pattanatt Nanikkott Nambiar. Written by Mekkanattokam Palli.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Huzur Sheristadar, Malabar Collector's Office.

No. 15.

Attippettola Karyam (അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റൊലകാര്യം), executed in the month (മാസം) of Kanni, 281, Putuvaypa² (പുതുവയ്പ). The Cochin Rajas (പെരുമ്പടപ്പ-) Gangadhara (ഗംഗാധര), Vira (വീര), Kerala (കേരള), Trikkovil (തൃക്കോവിൽ), Adhikarikal (അധികാരികൾ = Sarvadhikaryakar), granted on receipt of the market Attipper value (പെരും വില അട്ടിപ്പെരുമ്പനീരം), found then by four people (അന്നനാലർകളെ), a *Nirmutaludakamare*³ Attipper (നീർമുതലുകൾക്കുവേണ്ടി അട്ടിപ്പെരുമ്പനീരം) of their Desam (ദേശം) to the north of the bar⁴ (അഴി), and Puliyat Raman Iravi and heirs (പുലിയത്ത് രാമൻ ഇരവി) accordingly obtained on payment of the market Attipper value (പെരും വില അട്ടിപ്പെരുമ്പനീരം), found then by four people (അന്നനാലർകളെ), a *Nirmutaludakamare* Attipper of the Desam to the north of the bar. The boundaries⁵ of the Desam included in the Attipper are Kalukutta⁶ (കലുകുത = probably the depth of a pole) in the river (നദി) on the east, Kalukutta in the sea (കടൽ) on the west, the bar on the south, and the Captain's Cross (കപ്പിത്താൻ കരിങ്കൽക്കല്ല്) todū (channel) on the north. Everything⁷ contained within the said four boundaries (എന്നീനാലു അതിരുകളിൽ), such as stones (കല്ല്), charcoal (കരി), stumps of *Strychnos nux vomica* (കാഞ്ഞിരപ്പഴം), thorn-clump (മുളച്ചുമ്പ), cobras (കൂർകുറുപ്പൻ), holes (അഴി), mounds⁸ (തറ), treasure (നിധി), wells (കിണർ), skies (ആകാശം), underground (പാതാളം), watercourses (നീർവീതി), boundaries (അതിർ), field ridges (വരമ്പ്), canals (അഴി) washing places (മുറി), roads used by persons (ആൾപോക്കംവഴി), streams (നീർപോക്കം ചാൽ), forests having deer (മാൻപെട്ട ചാൽ), shady places having honey (തേൻപെട്ട ചാൽ), Desam⁹ (ദേശം), Desadhipatyam¹⁰ (ദേശാധിപത്യം) Amsam¹¹ (അംശം), Sthanam (സ്ഥാനം), battle wager (അങ്കം), customs duty (ചരക്കു), and everything else (മറ്റു എല്ലാപ്പെട്ടതും) was sold and purchased respectively. Written in the hand of Itti.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Dewan of Cochin.

¹ *Talavattutt* (?). See note to No. 13.

² *Putuvayppu* or *Putuveppu* (literally, now deposit) is an island formed between the mouths of the Cranganore and Cochin rivers. The deposit was formed in A.D. 1341. The date of the deed is therefore A.D. 1622.

³ From *Nir* (Drav.)—water; *mutal* (Drav.)—property; *udakam* (Sansk.) water; *vare* (Drav.)—as far as, up to.

⁴ Cochin bar.

⁵ This Desam must have formed the southern extremity of what is now called the Island of Vypeen, part of which is now British territory inherited from the Dutch.

⁶ Meaning the boundary extends so far into the river as can be sounded by a bambo pole used in propelling boats.

⁷ Compare Deed No. 21 and the note thereto.

⁸ *Tara* is probably correctly translated here as "mounds," its original meaning.

⁹ This deed is very interesting as it shows that Rajas were in the habit of occasionally selling the over-lordships (*Pati*) of territory. See note to Deed No. 13.

¹⁰ *Amsam* (Sansk.)—share, part; probably synonymous here with *varam*, i.e., the *Ko's* or *Pati's* share of produce.

No. 16.

Attipettolakarunam (അട്ടിപ്പട്ടൊലകരണം), executed in Karkadaka Nyayar (അയർ=solar month) of the year (which has) advanced to (ചെന്ത) 800.¹ The blessed name of Nallatat Uralan of Kuruvalleri Ur (ഉരയ്= village). The Uralan of the god paid the current market value (അനുപരം വില അന്മവും കൊടുത്തു), joined the nearest Anantiravars for the time being (അന്നപ്പോൾ അന്നത്തിനനുസരെയല്ലെങ്കിൽ), paid the full value in gold (പൊന്നെരക്കൊടുത്തു), settled the price (വിലനിശ്ചയിച്ചു), obtained Attipper and water (അട്ടിപ്പട്ടവും നീരുംകൊണ്ടുവന്നു) of the Karumani house² belonging to (തന്നുടെ) Perunkinillat Pilarat Chattu Nambiyar. In this way the boundaries are south as far as the fields (വയൽ), west as far as Katakandam, north as far as Aviyaram Kandi (eastern boundary not given); thorns (മുളക്), good and bad stones (മുട്ടും കല്ലും), the stump of *nux vomica* (കാഞ്ഞിരപ്പൊന്നി), thorns (മുളക്), and cobras (മുക്കുന്ദപാമ്പ്), included in the circle (വടം) of the above four boundaries, are granted on Attipper and water, after fixing the price (വിലനിശ്ചയിച്ചു). The witness (താമ്രി) in behalf of the grantor and grantee isWritten by Valli.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Iluzur Sheristadar, Malabar Collector's Office. The deed is incomplete, and to some extent, unintelligible.

No. 17.

Pattolakarunam (പാട്ടൊല കരണം), executed in the solar month (അയർ) of Kumbham of the year 822.³ Mukkachattil Kandar Kandar and Karumattil Ponnann Chattu received 121 new fanams from Chembil, Parangodan Kandar; the object, then, of receiving the said 121 fanams is that our Talappalli Tirutt Kandam⁴ 6 plots (കണ്ടം), Pulakkura Kandam⁴ 2 plots, making a total of 8 plots, are a *pattam*,⁵ together with the Kavalpalam (കാവൽപ്പലം or കാവൽപ്പലം—remuneration for protection⁶ of land claimed by the chief inhabitants), on an annual⁵ *pattam* of 5 potis (പൊതി) of paddy, as per the Edappal Perunali (പെരുനാലി—bignali); out of this deduct 2 potis and 8 tunis (തുണി) as interest on the amount at 5 per cent, and commutable at 4 paras per fanam (നാലുപറ വിലയും) and 12 tunis (തുണി) for Kavalpalam (കാവൽപ്പലം). May the balance of 2 potis (പൊതി) be paid annually. Thus written by Eledatt Elayad.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Kilepatt Teyyan Menon of Walluvanad Taluk.

No. 18.

Attipettolakarunam (അട്ടിപ്പട്ടൊലകരണം), executed, at Nalleppalli Mannam⁷ (മന്നം), of Ankavenatkatavur (അങ്കവേനാട്ടുകാവർ)

¹ A.D. 1625.

² See note to Deed No. 20.

³ A.D. 1627.

⁴ Here again *Kandam* occurs in a way to suggest that it originally meant the Taravad's share of the communal rights. See Deed No. 12.

⁵ *Pattumayi pattamandu*.

⁶ The duty of the *Kanakkars* (Nayar headmen) was protection. See note to Deed No. 4. It is a significant fact that in this, the earliest *Kanam* deed, the duty of protection is thrown on the Kanakkar.

⁷ Vide note to Deed No. 24.

Koiretatt (കൈരൈട്ട്), in the solar month (ആയർ) of Mithunam Edava vyalam, 831.¹ Chambattil Chattan Chattan and heirs (ചമ്പിടാർ) received the market value (പൊരുത്തം) from Iswara Pattar, son of Ellappa Pattar, residing at Nalleppalli. Thus the object of the said market value is that Chambattil Chattan Chattan and heirs, by pouring water granted as Nirmutal (നിർമുതൽ = literally, water property) Nirattipper (നീർട്ടിപ്പർ = Attipper with water) of 2 pieces of land sowing 20 paras and lying above the Vakappattat Arayakka Chira lands sowing 45 paras down from Eluvatt Potta in Kalayam Kolumbu and above (അപ്പുട്ട്) Ankarat Nilam, others sowing 20 paras above Talatteturu Nilam, and others sowing 20 paras above Karakkatan Chira in Kosavan Kuli, making a total of (ആകെ) lands sowing 105 paras, and parambas on both sides, together with the upper and lower produce (അപ്പുറവും താഴെപ്പുറവും). Iswara Pattar and heirs accordingly paid the said market value (പൊരുത്തം), and by receiving water poured out obtained as Nirmutal (നിർമുതൽ = water property) Nirattipper (നീർട്ടിപ്പർ = Attipper with water) of the said lands sowing 20 paras at Vakappattom, sowing 45 paras at Kalayam Kolumbil, 20 paras of Talatte, and 20 paras at Kosavankuli, making a total of (ആകെ) lands sowing 105 paras, and the parambas on both sides, together with the upper and lower produce (അപ്പുറവും താഴെപ്പുറവും). Written in the hand of Ponnachattat Pannochan, with the knowledge of Vettiyl Chattan Chattan and Tevur Teyyan Raman witnesses knowing this.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Nallepalli Ankaratta Valiya Mannadiyar of Cochin State.

No. 19.

Tittu (തീട്ടു) of Yogyatiri (യോഗിയാരിരി), addressed to (അഭ്യർത്ഥിച്ചു) our Elavathur Vanchi Tayamman and heirs (വഞ്ചിടാർ). In consideration of what we have enjoyed (നമുക്കുവേണ്ടി അനുഭവിച്ചതിന്നു) from your Karnavan Chittalapalli Nambidi, we have given to you at the Rishabha Yogam (ഭൂമിഭോഗം = council of that name), for your hereditary enjoyment (പാരമ്പര്യമായി അനുഭവിക്കുവാനുൾ), the following, the Pallipuratta pattam: (പാട്ടം) to be enjoyed as Karam pattam? (കാരംപാട്ടം - കാരാജപാട്ടം = perpetual pattam), and the Velakkora land sowing 62 paras, and Karamata sowing 7 paras, which were given to you for 36 years, and 2 narayams of boiled rice (ചോറ്) at Pilakkod in Madilagam. From the solar month of Makaram 842,² what is here written under orders may be enjoyed in hereditary succession (പാരമ്പര്യമായി).

Note.—Translated from a copy of a copper-plate deed received from the Nallepalli Ankaratta Valiya Mannadiyar of Cochin State. The deed is barely intelligible in places.

No. 20.

Attippellolakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെല്ലൊലകരണം), executed in Meta Nyayar (ആയർ = solar month) of the year (which has) advanced (ചെന്നു) to 845.³ Putiyaparambatt Tachcholi Emma Kurupand Rayiru Kurup of Meppayil Ur (മേപ്പയിൽ = village) having received (വാങ്ങിയകൊണ്ടു) the current market value

¹ A.D. 1656.

² Compare note to paragraph (i) of Deed No. 3.

³ A.D. 1666.

⁴ A.D. 1670.

⁵ Apparently the family of the hero of the നോക്കുപാട്ട്, the Robin Hood of North Malabar. *Conf.* p. 96 of the text.

(അന്നപെറ്റം വില അത്ഥം) of their Malamal house,¹ and joining (with them) the nearest Anantiravars for the time being (അന്നപ്പട്ടം അന്നത്തിരവരെയെ കൂടി), and having received (പ്രാപ്തി) full value in gold (പൊന്നിരവായ്ക്കു), granted Attipper and water (അട്ടിപ്പറ്റുതന്നീതം), after settling the price (വിളമുറിച്ചു), in a way to extinguish the price (വിളയറ) and water (right) (നീരം), with the knowledge of the neighbours (അയ്യപ്പ) and the over-lord (പ്രതി = lord or master), and in the presence (മുമ്പാകെ) of the Kovil (കോവിലിൽ = palace, hence king) of that Nad. Putiyaparambattu Tachcholi Devan Yamma Kurup and Rayiru Kurup having paid (കൊടുത്തു) the current market value (അന്നപെറ്റം വില അത്ഥം), and having paid (കൊടുത്തു) the full value in gold (പൊന്നിര), purchased the Attipper by settling the price (വിളമുറിച്ചു) of his (അന്നപ്പട്ട) Malamal house, by joining (with them) the nearest Anantiravars for the time being (അന്നപ്പട്ടം അന്നത്തിരവരെയെ കൂടി), and with the knowledge of the neighbours (അയ്യപ്പ) and of the over-lord (പ്രതി = lord, master), and in the presence (മുമ്പാകെ) of the king of that Nad (അന്നപ്പട്ടം മുമ്പാകെ), in a way extinguishing the water (right) (നീരം) and extinguishing the price (വിളയറ). In the blessed name of Perillatta (പെരിളാത്ത തിരുവരോരയോ) of Nalladath Ur (നാലാത്തൂർ = village), the Uralars, by sitting inside (ഉൾക്കൂടി), got the Malamal house surrendered (വെട്ടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു = literally, caused to be laid down) by paying the current market value (അന്നപെറ്റം വിലയത്ഥം), and by joining the nearest Anantiravars for the time being (അന്നപ്പട്ടം അന്നത്തിരവരെയെ കൂടി), and with the knowledge of the neighbours and the over-lord (അയ്യപ്പം പരിയ്യെ അറിയ), the Attipper and water (അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റം നീരം) were got surrendered (വെട്ടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു) in the blessed name of the god (കൊടുവാ തിരുനാമം മയരാം?) (by) the Uralars sitting inside (ഉൾക്കൂടി). In this way (ഇങ്ങനെ) the boundaries of the said house are east as far as the god's swamp (പടന), south as far as the river, west as far as the hill (മല), and north as far as the hill cultivated with cholam (ചോളം വെട്ടി), by Kilalam Kurup, the good and bad stones (കല്ലും കരുടും), the stump of *Nux vomica* (കാഞ്ഞിരക്കറി), thorns (മുളക്), cobras (മുക്കുന്ദപാമ്പ്), hidden treasure (വെപ്പു), the vessel in which it is secured (ചെപ്പു), water (നീർ), included (അടങ്ങിയിട്ടു) in these four boundaries (are) given as Attipper with water (നീരോടു കൂടി അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റം നീരം), by settling the price (വിളമുറിച്ചു); in behalf of the giver (കൊടുത്തതായ്ക്കും) and in behalf of him who purchased the Attipper and water by settling the price, the witnesses (രാജാ) knowing (this) are Taravattam² Kaikanda (തറവാട്ടം കൊണ്ടു = literally, influential in the circle of Taras), Malacheheri Kunka Kurup and Chellattan Karunakara Kurup; written by the god's accountant (കൊടുവാത്തിന്റെ കണക്കുപിള്ള) with due publicity (കെട്ടു മേൽപ്പിച്ചു = literally, heard and caused to be heard).

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Huzur Sheristadar, Malabar Collector's Office. The document is in one place very obscure. There is an apparent inconsistency in the beginning, where the vendors are first said to sell the house by receiving the price and then to buy the same house by paying the price.

¹ *Vidu* (Drav.) ordinarily means a house, but it had a meaning more ancient and more approximate to the verb [*viduka* (Drav.)—to part, let go, untie, discharge, abandon] from which it is derived. The *viduper*, 72 of which were conferred on the Jews by Deed No. 1, were items which were "given up" to them by the Perumal. The meaning of *vidu* in this deed would probably be more precisely represented by the word "manor." Compare the note on Turavad in Deed No. 22, and the note on *Purayidam* in Deed No. 26.

² See note to Deed No. 13.

No. 21.

Attippettola Karyam (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടൊളംകാര്യം), executed in the month (മാസം) of Dhanu, 853.¹ The Cochin Rajas (പെരുന്നാടു) Lekshmi-kovil Adhikarikal (അധികാരികൾ = Sarvadhī-Karyakar), on receipt of the market Attipper value, then found by four people (അനന്തരേതകളെ പെറ്റുപിട അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടരത്നം) granted an Attipperra (അട്ടിപ്പെർ) of their Pilavattara paramba² (പറമ്പ്), and Paliyat Raman Ittikkumaran and heirs (പെരിമാർ) accordingly obtained, on payment of the market Attipper value, then found by four people, an Attipperra of Pilavattara paramba. The boundaries of the paramba sold are Nambulikat paramba on the east, Vayikkat paramba on the south, Vayal on the west and Vatakkera paramba on the north. Everything³ of whatever description,⁴ that is contained (അകപ്പെട്ട് എപ്പറ്റപ്പെട്ടതും) within the said boundaries, including stones (കല്ല്), charcoal (കരികുട്ട), stump of *Strychnos nux vomica* (കാഞ്ഞിരക്കുറി), thorn-clumb (മുളമുള), cobras (മുൾപാമ്പ്), holes (അള), mounds (തറ), treasure (നിധി), wells (കിണർ), skies (ആകാശം), the underground (പാതാളം), water-course (നീരമ്പിയി)⁵ and everything else (അറ എപ്പറ്റപ്പെട്ടതും), were sold and purchased, as witness Kotamangalat Battatiri and Ulutaral Battatiri. Written in the hand of Vattakkumcheri Unikkumaran.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Dewan of Cochin.

No. 22.

Tittu (തീട്ട = letter from a superior to an inferior) from Karunnukki Tattan Narayanan to the Fifteen⁶ (പതിനഞ്ച്) of Irinyalakuda⁷ and to the Muttatu (മുത്തു) of Kolamanna. As the anger (അജാദം) of Kudalmanikkam (കുടൽമാണിക്കം) = probably an evil spirit was found in our Taravad, we have this day, according to the remedy suggested (ചികിത്സി) രിക്ഷണ പ്രകാരം by an astrological calculation (വട്ടണം), surrendered (ചഴിഞ്ഞു) by a document (എഴുതിവെച്ചു = literally, wrote and placed) laid on the blessed door (ആട്ടി) = door of temple) the lands (നിലം) and parambas (പറമ്പ്) which are our Taravad⁸ Janmam⁹ (തറവാടുജന്മം) in

¹ A.D. 1677-78.

² By this deed the Cochin Raja disposed of a piece of garden. Compare with this the Deed No. 15.

³ In No. 15 the following were also named:—1, Boundaries; 2, Field ridges; 3, Canals; 4, Washing-places; 5, Roads; 6, Streams; 7, Deer forests; 8, Shady places for honey; 9, Desam; 10, Desadhipatyam; 11, Amsam; 12, Sthanam; 13, Angam; and 14, Chungam. If all these important privileges had been conveyed by this deed, it is hardly possible that they would have been all lumped together under the general head at the end. Moreover, Deed No. 15 has likewise a general head for privileges not mentioned.

⁴ *Irinyalakuda* is one of the original 64 Nambutiri Gramams (villages). The "Fifteen" probably constituted the council of the *Gramam*, just as the *Karanavar* of the Nayar *Tara* represented the *Tara* in the *Kuttam* in the *nad*, or the *Palliyar* (literally, church people) the various communities of Christians under the protection of *Manigramam*. See Deed No. 3.

⁵ The use of this word here by a Brahman family marks a change in the constitution of society. The *Tara* was the Nayar village or guild (so to speak); *Taravad* is *Tara-padu*, that is, authority in the *Tara*. How could a Nambutiri family have obtained authority in the *Tara*? The answer seems to be supplied by Deed No. 9 and also by Deeds Nos. 11, 13, 14, 16 and 20. The *vidu* is, probably, equivalent to *Taravad*, and both alike, it will be seen, were frequently sold.

⁶ This deed was executed by a Nambutiri family in favour of the elders of a Nambutiri village. This is the earliest instance as yet found of the use of the Sanskrit word *Janmam* in a Malayali deed.

Allur Desam in the country (നാട്ട്) of Chundal, and Poymale temple (പൊയ്മാലേ), Turutti temple, and Alu Bhagavati temple out of (our) temples (ക്ഷേത്രം), and the property (വസ്തുവസ്തു), and retainers (മുക്കൾ), and slaves (അടിമക്കൾ) and others (മുഖ്യാദികൾ) of the above temples (ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലെ), and in addition to this (ഇതുകൂടാതെ) the property (വസ്തുവസ്തു) in the interior Dessams (ഉൾക്കടലം) of Poravur, Perumannai and Kandiyur, and the Karayma and Samudayam (കരയ്മാമുദായം) of the Kandiyur temple (ക്ഷേത്രം), as perpetual (പ്രാപ്തം) enjoyment (സ്വന്തവശം), with water (മുക്കുവെള്ളം) in order that they may be enjoyed for ever and ever (എന്നിങ്ങനെയ്ത) as Devaswam (property): all the above-written property (മേൽപ്പറഞ്ഞവസ്തുവസ്തു) may be enjoyed by the Devaswam in the same manner as we are enjoying them. (This is) executed voluntarily (മനസ്സുകൊണ്ട്), with gift of water Janmam¹ (ജന്മനീതം), by Karumukka Illath Tattan Narayanan, Chumaran, and Saraswati and Nanganchi out of the females (അമ്മകൾ), on the 14th of Chittrai month, in the year 856,² on the auspicious day, (ഉദിനം) of Tuesday (മകുളവാരം) and written by Unikkandan Vittil Raman. Witness: Kovur Vasudevan and Nallurpilli Parameswaran.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Dewan of Cochin.

No. 23.

Pattolakarunam (പാട്ടൊലകരണം), executed in the solar month (ആയർ) of Karkadakam, of the year 868.³ Tirumalasseri Naranan Naranan having received 240 new fanams from (literally, from the hands of, കയ്യൽ) Tekkat Raman Kumaran; now the object (കാര്യം) of receiving the said 240 fanams is that the lands at the northern end of Potiyapuram are a pattam⁴ on a pattam of 24 paras of paddy, exclusive of an allowance for damage (മേപ്പ്) and inclusive of Vasi (വാടി = allowance for difference of measures); let the net pattam of 12 paras of paddy, after deducting 12 paras for interest on the amount (advanced) at 5 per cent, and commutable at 1 para per fanam, be paid annually to my Polattikkarakar (പൊലാട്ടിക്കരകർ = Pravarttikkar). Thus written by Ambalat Kelu.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Kilepatt Teyyan Menon of Walluvanad Taluk.

No. 24.

Attippettolakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടൊലകരണം), executed in Chingam Nyayar (ആയർ = solar month), Karkidaka Vyalam, of the year 881,⁵ at the Chittur Mannatt⁶ (ചിത്തൂർമ്മത്തം = literally, sitting at the Mannatt) of the Kilappalayur Nad (നാട്ട്). Kotakare Kumaran Kandan received from (കയ്യൽ = literally, from the hands of) Ambat Raman Manchu the

¹ *Vide* note above. Compare the phrase frequently repeated in the proceeding and subsequent deeds, namely, Attippon nir, etc. *Janma nir udakam* is merely the Sanskritised form of the ancient phrase.

² A.D. 1681.

³ A.D. 1693.

⁴ *Pattamayi pattamandu.*

⁵ A.D. 1706.

⁶ A place of judgment or assembly, or a place for transacting business. For the three kinds of Mannatt, *vide* Gundert's Dictionary under മന്ന at page 788. The Chittur Taluk of Cochin State lies east of Palghat.

market value (പെരുവൽ); thus the object (കാരു) of this market value (പെരുവൽ) is that Kotakare Kumaran Kandan has given, with water as Attipper, his land (അടൽ) sowing 80 paras, and bounded on the north by Otachirayil Matampalli Vatti Kandan (field), on the south by the high road (പെരുവഴി), on the east by Parikkat Paru Nilam, and on the west by the hill; together with its upper produce (മേൽഫലം) and lower produce (കീഴ്ഫലം), as well as Vellayan and his two children, Kutti Kannan and his four children, and Tambi (അൻ) and his two children, making a total of five (adults) and six children, and making a grand total of eleven Cherumars (വല്ലിച്ചാത്തന്മാർ), out of his (Kumaran Kandan's) slave Cherumars (അടിയൻ വല്ലിച്ചാത്തന്മാർ). In this way Ambat Raman Manchu and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) have taken with water as Attipper after paying the above market value (പെരുവൽ), the abovesaid land sowing 80 paras, and bounded on the north by Otachirayil Matampalli Vatti Kandan (കണ്ടം = field), on the south by the high road (പെരുവഴി), on the east by Parikkat Paru Nilam, and on the west by the hill; together with the jungles (കാട്) and embankment (കര) on both sides (ഇരുകര), as also Vellayan and his children, Kutti Kannan and his children, Tambi and his children, making a total of five adults and six children, and making a grand total of eleven Cherumars (വല്ലിച്ചാത്തന്മാർ) out of the slave Cherumars (അടിയൻ വല്ലിച്ചാത്തന്മാർ). The witnesses who know this (transaction) are Ilamule Chennan Raman and Chennalikkote Chatta Raman. Written by Meledatt Menon.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Nallepalli Ankaratta Valiya Mannadiyar of Cochin State.

No. 25.

Attippettolakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റൊലകരണം), executed in Dhanu Nyayar (ആയർ = solar month), Chinga Vyalam, of the year 882, ¹ at the Chittur Mannatt ² (മന്നത്തമ്മന = literally, sitting at the Mannatt) of the Kilpalayur Nad (നാട്). Matampalli Korissan and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) received from the hands of (എഴുത്) Eluvatt Chattan Malayan the market value (പെരുവൽ). The object (കാരു), then, of this market value is that the Otasara land (ഉടാരം) I obtained from Kotukare Nayar, and sowing 500 Nali (നളി) seeds, the boundaries whereof are these: below the Ambat Nilam and above the Porayattavar's Nilam, west of Annayi Kanam (അണ്ണായികണം) and east of the public road. The land comprised within these (boundaries), and sowing 50 paras seed, and Vellanan, son of Cheruman (വല്ലിച്ചാത്തൻ) Tambi, obtained ³ (അടി) by me, and the original document (മുതൽകരണം) thereon, and the jungle (കാട്), the hillock or margin (കര), channel (തോട്), fees (ഇറ), ⁴ and the upper and lower produce (മേൽഫലവും കീഴ്ഫലവും) comprised within the abovesaid boundaries, are given with water as Attipper by Matampalli Korissan and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ). Thus having paid the said market value (പെരുവൽ), the abovesaid Otasara land (നിലം), sowing 50 paras seed, and Cheruman (വല്ലിച്ചാത്തൻ) Vellanan, with the original document (മുതൽകരണം) thereof, as well as the upper and lower produce comprised within the said boundaries, are taken with water as Attipper by Eluvatt Chattan Malayan

¹ A.D. 1707.

² Vide note to Deed No. 24.

³ Probably before this transaction regarding the land.

⁴ Ancient meaning, tribute, taxes.

and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ). Thus the witnesses who know this (transaction) are Ilamule Chennan Raman and Chennalikkote Chatta Raman. Written by Nerayath Teyan.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Nallepalli Ankaratta Valiya Mannadiyar of Cochin State.

No. 26.

Attippettola Karyam (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടൊലകാര്യം), executed in the Kanni Nyayar (solar month) of the year 888.¹ Kulikkat Karumukkil Narayan Memman and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) conveyed (എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ = literally, wrote and gave) as *Nirmutalaruti* Attipper (നീർമുതലരുതി അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടാരക), their Karumattara Desam (ദേശം) by receiving the market Attipper value (പെരും വില അട്ടിപ്പെരത്തം), as then found by four people (നാലർക്കണ്ണം), to Paliyatt Mannan Kommi, in the blessed name (തിരുനാമം) of Putiya (പുതിയ = new; probably newly-built) Peruntiracovil Tevar (പെരുന്തിര കൊവിൽതേവർ) god of Peruntira temple, or god of that name). The boundaries of the Purayidam² (പുരിയടം = the site of a habitation, compound) thus purchased on Attipper at Karumattara Desam, are Otikkam Todu (തോട് = stream) on the east, the river on the south, Angadi Kadaivu (അങ്ങാടിപ്പടവ് = shop ferry) on the west, and Raman-chira (രാമൻചിറ = a tank or embankment of that name) on the north. Everything, of whatever³ description (എല്ലാവിധവും) included in the above four boundaries, has been purchased (എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാൻ = literally, wrote and took or brought) by Paliyatt Mannan Kommi, as *Nirmutalaruti* Attipper (നീർമുതലരുതി അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടാരക), in the blessed name of Putiya Peruntiracovil Tevar (പുതിയപെരുന്തിര കൊവിൽതേവർ). The witnesses who know this (transaction) are Chekolli Nambutiri and Kutampilli Nambidi.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Dewan of Cochin.

No. 27.

Attippettolakarunam (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടൊലകരുണം), executed in the solar month (ആയുർ) of Kumbham, 888,⁴ Kumbha Vyalam. Matattil Otanyil Mukkan and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) received the current market value (അന്നപെരും അർത്ഥം) from Nambale Narayan Chinnaran, and granted (പൊക്കുകൊടുത്താൻ) him the Attipper, with water (നീരുതക്കമായി), of the Adhipatyam (ആധിപത്യം = sovereignty) of his Kile Otani Taravad⁵
⁷ in Vellott Kurissi Desam, along with the said Desam and Desadhipatyam (ദേശാധിപത്യം = supreme authority in the Desam), and

¹ A.D. 1712.

² *Nir* (Drav.) = water; *mutal* (Drav.) = property; *aruti* (Drav.) = end, utmost limit.

³ This word is probably used here in a wider sense than ordinary. As the sale was of a *Desam*, the proper rendering of *pura* (= house), *idam* (= place, mansion), should probably be *manor*. Compare the note on *vidu* in Deed 20.

⁴ It is impossible to say from this whether the official dignities of *Desavali* were included in the rights conveyed.

⁵ A.D. 1713.

⁶ Here the word *Taravad* (*Tara-padu*, see Glossary) bears its original meaning. Compare notes on *vidu* in Deed No. 20 and on *Purayidam* in Deed No. 26.

⁷ Words gone here owing to age of document.

Urayma (ഉറയ്മ), and Ama¹ [ആ = turtle (?)] and hill (മല), and Malapuram (മലപ്പുറം = hill side), and Nanya (നഞ്ചു = a poison used in fishing), and hunting (നായട്ട്) and everything, of whatever description (എല്ലെ ഒട്ടെല്ലം). Thus Naranan Chumaran and heirs (നരണൻ) obtained (പെറ്റി ചുമരൻ), by paying the current market value (പൊരുത്തം), the Kile-Otani Taravad, Desam, Desadhipatyam, Ambalapadi² (അമ്പലപ്പടി), Urayma, hill (മല), Malapuram (hill-side), Nanya (നഞ്ചു), and hunting. Mukkan and heirs (മുക്കൻ) accordingly granted Attipper with water, after receiving the current market value, and Naranan Chumaran and heirs (നരണൻ) obtained Attipper with water after paying the current market value, as witnessed on behalf of both grantor and grantee by the Sabhavattam (സഭവട്ടം = circle of assembly). Written in the hand of Putiyetatt Komunni.

Note.—The original is in Vatteluttu character. A clause near the end is imperfect, and has been omitted. The copy from which this translation has been made was obtained from Kileppatt Teyyan Menon of Walluvanad Taluk, Malabar.

No. 28.

Attippettolakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റൊലകരണം), executed in the month (മാസം) of Karkidakam of the year 898, ³ Samudayattiri Panikkar and heirs (സമുദായത്തിരി) have given, with water (നീർ), the Attipper of the land (നില) called Vellatt oluva, sowing 12 paras and belonging to the three Panikkars of Vellatt Samudayam (വെള്ളാട്ടുനടുക്കായത്തിൽ പണിക്കർക്കു മൂന്നുവക), after receiving⁴ the market Attipper gold (പൊരുത്തപ്പട്ടെറ പൊന്നു), then found by four people (അന്നനാലുകൾ). In this way Paliyatt Mannen Komi and heirs (പലിയറ്റ് മന്നൻ) have bought with water the land (നില) called Vellatt oluva, sowing 12 paras, after paying (മാവറമുതലൻ) the market Attipper gold then found by four people. The witnesses who know this are Mangalassa Nambutiri and Kilani Nambutiri. Written by Pattatt Raman.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Dewan of Cochin.

No. 29.

Attippettolakurunam (അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റൊലകുരണം), executed in the solar month of Karkidakam, 898, ³ Dhanu Vyalam. Kolappurat Nokan Narayanan and heirs (നരായണൻ) received the current market value (അന്ന പൊരുത്തം) from ¹ Palayur Viyatan Manichan, and granted him the Attipper with water of Morkankandi Nilam, Kodunga Nilam, Telakka Nilam, Atamban Nilam, Patinhare Vellakuunnu paramba, and Namban Pallimanyayal (പള്ളിമഞ്ഞാമ്പൽ), situated in Irimalasserri Desam. Thus

¹ Perhaps the seat shaped like a turtle, or perhaps *Ambalapadi*, the seat of honor in a temple. The *Ama*, however, was probably portable, while the *Ambalapadi*, was fixed in the outer side of the wall of the sanctuary.

² Here *Ambalapadi* seems to be the equivalent of *Ama*, *vide* above.

³ A.D. 1723.

⁴ Receiving and paying are qualified by the phrase മാവറമുതലൻ, which cannot be clearly made out. If മാവർ is a corruption of മൂവർ, then the clause may mean "in a way extinguishing the right of the three," *i.e.*, three Panikkars. But if മാവർ stands for മാവൻ, then the clause may mean "in a way extinguishing the right of Muvan, a deity of Nayars." The Panikkars being called Samudayam favours this interpretation. Finally the word may mean that the right extinguished was "as far as the mango tree," *i.e.*, the timber right. On this last point compare Deed No. 43.

Palayur Viyatan Manichan paid the current market value and obtained the Attipper with water of the said Murkankandi Nilam, Kodunga Nilam, Telakka Nilam, Atamban Nilam, Patinhare Vellakunnu paramba and Namban Pallimanyayal (പള്ളിത്തടം). The boundaries (അതിരുകൾ) of the said lands are east Vellakunnu, south Nambankalam Nilam, west Ayyappantapanatiri Nilam, and north Vellarakku Nilam. Everything, of whatever description (എല്ലാവിധവും), contained within the said boundaries is given (as) Attipper with water. The boundaries of Murkankandi Nilam are east Matana Nilam, south Atamari Nilam, west the embankment of the tank, and north the canal; everything, of whatever description (എല്ലാവിധവും), included within the said boundaries, including the planting space of seedlings (അരി) and the interval between them (അരിപ്പാളം), was obtained on Attipper with water; as witnessed on behalf of both grantor and grantee by neighbours (അയ്യർ), the over-lord¹ (പരിവർ), and the Sabhavattam (circle of assembly). Written in the hand of Vellot Raman.

Note.—The original is in Vatteluttu character. The copy from which this translation was made was obtained from Kilepatt Teyyan Menon of Walluvanad Taluk, Malabar.

No. 30.

Attippettolakarunam (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടൊലകരണം), executed in the solar month of Makaram of the year 898, ² Dhanu Vyalam. The Uralars of Iswaramangalam sitting inside [ഉള്ളിക്കര = sitting inside (probably of temple)] in the sacred name (വിതന്നാമഹേശ്വരൻ) of the god (ഭാഗവത), received the current market value (amru perum artham) from Valayur Kuriyetat Viyatan Manichan, and granted him the Attipper with water, *Nirudakamayi*, of their Vettan Nilam in Kilatrikkovil Desam. Thus Valayur Kuriyetat Viyatan Manichan paid the current market value (അനുപെരുമാർഗ്ഗം) and obtained the Attipper with water of the Vettan Nilam in Kilatrikkovil Desam. The Uralars of Iswaramangalam sitting inside (ഉള്ളിക്കര = sitting inside, perhaps of temple), in the sacred name (വിതന്നാമഹേശ്വരൻ) of the god (ഭാഗവത), granted the Attipper with water, of everything, of whatever description (എല്ലാവിധവും), comprised within the four boundaries of the said Vettan Nilam in Kilatrikkovil Desam. Thus witnessed by the Sabhavattam³ (അഭവട്ടം = circle of assembly) on behalf of the parties granting and obtaining, for current value, the Attipper with water of Vettan Nilam in Kilatrikkovil Desam, together with everything, of whatever description, contained within its four boundaries. Written in the hand of Panku.

Note.—The original is in Vatteluttu characters. The copy from which this translation was made was obtained from Kilepatt Teyyan Menon of Walluvanad Taluk, Malabar. A clause near the end is imperfect and has been omitted.

No. 31.

Pattolakarunam (പട്ടൊലകരണം), executed in the solar month (അമാസ) of Kanni, 899. ¹ Tirumalasseri Naranan Naranan received 840 new fanams from (the hands of) Mulayil Kummuni Tayi; the object (കാര്യം),

¹ Here the Pati and the circle of assembly attest the deed.

² A.D. 1723.

³ The circle of assembly represented authority.

⁴ A.D. 1724.

then, of receiving the said 840 fanams is that the land called Ekaram in Iswaramangalam Pattam¹ (പാട്ടം) is a pattam² on a pattam of 56 paras of paddy, as per my Narayappara³. Out of this deduct 11 paras on account of damage (കേടുപാടി) and 42 paras on account of interest on the amount (advanced); let the balance of 3 paras of pattam, which with Vasi (വാടി = allowance for difference of measure) becomes 3 paras and 3 tunis (തുണി = a measure about 1½ Idangali), be paid to my Poluttikkarakar (പൊട്ടത്തികാരർ = Pravarttikkar). Thus written by Atiyarat Krishnan.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Kilepatt Teyyan Menon of Walluvanad Taluk.

No. 32.

Pattolakaranam (പാട്ടൊളക്കരണം), executed in the solar month of Kanni, 899.⁴ Tirumalasseri Naranan Naranan received 101 fanams and 125 paras of paddy from Mulayil Kummini Tayi; the object, then, of receiving the said 101 fanams and 125 paras of paddy is that the land which formerly belonged to Kundanur Perumpilavil people of Cherumaratur Desam is a pattam⁵ on a pattam of 48 paras, as per my Narayappara (നാരായപാറ), exclusive of an allowance for damage (കേടുപാടി). Out of this deduct 10 paras as interest on the amount at 5 per cent, and commutable at 4 paras per fanam, and let the balance of 38 paras be paid to my Poluttikkarakar (പൊട്ടത്തികാരർ) annually. Thus written by Atiyarat Teyyan.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Kilepatt Teyyan Menon of Walluvanad Taluk.

No. 33.

Attippettolakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടൊളക്കരണം), executed in the solar month (ആയുർ) of Mithunam of the year 900.⁶ Having received from (കയ്യൊരി) from the hands of) Atayur Raman, Samudayam (സമുദായം) (of) the Uralars who sit inside (ഉള്ളിരുക്ക = sitting within, perhaps the temple), in the blessed name (തിരുനാമം) of the Pallimal Tevar (ദൈവർ = god), the current market value (അന്നപവരം അന്നം), Patavarkote Narayanan Devan granted [എഴുതിവെച്ചുകൊടുത്തൊൻ = literally, wrote and gave by laying (on the ground)] Attipper (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ട) with pouring of water (നിരക്കുമായി), of Arangatodi land (നില) of 12 paras, Mutayan Chattamili of 12 paras, Pullanimuri of 6 paras, the land above it (അരികുമേലെ), of 5 paras, and Kunnachecheri Kandam⁶ of 12 paras, aggregating (കൂടി) lands sowing 47 measures (പാട്പ്പാർ = a measure) of seed, possessed by him (റെനിപ്പെട്ട) in Valia Kundanur Desam. Thus paying the current market value (അന്നപവരം), Atayur Raman Samudayam (of) the Uralars who sit inside

¹ The sense in which the word *pattam* is here used, that is, as an aggregation of lands, points to yet another mode in which the "Six Hundred" broke up their communal rights. The *Nad* was assessed with a certain quantity of produce as the *Ko's* share, that is, as *Ko-patta-varam*. Note (i) to Deed No. 3. The *Taravad Karanavar* in distributing the land would have to assign liability to pay a certain portion of the *Ko's* *pattam* to each piece of land made over to each *Taravad* as its share of the common property. Each piece of land would then come to be known as so and so's or such and such *pattam*. The use of the word in this sense is still adhered to in British Cochin inherited from the Dutch.

² *Pattamayil pattamandu*.

³ നാരായപാറ = a certain measure.

⁴ A.D. 1724.

⁵ A.D. 1725.

⁶ See note to deed No. 12.

(ഉള്ളിരത്ന = see note above), in the blessed name (രീതിനാമം) of the Pallimal Tevar (ഭഗവദ്), obtained [എഴുതിവെച്ചുകൊണ്ടാൻ = literally, wrote and caused to be laid (on the ground)] Attipper (അപ്പിപ്പർ) with pouring of water (നീരുക്കൊഴി), of Arangatodi land (നീലം) of 12 paras, Mutayan Chattamili of 12 paras, Pulanimuri of 6 paras, the land above it (പുതിര മേഖല) of 5 paras, and Kunnachecheri Kandam of 12 paras, aggregating lands sowing 47 measures (വടപ്പൻ) of seed (situated) in Valia Kundanur Desam. Thus Patavarkote Narayanan Devan having received the current market value, granted (എഴുതിവെച്ചുകൊടുത്താൻ) Attipper with pouring of water (നീരുക്കൊഴി), of the lands sowing 47 paras of seed which he possesses (തന്നിരിക്കുന്നു) in Valia Kundanur Desam. Thus Atayur Raman obtained (എഴുതിവെച്ചുകൊണ്ടാൻ = see note above) the said lands (as) Attipper with pouring of water (നീരുക്കൊഴി). Thus the witness who knows this on behalf of the grantor (എഴുതിവെച്ചുകൊടുക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണം) and grantee (എഴുതിവെച്ചുകൊണ്ടമെണ്ണം) is Raru Patteri (Bhattatiri). Written by Kelachehatil Raman.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Dewan of Cochin.

No. 34.

Desupattolakarunam (ദേശപാട്ടൊഴുക്കുണ്ടം), executed in the solar month (ഋശമ) of Karkadakam 906¹ Chinga Vyalam Kudallur Yogiyattiri Tiruvadi (കൂടല്ലൂരയോഗിയതിരിതിരുവടി) in the name of Trisivaperur Appan (തൃശ്ശിവപേരൂർഅപ്പൻ = Trichur god (?)) received 14,000 old fanams from Kuttale Anantanarayanan Tayamma. The object of receiving the above 14,000 fanams is that subsequent to the former document, lands sowing 420 paras of Kanimangalam Cherikkal² (ചേരിക്കൽ), 120 paras of Utiyal, 360 paras of Manniti Cherikkal (ചേരിക്കൽ), 620 paras of Mattur Cherikkal, 120 paras of Ayinampattam,³ and 120 paras of Mangalur Vengattara and 18 Cherumars (ഛെറുമാർ) are a pattam to you⁴ on a pattam of 5,000 paras of paddy including the 1,000 paras payable by Kayaradi⁵ Pattillattavar and the 120 paras payable from Vellamkur [വെള്ളാകുറ(?)]. The net annual purapad is 1,500 paras after deducting 1,050 paras for interest on the amount (advanced), 2,240 paras for Changugatam⁶ (ചങ്ങാട്ടൊട്ടം) and Palisa [പാലിക്കട്ടം = persons rendering service as guards bearing (palisa) shields] and 210 paras for പ്രവർത്തിക്കാത്ത⁷ (?) പ്രൊത്തിയാക്ക (different kinds of agents, servants), making a total deduction of 3,500. The above purapad of 1,500 paras with one Chotana (ചോതന = a measure) of oil should be annually⁸ paid regularly on the 1st of every Chingam, and you may enjoy വഴിപിഴ (fines) for infringing old customs. Written in the hand of Kuruppat Chennan.

Note.—Translated from a copy of a copper-plate deed received from the Nallopulli Ankaratta Valiya Mannadiyar of Cochin State.

¹ A.D. 1731.

² Lands belonging to Rajas or temples.

³ See note to Deed No. 31 on *pattam* used in this way.

⁴ *Puttanayi pattamandu*.

⁵ കയരട്ടിപെത്തിട്ടുത്തവർ = the ten Illam people of Kayaradi (?).

⁶ See Glossary.

⁷ Probably for പ്രവർത്തിക്കാത്ത.

⁸ This deed cannot be clearly understood, as the previous deed is not forthcoming. So far as can be made out, it is a Kanam deed (see Glossary under "Kanam" and notes to Deed No. 4) of a whole *Desam* or of the whole of the demisor's interest in land, etc., in the *Desam*. It is of interest because the *Kanakkar* had evidently to take upon himself the protection of the territory. See Deed No. 4.

No. 35.

Valiyolakaranam (വിലയൊലകരണം, corruption of വിലയമയകരണം = bill of sale), executed in the solar month (മാസം) of Karkadakam of the year 914.¹ Kurikkalote Palakkal Mittalevittil Ummanga and Uchchira of Cherukunnatt village (ചര) sold as far as their share (അങ്കുരക്കുളവരതിക്കുളം) of the Tara² (തറ) Kandam (കണ്ടം = field) and swamps (കൈപ്പാട്ട്) below their house (വീട്). Tayatt Vittil Rairu Koran and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) purchased (the same) by paying the current market³ value (അന്നപെരും അത്ഥം). The boundary of the land (കണ്ടം) for which this price was paid is east as far as the river, south as far as the Palakkal paramba (പാറമ്പ), west as far as the Palakkal paramba, and north as far as the Patikkarante Kandam (land). The land (നില) produce (ഫലം = fruit) hidden treasure (പൊറ്റ) and the vessel in which it is secured (പൊറ്റ) and thorns (മുളക്), and cobras (മുക്കുന്മാർ) included in the said four boundaries are purchased (വിലയമയകരണം) by paying the price (വില കടത്തു). The witness⁴ who knows this (transaction) is Kuppadakal Kannan Kammaran and the witness who knows the house (കടിയറയെ അറിയുന്ന) is Valliyotan Chingan Kelu. Written with the knowledge of the neighbours⁵ (മേട്ടമേടർപ്പിച്ചു) in the hand of Talavil Sankaran.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the District Munsif of Kaval, Chirakkal Taluk. The original is in Tamil (*Koleluttu*) characters.

No. 36.

Attippellolakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെല്ലൊലകരണം) executed in Edavam Nyayar (solar month) Karkadaka Vyalam of the year 917⁷ at the Chittur Mannatt⁸ (മന്നത്ത) of the Kilappalayur Nad (നാടു). Varikkot Raman and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) received the market value (പെരുവത്ഥം) from the hands of Ambat Raman Manchu. The object of this market value is that Varikkot Raman and heirs have given with water as Attipper his (Raman's) property (അംശം) the field⁹ (കണ്ടം) sowing 10 paras (and situated) above the Ambatte field by the side (ക്കര) of the hill (മല) and below the field belonging to the Ayam house, together with its adjoining hillock or margin (കര) and upper and lower produce (മേൽഫലവും കീഴ്ഫലവും). Thus having paid the said market value the abovesaid land (നിലം) which is above the Ambat field by the side of the hill and below the field belonging to Ayam house, and sowing 10 paras, together with its adjoining hillock or margin and the upper and lower produce has been taken with water as Attipper by Ambat Manchu and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ). Thus the witnesses who know this (transaction) are Ilamule Chennan Raman and Chennalikkote Chatta Raman. Written by Kuttikat Itti Korappen.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Nallepalli Ankarattu Valiya Mannadiyar of Cochin State.

¹ A.D. 1739.

² The fact that the vendors sold their share of the *Tara* field or *Tara* portion (*Kandam*, see Deed No. 12) looks as if the *Tara* (Nayar village or guild) had held property in its corporate capacity in this part of the country (Northern Kolattunad). See Deed No. 4 and Deed No. 14.

³ Literally, *Anna* = that day; *Perum* = which will produce; *Artham* = the money, wealth.

⁴ The attestation of the neighbours and of two special witnesses was alone considered necessary in this case.

⁵ (?)

⁶ Literally "hoard and caused to be heard." Kettu-Kolpichu.

⁷ A.D. 1742.

⁸ *Vide* note to Deed No. 24.

⁹ *Kandam* See note to deed No. 12.

No. 37.

Attippettolakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റൊലകരണം), executed at Nallaypalli Mannatt¹ (മന്നത്തു) in Angavenat (അങ്കവേണാട്ട്) (?) Kadavur (കടവൂർ) (?) Kayariyadath (കയറിയടത്തു) (?) in the solar month (ആയർ) of Tulam 924² Makara Vyakam. Karutta Mannattil Iravi Itarachan and heirs (അമ്പിമാർ) received from (the hands of) Tottatt Malayan Itti Chattar the current market value (പെരുവൽ). The object of receiving the market value is that Karuttamannattil Iravi Itarachan and heirs have given by pouring water as Nirmutal (നിർമുതൽ = water property) the Nir Attipper (നിർഅട്ടിപ്പെറ്റ) of his (Itarachan's) land (ഭാഗം) situated on the south of the Kalaparamba (കളപരമ്പ) and Pula (പുല = silk-cotton tree) which are above the embankment (മേൽ) lying below that (land) demised on Kanam³ (കാണം കാരതിയ) by them (Itarachan and heirs) at Kottamangalam (കോട്ടമംഗലം) and (situated) on the north of the Kolachira (കൊളചിറ = big tank); the plots (കണ്ട) included within these (limits) sowing 70 paras and Kuli (കുളി = an excavated ground) and the three Kuli parambas (കുളിപരമ്പ) with their upper and lower produce (മേൽമലവും കീഴ് മലവും) together with Atiyan Valli Chattanmar (അട്ടിയാൻവല്ലി ചത്തന്മാർ = slave Cherumars) Kannan's son Karuttapullij and Rangayan. Thus Thodatt Malayan Itti Chattan and heirs (അമ്പിമാർ) by giving the abovesaid market value (പെരുവൽ) obtained as water property (നിർമുതൽ) the Nir Attipper (നിർഅട്ടിപ്പെറ്റ) of the abovesaid lands with their upper and lower produce (മേൽമലവും കീഴ് മലവും) and Kuli (കുളി) and the three Kuli parambas together with two Cherumars (വല്ലിയാർ). Witnesses hereof are Vadavannur Vellalars (വടവന്നൂർ വെള്ളാർ) and Kilillatt Anantiravars (കീഴ്ലത്തു അന്തരിവാർ). Written in the hands of the vendor (അങ്ങൻ).

NOTE.—Translated from a copy received from the Nallapalli Ankaratta Valiya Mannadiyar of Cochin State.

No. 38.

Baliyolakaranam (ബലിയോലകരണം, corruption of വില്യോലകരണം = sale-deed), executed in the solar month (ആയർ) of Makaram of the year 925¹ Kaliyatt Vittil Kunyan Nambi and heirs (അമ്പിമാർ) having received (വാങ്ങി) the current market² value (അന്നപെറും പോൻകാണം വില) sold (വില്യകൊടുത്താർ) the Kurikkalott Palakkal Koliyatt Putiyavittile Valappa (വാളപ്പ = paramba) in Cherukunnatt village (ചേർ = village) Palakkal Mittalevittil Kammaran Otenan having paid (കൊടുത്ത) the current market³ value (അന്നപെറും പോൻകാണം വില) purchased (വില്യകൊണ്ടാർ) (the same). The boundaries of this paramba (പരമ്പ) are, east as far as the canal (തോട്ട), south as far as the Chettire Karanma Kandan⁴ (കണ്ട = field), west as far as the eastern wall (മതിൽ) of Kaliyatt Mittale house, and north as far as the Bhagavathi Ammere Kandan⁵ (കണ്ട = field). Kaliyatt Vittil Kunyan Nambi and heirs having received the current market

¹ Vide note to Deed No. 24.

² A.D. 1748.

³ *Tonma*, a corrupt form of *Svanma*, which occurs in Deed No. 6.

⁴ The land demised on *Kanam* was not sold.

⁵ A.D. 1750.

⁶ Literally, *Anna* = that day; *Perum* = which will produce; *Pon* = gold *Kanam* = *kunam*, possession; *Vila* = price.

⁷ See note to Deed No. 12.

value sold¹ the lands (നിലം) and produce (പലം = fruit), including (അടക്കി) the hidden treasure (പൊക്കി) and the vessel in which it is secured (പൊക്കി) comprised within the said four boundaries. Palakkal Mittalevittil Kammaman Otenan purchased (the same) by paying the current market value. The witness (അപ്പി) corruption of അക്കി who knows this (transaction) is Kuppadakkal Kannan Kammaman and the witness who knows the house (?) [കുറുപ്പാട്കൽ അക്കി (?)] is Vellyodan Chindan Koran. With the knowledge of these, written in the hand of Talavil Narayanan Sankaran.

NOTE.—Translated from a copy received from the District Munsif of Kavai, Chirakkal taluk. The original is in Tamil (*Kolchuttu*) characters.

No. 39.

Attippettolakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടൊലകരണം), executed in the solar month (മാസം) of Dhanu of the year 932.² Nechehikkot Raman Kittanan (കുട്ടണം = vulgar form of Krishnan) and heirs (അമ്പിമാർ) received from (കയ്യൽ = from the hands of) Kuruppatt Chirukota and heirs (അമ്പിമാർ) the current market value (അന്നപെരും അത്ത്). Thus having received the current market value, Nechehikkot Raman Kittanan and heirs granted (എഴുതിച്ചൊടുങ്ങാൻ = literally wrote and gave) the Attipper അട്ടിപ്പെട്ട as water property (നീർമുറ) with water (പുഴ) of his Kotumanna land (നിലം) sowing 6 paras in Kurichchikkare desam. Thus having paid the current market value, Kuruppatt Chirukota and heirs obtained [എഴുതിച്ചൊടുങ്ങാൻ = literally had or got (it) written] the Attipper as water property (നീർമുറ) with water of the Kotumanna land sowing 6 paras in Kurichchikkare desam. Thus Nechehikkot Raman Kittanan and heirs granted the Attipper as water property with water of the Kotumanna (land) of 6 paras. Thus having paid the current market value, Kuruppatt Chirukota and heirs obtained (എഴുതിച്ചൊടുങ്ങാൻ, see note above) the Attipper as water property with water of Kotumanna (land) of 6 paras in Kurichchikkare desam. Thus Raman Kittanan and heirs granted (എഴുതിച്ചൊടുങ്ങാൻ) the said land. Thus Chirukota and heirs obtained (എഴുതിച്ചൊടുങ്ങാൻ) the said land. The witnesses who know this in behalf of the grantor (എഴുതിച്ചൊടുങ്ങാൻ) and of the grantee (എഴുതിച്ചൊടുങ്ങാൻ) are Koravankuli Nayar and Attittre Kora Mappilla. Written in the hand of Chiraman.

NOTE.—Translated from a copy received from the the Dewan of Cochin.

No. 40.

Attippettolakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടൊലകരണം), executed in the solar month (മാസം) of Mithunam of the year 934.³ Having received the current market value (അന്നപെരും അത്ത്) from (കയ്യൽ = from the hands of) the Uralar in the blessed name (നിമിത്തമായി) of Kurichchikkare

¹ The use of the word *Kanam* above proves, that what was sold was the *Kanam* right (compare Deed No. 4). If so, it is important to observe exactly the things so conveyed, viz., lands, produce and hidden treasure. *Veppum Cheppum* are two of the best known incidents of the water birthright.

² It is suggested in a note to Deed No. 2 that possibly the transfer of freehold "by water" came into the country with the Vedic Brahmans, whose influence was never so great in this part of the country (North Kolattunad, Chirakkal taluk) as it was further south. Possibly, therefore, this deed and, perhaps, No. 35 also were meant to be freehold deeds. They were certainly handed in as copies of so-called Janmam deeds.

³ A.D. 1756-57.

⁴ A.D. 1759.

Tevan (ഭാവത = god) Techehikkot Chakkan Ramar and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) granted (എഴുതിച്ചുകൊടുത്താൻ = wrote and gave) the Attipper (അട്ടിപ്പറ്റ) with pouring water (നീർപ്പൊഴിച്ചി) of his Pati paramba of 7 paras in the Muti desam. Thus having paid the current market value (the Uralars) obtained [എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുവാൻ = literally had or got (it) written] the Attipper with pouring water of Pati paramba of 7 paras in the Muti desam. Thus Chakkan Ramar and heirs granted (എഴുതിച്ചുകൊടുത്താൻ, see note above) the said land. Thus having paid the current market value, the Uralar in the blessed name of Kurichehikkare Tevan obtained (എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുവാൻ, see note above) the said land. The witnesses who know this in behalf of the grantor (എഴുതിച്ചുകൊടുത്തതായ്ക്കൊ) and grantee (എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടതായ്ക്കൊ) are Koravankuli Nayar and Malamavatiyil Makkachar. Written in the hand of Koyat Kondu.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Dewan of Cochin.

No. 41.

Attippettolakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പറ്ററേഖലകരണം), executed at Chittur Mannatt¹ (ചെത്തൂർ) in Kilappalayur Nad in the solar month (ജായര) of Minam 938². Edavam Vyalam. Eluvatt Raman Chattan and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) received from Ambat Manchu Raman the current market value (പൊതുവിലം). The object of receiving the said market value is Eluvatt Raman Chattan and heirs give as water property (നീർമുത്തം) by pouring water the Nir Attipper (നീർപ്പറ്റ) of the land (തൊര) called Otasera above the Porayatta Nilam and below the Alukkan Chira, comprising plots sowing 60 paras of paddy and the parambas (പറമ്പ്) on both sides (ഇരുകര) and the upper and lower produce (മേൽഫലവും കീഴ്ഫലവും) and the Nuri (നൂരി = space required for planting seedlings) and the Nuriyida Paluta (നൂരിയിടപഴുതു = interval between the planting of seedlings). Thus Ambat Raman and Manchu and Raman and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) by giving the current market value obtained as water property (നീർമുത്തം) the Nir Attipper with the pouring of water of the said land Otasera above the Porayatta Nilam and below the Alukkan Chira, comprising plots sowing 60 paras of seed and the parambas on both sides, and the Nuri (നൂരി = the space required to plant seedlings) and Nuriyida Paluta (നൂരിയിടപഴുതു = interval between the planting of seedlings). Thus Raman Chattan and heirs receiving the current market value have executed this, and likewise Manchu Raman and heirs paying the current market value have got this executed. Thus the witnesses to this are Elamally Chenur Raman and Chennalikat Chattan Raman. Written in the hand of Achatt Kandu.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Nallepalli Ankaratta Valiya Mannadiyar of Cochin State.

No. 42.

To the Adhikari (അധികാരി) of Tirumala Devara (ഭാവത) in Cochin. Heard from Cochin Sangara Pillay that boundaries were fixed (അളത്തി തിരിച്ചു) to the compounds³ (പുരയിടങ്ങൾ = literally the site of a habitation) and lands⁴ (കണ്ടങ്ങൾ) belonging to Tirumala devasam in the tracts (പ്രദേശം)

¹ See note to Deed No. 24.

² A.D. 1763.

³ Probably *manors* would be more correct. See note to Deed No. 26.

⁴ See note to Deed No. 12 regarding Kandam.

ശബ്ദം) included in Turavur and Manakkottuttu (subject to) Cherttala Mandavattum 'Vatukkal' and that copies were brought and deposited [അനുവധിപ്പിച്ചു (?)] at the Mandavattum Vatukkal (ചേരവട്ടം വാട്ടുകൽ) of documents (പ്രമാണങ്ങൾ) relating to property held on Erakkarayma² (എറക്കാറമ്മ) and Janmam (ജന്മം). Therefore I have relinquished (രമിപ്പിച്ചു) in behalf of the devasvam of the Mupra³ (മുപ്ര) and $\frac{1}{8}$ of what is Janmam (ജന്മം) and Erakkarayma (എറക്കാറമ്മ) documents whereof have been found. Enjoying (them) thus the Michavaram⁴ of Erakkarayma should be paid annually to the Mandavattum Vatukkal and receipts (ചീട്ട്) taken. Thus to this effect written on the 10th of the month (ദാസം) of Makaram of the year 945⁵ under the orders of His Highness (ചിരവുണ്ണശാസനം) by Anancha Perumal Anancha Perumal, the Valia Meleluttu Kanakku (വലിയ മേലേഴുത്തുകനകം) = an office of that name).

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Dowry of Cochin State.

No. 43.

Attipper ola karanam (അട്ടിപ്പൊലകരണം), executed on the closing (പൊകുന്ന) solar month (ആയർ) of the Chingam of the year 951.⁶

Pilaparambil Kelan Koman and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) having received the current market Attipper value (പെരുമ്പാല അട്ടിപ്പൊല) as found at the time by four people (നൂന്നാലർ) granted (എഴുതികൊടുത്തു) = literally wrote and gave) the Attipper with pouring of water (നീരുമകുമായി) of the plot (കണ്ടം) lying east to west on the northern slope (പടക്കു എറക്കി) of the hill in the western Odi (ഓടി = division or range of fields) of Karaka Akathutta belonging to them (നോക്കു) in Kutuvur desam, so as to extinguish the (right in) mango tree (മവര) the (right in) sand (ചെലരെ) and the right in water (മുക്കരെ) and to convey the right of ceremony (കർമ്മ ഓടുക) without any dispute respecting this and touching that (മന്നൊന്നൊന്നൊപ്പി ചൊരിയംകൂടാതെ). In this way Iluvan Tharayolil Kalavan Maman and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) obtained the Attipper with pouring of water (നീരുമകുമായി) of the plot (കണ്ടം) lying east to west on the

¹ *Mandapam* (Sansk.) = open shed or hall, and *Patil* (Drav.) = door, gate, chief entrance. Taken together they mean a Tahsildar's office.

² A right by which a small purapad is paid to the janmi by the name of Era-Micharam. It is not generally renewed, but of late it is renewed on payment of Oppu and Tusi alone. It is now recognized as redeemable.

³ Literally, three (*Munnu*) paras (bushels), i.e., 3 paras per 10 paras, the State share of the net produce.

⁴ The *Mupra* assessment in the Native States of Travancore and Cochin is perhaps the relic of the ancient *Ko-Pattavaram* [see note to paragraph (i) of Deed No. 3]. It is certainly noteworthy that if a Nambudiri in Travancore sells this freehold land to anyone but a Nambudiri, an obligation to pay *Mupra* (in the case of wet lands, and *Ettaiyil onnu* (1 in 8 in the case of garden lands) immediately attaches to the lands, —(Ward and Connor's Survey Memo., p. 63. Trivandrum Ed.) The Brahman hierarchy had evidently prior to the execution of Deed No. 2 (A.D. 774) been admitted to privileges equal or perhaps superior to those conferred on the Jews and Syrians. Those privileges were probably hereditary, but not assignable to any one but Nambudiris.

⁵ *Micha* (Drav.) = height, above, and *Varam* (Drav., perhaps from *varavu*, income) = share in general.

⁶ A.D. 1770.

⁷ A.D. 1776.

⁸ These seem to indicate that the timber-right, the earth-right, and the water-right were given up.

⁹ It is not clear what this means.

northern slope of the western hill and belonging to Kelan Koman and heirs, in a manner to extinguish the (right in) mango tree (മാവര), the (right in) sand (മണലര), and the (right in) water (മുകര), and to convey the right of ceremony (കർമ്മമുദ്ര) and without any dispute respecting this and touching that (ഒന്നൊന്നായിട്ടാണു ചെയ്തു ചെയ്തിയ കൂടാരം). Thus the witness who knows this is Otaparambatt Kittanan Nayar. Written by Poringelil Chennan.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Subordinate Judge of British Cochin.

No. 44.

This is *Attippettolakaranam* (അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റൊലകരണം) written in the solar month (മാസം) of Tulam of the year 954.¹ Talikokkat Parameswaran Trivikraman and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) have given, by receiving the market (പെരും = literally, born² or produced) Attipper³ value (അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റവർദ്ധം) as then found (മുണ്ട) by four people (നാലർ) the Attipper³ with pouring of water (നീർക്കൊക്കായി) and accompanied by Janmam⁴ right (ജന്മനിലം = literally born² fruit) over their (lands) in Talikolangara Desam and bounded on the east by (the land called) Totu-pata, west of Pangolam and Kunnatotu-pata, on the west..... on the south by Puli Kandam and Manakkattilavan's dwelling compound (മണക്കാട്ടിലവൻ ഇരിക്കുന്നവറപ്പു). north..... field and Pilakkat paramba on the west..... on the east by the Patinhare Devasvam Totuva, on the south by.... jungle (കാട്), (*Note.*—Here more boundaries follow which owing to omission of words are unintelligible); (the lands) included in the above four boundaries (നിലയിൽ) and sowing 18 paras, Erinheri (lands) of 8 paras, Nalpatinam land, Karuvannur Punja (പുഞ്ച) (land) of 9 paras, making a total of punja lands (പുഞ്ചനിലം) of 38 paras and wet lands (മുൾ പട്ടാ) and parambas (പറമ്പ്) Netumpalli Tarana Nellur Narayanan Parameswaran⁵ and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) take the abovesaid lands (മുപ്പത്ത) and parambas (പറമ്പ്) and the waste (മുട) Chulliparamba in the east and west (കിഴക്കും പടിഞ്ഞാറും) with flowing water (നീർക്കൊക്കായി) and water caused to come into contact (നീർ കൂട്ടി) along with the Janmam right (ജന്മനിലം, see note above) Witnesses knowing (this) are Ponnallur, Kuttampilli, Kataluramallur, Kilakkiniyeddatt Kokka.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Dewan of Cochin State.

No. 45.

Attippettolakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റൊലകരണം), executed at Tatta Mangalam Mannatta¹ (മന്നത്ത) in Palayur Nad (നാടു) in the solar month of Kumbham in the year 957.² Dhanu Vyalam Shippi Ammiyar, daughter of Thoppa Pattar, ³ a Paradesi (പരദേശി = foreigner) and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) residing at Kakurissi Akaram (അകരം = a Brahman house) received from Ambat Raman Ittunni Raman the current market value (പെരുവർദ്ധം) Thus the object of receiving the said market value is that Shippi Ammiyar and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) give by pouring water as water property (നീർമുതൽ) the Nir Attipper (നീർക്കൂട്ടിപ്പെറ്റ) of 2 kandams (plots) sowing 120 nalis (നാലി)

¹ A.D. 1778.

² Here the close connection between the Drav. *Peru* and the Sanskritised form of it *Janmam* is sufficiently obvious.

³ See note to deed No. 24.

⁴ A.D. 1781-82. ⁵ East Coast Brahman.

of paddy and situated below your land (ചെറു) ¹ called Otasira nilam of Chamba (?) and above our Parakkal Kandam (plot) and the parambas (പാശവ) on both sides (തെക്കും) of it together with the upper and lower produce (മേൽഫലവും കീഴ്ഫലവും). Thus Ambat Raman Ittunni Raman and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) obtained with the pouring of water as Nirmutal (നിർമുതൽ = water property) the Nir Attipper (നിർആപ്പർ) of the abovesaid two plots of land below the Otasira land of Chambatt (ചമ്പാട്ട) and above the Parakkal Kandam and sowing 12 paras of seed, and the parambas on both sides of it with the upper and lower produce (മേൽഫലവും കീഴ്ഫലവും). Thus the witnesses who know this are Kilatti Arangan Chattan and Manikatt Kandan Teyyan. Written in the hand of Eluvatt Thoppu.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Nallepalli Ankaratta Valiya Mannadiyar of Cochin State.

No. 46.

Attippettolakarunam (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടൊരാലകരണം), executed at Chittur Mannatt² in the solar month (ആയുർ) of Edavam in the year 959³ Kumbham Vyalam. Porayatt Raman and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) received the current market value (ചെറുവൽ) from Ambat Raman Ittunni Raman. The object (കാര്യം) of receiving the said market value is that Porayatt Raman and heirs give (കൊടുത്തൊ) with pouring water as water property (നിർമുതൽ) the Nir Attipper (നിർആപ്പർ) of the Kandams (കണ്ടം = plot) sowing 12 paras seed, bounded on the north by your (തന്റെ) land (ചെറു) called Otasira Annakonath (ഓടശിര അന്നക്കൊണ്ടത്ത) and on the south by our (തമ്മുടെ) Nilam, east by Tiruttillatt Nilam, and on the west by the slope (വെള്ളചായ) of the paramba, together with the (right of) guarding⁴ (പാശവ or പാശവ = sentry or guard) and Karayma⁵ (കാരയ്മ) as well as the upper and lower produce (മേൽഫലവും കീഴ്ഫലവും) and everything of whatever description (എന്തുപെട്ടതും) comprised within these four boundaries. Ambat Raman Ittunni Raman and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) obtain with the pouring of water as water property (നിർമുതൽ) the Nir Attipper (നിർആപ്പർ) by giving the said market value of the Kandam (plot) sowing 12 paras and bounded on the north by the Otasira Annakonath Nilam, on the south by their (തമ്മുടെ) Nilam, on the east by Tiruttillatt Nilam, and on the west by the slope of the paramba together with the right of guarding (പാശവ) and Karayma as well as the upper and lower produce and everything of whatever description (എന്തുപെട്ടതും) comprised within these four boundaries. Thus the witnesses who know this are Chattan Raman and Chennalikot Teyyan Raman. Written in the hand of Tatchat Kandu.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Nallepalli Ankaratta Valiya Mannadiyar of Cochin State.

No. 47.

Attippettolakaranam (അട്ടിപ്പെട്ടൊരാലകരണം), executed in the solar month (ആയുർ) of Karkadakam of the year 963.⁶ Chirakkal Panayanullil Narayanan Chumaran and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) having received the market

¹ *Tonnu*, See Note to Deed No. 37.

² See note to deed No 24.

³ A.D. 1784.

⁴ Compare notes to paragraphs (c) and (f) and (m) of Deed No. 3; also notes to Deed No. 4.

⁵ A.D. 1788.

Attipper value (പെറ്റം അട്ടിപ്പറ്റൽ) as found at the time by four people (അന്നനാലുപേർ) granted (എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്തത്) the Attipper with water flowing (നീരുള്ളതായി) and water coming into contact (നീരുട്ടി) of their (തങ്ങൾ) Kalimpuram Desam (കല്പുരം ദേശം). Thus Ayirur Narayana Rama Varma Avatiri Kovilatikarikal and heirs (അവിൾ) having paid the market Attipper value (പെറ്റം അട്ടിപ്പറ്റൽ) as found then by four people (അന്നനാലുപേർ) obtained (എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു) the Attipper with water flowing (നീരുള്ളതായി) and water coming into contact (നീരുട്ടി) of the said Kalimpuram desam. Thus the boundaries of this desam are east Edamuttam Desam, south Ramallur desam, west Meppuratta Paramba (which is) west of Tirunilam, and north Kuruvetti Paramba. The lands (ഉൾപ്പെടുക) and parambas (പറമ്പുകൾ) and everything else of whatever description (എന്തെന്തെല്ലാ) included (അകപ്പെട്ട) within the above four boundaries and the Desam 'Desadhipatyam,' 'Amabalappadi' and Urayma 'have been given and received with water flowing (നീരുള്ളതായി). The witnesses who know this are Kuttumpilli Mutta Nambutiri, Kunampilli Nambutiri, Edaliruttu Pattali, and Kutaykkal Sankaran Kammal. Written by Chemmappallil Sankaran Shollampenambiyath Sankaran.

NOTE.—Translated from a copy received from the Subordinate Judge of British Cochin.

No. 48.

Vilayolakaranam (വില്യൊലകരണം = deed of sale), executed in the solar month (മാസം) of Mithunam of the year 983. Palakkal Patinhare Vittil Rayiru Chandu and heirs (അവിൾ) of Cherukunnatt village (ചുരു) sold by receiving the current market value (അന്നപെറ്റം വിലയനുസരിച്ച) the paramba (പറമ്പ്) known as Kallinga Valappa which is the janmam (ജന്മം corruption of ജന്മം) of Payangote Palakkal Patinhare Vittil Chandu of Cherukunnatt village (ചുരു). The said paramba was purchased by paying the current market value (അന്നപെറ്റം വിലയനുസരിച്ച) by Karippatt Palli Kulakatt Chirakkal Kulakatt Ravi Varma Raja (രാജ). The boundary of this paramba (പറമ്പ്) is east as far as the Cherukunnatt Devasvam (ദേവാസ്വം) Kandam (field), south as far as Kalattil Kolanga-kote Paramba, west as far as Udayammadatt Palakkal Kandam (land), and north as far as the land (മണ്ഡ) of Chirakkal Kovilakam and Cherukunnu Devasvam (ദേവാസ്വം). The lands (നിലം) produce (ഫലം = fruit), stones (പല്ല), thorns (മുള), hidden treasure (തറ), and other things of whatever description (എന്തെന്തെല്ലാ) included in the said boundaries were purchased by paying the current market value by Karippatt Palli Kulakatt Chirakkal Kulakatt Ravi Varma Raja Tamburan to Palakkal Patinhare Vittil Rayiru Chandu and heirs. Thus the witnesses (അക്കി corruption of അക്കി) are Chenicheri Chattu and (കൂടി അറിയാ?) Puliyan-kotan Kannan. Written in the hand of Katankotan Chandu Koran with the knowledge of the neighbours (കേട്ടുകേൾപ്പിച്ച).

NOTE.—Translated from a copy received from the District Munsif of Kaval, Chirakkal taluk.

¹ Incidents attached to the rank of a Desavali. See Glossary.

² A.D. 1808.

³ No mention here of water, through *Janmam* would seem to mean the water birthright. The deed is called merely a deed of sale—not an *Attipper*. There are only three deeds in this collection, Nos. 35, 38 and 48, in proof of the fact, but it is not improbable that neither *Attipper* nor *Janmam* was in general use in North Kolattunad (Chirakkal Taluk until after the British occupation).

⁴ Kettu Kolpichu = hoard and caused to be hoard.

No. 49.

Attippettolakaryyam (അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റോലകാര്യം), executed in the solar month (ആയുർ) of Makaram of the year 985.¹ Medabyalam at Mitranannapuram Mukkalvattam (മുക്കൾവട്ടം = temple of Bhagavati). Payyur Parameswaran Narayanan and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) granted (എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ — literally wrote and gave to Ennur Nandiyar Valli Narayanan Narayanan and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) by receiving the current market value (പെരുവിഴത്തരം) as then found by four people (അന്നാലർക്കൽ) the Attipper (അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റ) with pouring of water (ഉപ്പകുപ്പം) in such a manner that (the transaction) might not in future (ഭാവിൽ) be questioned (ചോദ്യം) by us, our heirs (അമ്മക്കൾ = descendants) or anybody else (മറ്റൊരാൾക്കും), their (തങ്ങൾക്കുള്ള) Putturdesam² (പുത്തൂർദേശം) Desadhipatyam³ (ദേശാധിപത്യം) two temples (ഇതരങ്ങൾ) (called) Mitranannapuram (മിത്രന്നമ്പുരം) and Tekkiniyammakava, the Ambalappadi⁴ (അമ്പലപ്പടി) Urayma⁵ (ഉരയ്മ) and other temple dignities (മറ്റും ദേശാധിപത്യങ്ങളും) the lands (ഉപ്പത്തി) and parambas (പറമ്പ) the retainers⁶ (അളപ്പിയാർ) and slaves (അടിയാർ) the dues (പോക്കങ്ങൾ corruption of ദേശങ്ങൾ = enjoyments) of Desavali (ദേശവാഴ്ച) and everything else of whatever description (മറ്റുമെല്ലെപ്പെട്ടതും) included (അകപ്പെട്ട) within (അകത്ത്) this desam. Thus Ennur Nandiyar Valli Narayanan and Anantravars obtained (എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാൻ — literally, had or got written) by paying the current market value (പെരുവിഴത്തരം) as then found by four people (അന്നാലർക്കൽ) the Attipper with pouring of water (ഉപ്പകുപ്പം) in such a manner that (the transaction) might not in future (ഭാവിൽ) be questioned (ചോദ്യം) by Parameswaran Narayanan, heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) descendants (അമ്മക്കൾ) or anybody else, (മറ്റൊരാൾക്കും) Parameswaran Narayanan's and heirs (തമ്പിമാർ) Puttur desam,⁴ Desadhipatyam,⁴ the two temples (called) Mitranannapuram and Tekkiniyammakava, the Ambalappadi⁴ and Urayma⁴ and other temple dignities (മറ്റും ദേശാധിപത്യങ്ങൾ), the lands and parambas (ഉപ്പത്തികളും പറമ്പുകളും), the retainers and slaves (അളപ്പിയാർ), the dues (പോക്കങ്ങൾ, see note above) of Desavali, and everything else of whatever description included within this desam. Thus the witnesses for this Attippettola (അട്ടിപ്പെറ്റോല) in behalf of the grantors (എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്തവർക്കുവേണ്ടി) and the grantees (എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടവർക്കുവേണ്ടി) are Vennarattur Okki, Tekkiniyctam and Nantiyarvalli. Written in the hand of Kollikandara Govindan.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Mr. H. Wigram, District Judge of South Malabar.

¹ A.D. 1810.

² Incidents attached to the dignity of a Desavali. See Glossary.

³ The conveyance of rights in free retainers after the introduction of British rule is to be noted as it explains the relations which have all along subsisted between the *Janmi* and those beneath him.

⁴ "C.D. was anciently *Desavali* of the Dosams of—in your division, but as the present family is disqualified from poverty (or want of respectability or other cause) you will exorcise in those Desams the duties of head of Police, of Village Munsif, and of Tax-Collector, but you will not interfere with the *Desavali Sthanamana Avakasam* (or such ancient privileges belonging to him as *Desavali*) as the Government may deem it advisable to permit to be enjoyed, and as the inhabitants may voluntarily offer in conformity with old customs." Extract from Mr. Greco's form of sanad appointing Adhikaris of Amsams. Special Commissioner to Principal Collector, 20th May 1823. *Conf.* p. 89 of the text.

No. 50.

Royal letter addressed to Cheruvattur Nambutiri. Eletat Ullannur Illam in Perumpillesseri Desam of Urakam Pravirtti having become extinct that Taravad¹ together with the property (പ്രഭു) rice-lands (മുളപ്പുറം), persons (ജനം = probably retainers, guards), slaves (അടിയാർ), chest of documents (പെട്ടിപ്പുറം) and all Ambalapadi and Urayma rights and everything of whatever description (എല്ലാവിധവും) with the exception of the Urayma of Changarayil Kshetram (temple), are hereby granted² to you Cheruvattur Nambutiri for exclusive enjoyment (മരിക്കാത്തതായ്ക്കു) = literally without any question from any one). Written in the month of Vrishchikam 1020³ M.E. in the hand of Pavvattil Krishnan, in the presence and under the orders of Kanayannur Kovilakam Raja.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Nollisseri Siva Ramayyan of Palghat Town.

No. 51.

ROYAL LETTER ADDRESSED TO CHUNDAYKAT OTALUR
(NAMBUTIRI).

Whereas there being no male members in the two Illams of Kandiur Natuvattunnu Natuvat and Kandannasseri Palaykat in Alur Muri of Chundal Pravirtti, Sridevi and Savitri, two females of Natuvat Illam,⁴ have executed a document authorizing⁵ Otalur Nambutiri to marry⁶ in the said Taravad,⁷ to hold and enjoy the property, movable and immovable (ചതുരദശ), including the slaves and the Ambalapadi, Urayma and other titles and honors (സ്ഥാനമാനങ്ങൾ) attached to the pagodas of Ariyannur, Kandiur and Plakkat, and to maintain the females: and whereas that document has now been presented before us, we hereby direct that Otalur (Nambutiri) do marry in the said Taravad, hold and enjoy the property, movable and immovable, slaves and chest of documents (പെട്ടിപ്പുറം) belonging to the two Illams of Natuvat and Palaykat, and the Ambalapadi, Urayma, titles and honors, and everything else pertaining to the abovementioned three pagodas and maintain the females. Written in the month of Mithunam 1026⁸ M.E. in the hand of Pavvattil Krishnan, in the presence and under the orders of Trichur Vatakkechira Kovilakam Raja.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Nollisseri Siva Ramayyan of Palghat Town.

¹ See note to Deed No. 22.

² This illustrates one mode in which Nambutiri inheritances are passed on in the Native States.

³ A.D. 1814.

⁴ *Illam* is a Dravidian, not a Sanskrit word. It is now almost exclusively applied to Nambutiri family houses, but anciently the *il* was the king's house. See the use of *Kovil* (properly *Koyil*) in Deed No. 12 and others. The Nambutiris, in right of the princely privileges which seem to have been conferred on them, in common with Jews and Syrians, probably assumed the right, among their other privileges, of styling their dwellings royal houses. There is a strong contrast in this deed between *Illam* and *Taravad*—See note to Deed No. 22.

⁵ This illustrates another mode in which Nambutiri inheritances are passed on in the Native States.

⁶ A.D. 1851.

No. 52.

ROYAL LETTER ADDRESSED TO CHOLAYKARA (NAMBUTIRI).

Whereas the document executed on the 8th Mithunam 991 by Tamarasseri Nambutiri of Kariyannur Muri, in Chengalikkot Pravirtti, authorizing¹ Cholaykara Nambutiri to hold and² enjoy, in the capacity of Anantiravan,³ the Tamarasseri Taravad and the property, movable and immovable, slaves, chest of documents (ചെട്ടിപ്പുസ്തകം), Desam, Desadhipatyam, Ambalapadi, Urayma, and everything else belonging to that Taravad⁴ has been produced before us; and whereas Tamarasseri Nambutiri and the female members are dead and Cholaykara has married in that Taravad and has been enjoying the property and titles pertaining to the same; and whereas Cholaykara has communicated the matter to us by a letter, we hereby direct that Cholaykara do hold and enjoy the said Tamarasseri Taravad and the property, movable and immovable, slaves, chest of documents (ചെട്ടിപ്പുസ്തകം), Desam, Desadhipatyam, Ambalapadi, Urayma, and everything else attached to the Taravad. Written in the month of Vrischikam 1031⁵ M.E. in the hand of Pavvattil Krishnan, in the presence and under the orders of Kanayannur Kovilakat Tamburan.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Nellisseri Siva Ramayyan of Palghat Town.

No. 53.

ROYAL LETTER ADDRESSED TO PATIYUR (NAMBUTIRI).

Whereas the document executed by Nangayya and Nangeli, the only members (female) of Pattallur Illam in Etakkulam Muri of Arippalam Pravirtti, authorizing⁶ Patiyur Nambutiri to hold and⁷ enjoy the property, movable and immovable, slaves, chest of documents (ചെട്ടിപ്പുസ്തകം), Ambalapadi, Urayma, titles and honors attached to Vellinattan Pagoda, Desam, Desadhipatyam, and everything else belonging to that Taravad⁸ has been produced before us and Pattallur Nangeli is dead, we hereby direct that Patiyur Nambutiri do hold and enjoy, as he has hitherto done, by virtue of the document aforesaid, the Pattallur Taravad, and the property, movable and immovable, slaves, chest of documents (ചെട്ടിപ്പുസ്തകം), belonging to the same, Ambalapadi and Urayma of Vellittat Pagoda, Desam and Desadhipatyam, and everything else connected with the said Taravad, and maintain the female Nangayya. Written in the month of Dhanu 1031⁹ M.E. in the hand of Pavvattil Krishnan, in the presence and under the orders of Iringatakkute Kovilakat Tamburan.

Note.—Translated from a copy received from Nellisseri Siva Ramayyan of Palghat Town.

No. 54.

*Janmam*¹⁰ deed (ജന്മപ്പത്രം) executed by 1, Erechchan alias Chekkunni Nayar; 2, Chandu Nayar; 3, Chattu Nayar, sons of Koletuttakuriyettina Cheratamma; and 4, Erechchan Nayar, son of Pennutti Amma in Nedungottur Desam, Kottuli Amsam, Calicut Taluk, to Rama

¹ This illustrates another mode of passing on Nambutiri inheritances in the Native States.

² See note to Deed No. 22.

³ A.D. 1855.

⁴ Illustrative of another mode of passing on Nambutiri inheritances in the Native States.

⁵ A.D. 1855-56.

⁶ This phrase has come into general use throughout the district within the last few years only.

alias Unnippera Kurup, son of Matiravana Cherukottu Cherunni Amma of the above Desam, on the 12th Chingam of the year 1056, corresponding to 26th August 1881. Whereas Rs. 300 was fixed (നിശ്ചയിച്ചു) as the Janmam value (ജന്മമൂല്യം) of 1, Vadakkemulakkandam (വാടക്കമുലക്കണ്ടം = northern corner land) in the eastern division (കിഴക്കി) of Kilakke (eastern), Mantayar Nilam (നെയ്യാർ = land); and 2, Vadakku Padinyare Mulakkandam Paramba (north-western corner portion of the paramba) in Veluttur Paramba, specified in the schedule below, which are our Janmam, we have this day granted (തന്നിരിക്കുന്നു) the Janmam of the property (വകകൾ), with everything of whatever description (എന്തെന്തെങ്കിലും വിവരങ്ങൾ); 'out of the Janmam value of Rs. 300 due to us (ഞങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ട) = literally, that ought to come to us) we have reserved (നിർത്തി) Rs. 103, being the Kanam and loan (കടംപൊതു), including interest (പലിശകൂടി), due by us the first and second executants to Chemmalasserri Patinyarayil Koru Kurup on land No. 1, and Rs. 166-10-0, being the Kanam and loan (കടംപൊതു), including interest (പലിശകൂടി), due to you on the paramba No. 2, making under the two heads (വാകമാണ്ടിൽ) Rs. 270-10-0, and the balance of Rs. 29-6-0 we have received in cash (ശമ്പളം) from you, and we are satisfied as to the Janmam value of Rs. 300; we have therefore no claim (സവാകാശം) and concern (മേൽപ്പറ്റ) about your possessing (അടക്കി) and enjoying (അനുഭവിക്കുക) the property (വകകൾ) as Janmam (ജന്മമായി) under this (deed) (ഇതിനാൽ).

Where property is situated.					Per 6-foot Kol.	Boundaries.				Possession.			
District.	Sub-District.	Taluk.	Amsam.	Desam.		East to West.	North to South.	East.	South.	West.	North.	Former.	Present.
Malabar.	Calicut.	Calicut.	Kottuli.	Nedungottur.	1	Kilakke Mantayur Nilath, Kilakke Odiyil Vadakke, Mulakkandam Nilam.	15 18	Padinyare Natuvakuni Nilam.	Kilakke Mantayur Nilam.	Kilakke Mantayur Nilam.	Pathway.	Kuriyettina Chattu Nayar.	Kuriyettina Chattu Nayar.
					2	Valattur-parambil Vadakkepadinyare Mulakkandam Nilam.	16 14	Valattur Paramba.	Valattur Paramba.	Ponapurath Paramba.	Ottikkot Paramba and Padinyare Kuriyettina Paramba.	Unnippera Kurup.	Unnippera Kurup.

¹ *Epperpettatu*, the same word used in Deed No. 4.

Written in the hand of Kakkalan Imbichehi Andi with Matirapana-pennapurat Ittirarappa Kurup and Mannil Arikkotparambat Kelu Adiyodi as witnesses to this—

1. CHEKKUNNI NAYAR (signed).
2. CHANDU NAYAR (").
3. CHATTU NAYAR (").
4. EROMAN NAYAR (").

Witnesses { 1. ITTIRARPPA KURUP (Signed).
2. KELU ADIYODI (").

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Registrar of Malabar.

No. 55.

KOVILAKAM No. 10 of 1057.

Royal letter (ശിക്ഷ), written jointly by Walluvanattudaya¹ Kadama-muttayil Walluvanattukare Mankadakovilakat Vedapuratti Valiya Tamburatti of Mankada Amsam, Walluvanad Taluk, and Srivallabhan Valiya Tamburan Avarkal of the said Kovilakam, to Mambee Ali, son of Moidu of Valambur Amsam, of the said taluk. The object (കാര്യം) is that, whereas one item of Kudiyirippu (കുടിയീരിപ്പു), being the Janmam of Mankada Kovilakam Cherikkal, purchased (ശീതപാണി) on the 13th Vrischikam 1052 from Avarankutti and his brother Said Ali, sons of Kalattiltodiyil Pari, and specified in the schedule below, has this day been demised to you on a pattam of 3 fanams and a Kanam² of Rs. 4-9-2, equal to 16 new fanams, you should pay within the 30th Makaram of each year from 1057, Annas 6, being the michcharam payable annually, after deducting the interest on the Kanam amount and the Government assessment from the aforesaid pattam, as well as 2 annas for Onavalakkula (ഓണവാളകുലം = bunch of plantains presented during the Onam festival) and Annas 2 on account of Nei Vilakku (നെയിവിളക്കു = lamp lighted with ghee) in Mankada temple from your pocket (ഈച്ചാൽ = literally, from the hand) and obtain receipt (പരക്കടൻ); and if the michcharam is left in arrears without being paid at the prescribed time, you should pay the same, with interest at 12 per cent; you should also surrender, on receipt of the Kanam, the Kudiyirippu mentioned in the schedule on demand.³

Situation of Property.					Per 6-feet Kol.	Boundaries.				Possession.				
District.	Sub-District.	Taluk.	Amsam.	Desam.		Number.	Name of Property.	East to West.	North to South.	East.	South.	West.	North.	Former.	Present.
Malabar.	Perintalmanna.	Walluvanad.	Valambur.	Arimbra.	1	Pannaratodika Kudiyirippu.	38	21	Mulak-kancheri Palli Manyal.	Talatte-panaratodika Kudiyirippu.	Puliya-kod Pal-liman-yayal.	Karim-panatodika Kudiyirippu.	Moitu.	Ali.

¹ One of the families which attested Deeds Nos. 1 and 2.

² There is here no mention of any fine on entry. It is not usual to mention it or state its amount.

³ This is the innovating clause which is so much objected to by tenants, particularly by those who have paid fines on entry or renewal fees. See Mr. Holloway's decision in South Malabar Subordinate Court case No. 308 of 1854 in Glossary under "Kanam."

Written in the hand of Pulappullimadattil Venkideswara Pattar on the 6th December 1881, corresponding to the 22nd Vrischikam 1057, with the undersigned witnesses.

Note.—Translated from a copy furnished by the District Registrar.

No. 56.

Panaya patta kulikkana' kudiirippu deed (പണയപ്പാട്ടുകുഴിക്കാനകടിയിരിപ്പ്) executed on the 9th Dhanu 1057 by Naduvilakat Mamukkoya, son of Mayan Koya of Nagaram Amsam, Calicut Taluk, to Ayyappan, Mundak-kutti Imbichehi and Sami, sons of Puvvattinkal Tannikunnat Chelku, residing in Valappil Paramba in Veliyancheri Desam, Kasba Amsam of the said taluk. Whereas I have this day granted you a renewed lease (പുതുക്കിയ കടമ) of the Valappil Paramba, the boundaries and extent of which are specified in the schedule below, being my Janmam, and included in the property assigned to me as my share in execution of the Appeal decree No. 282 of 1880, against the decree of the Subordinate Court of South Malabar in Regular Suit No. 329 of 1879 of the District Munsif's Court of Calicut, which was transferred to the former Court, on an annual pattam of Rs. 17-8-0, equal to 70 fanams, on a Kanam of 144 fanams and 12 visams (വിശം), the Kanam already due to your father Chelku, plus 38 fanams and 8 visams, the improvement value with Ali (അഴി) = customary deduction in paying for improvements under Kulikkana when the Janmi has not to pay for the tenth plant) of 15 coconut and 8 areca trees, this day paid for, plus 516 fanams and 12 visams, equal to Rs. 129-3-0, received this day in cash (ഇതുകൊണ്ടു വാങ്ങിയത്), making under the three heads a total Kanam of 700 fanams, equal to Rs. 175, and on a Purappad pattam of Rs. 8-12-0, deducting Rs. 8-12-0 for interest on the money advanced (അടമ്പലിനു); you should enjoy the lease (പാട്ടുകടമ) of the paramba and pay annually from Vrischikam 1058 Rs. 8-12-0, being the Purappad pattam after deducting the interest on the Kanam amount, and obtain receipt (രസീദ്). Keikkuli Avakkasam (കൈക്കുലി അവാക്കസം = fine upon a lease and its renewal) equal to the amount of the pattam has been collected. Alikulikkanam (അലികുലിക്കനം = customary improvement value subject to Ali), according to local custom (അനുസരിച്ചു), for trees already planted but not paid for, and for those that may be planted hereafter, excepting the 38 coconut and 8 areca trees and miscellaneous trees (പുതുക്കിയ) included in the lease, along with those which have been paid for, and the Kanam amount of Rs. 175 will be paid on eviction when the term expires. It has also been stipulated that if the paramba is not properly taken care of, or if the pattam is allowed to fall into arrears, the property should be surrendered on demand after settlement of accounts, irrespective of the term of the lease (പാട്ടുകടമ പറ്റാതെ = literally, without speaking about the term), and that as the Government tax (ശിമനികരം) and the Municipal tax of the paramba stand in your name, the amount of Government tax, if paid by you, will be allowed out of the pattam payable by you; but

¹ *Panayam* = pledge; *pattam* = rent; *kuli* = pit, excavation; *Kanam* = money claim; *kudiirippu* = house-site, meaning a deed embracing in its conditions some elements of a mortgage, a lease, an improving lease, and a building lease.

the Municipal tax must be paid by you. Written in the hand of Putiyakovilakam Parambil Sankaralinkam Pilla on the 21st December 1881 with the undersigned as witnesses to this :—

Where Property is situated.				Per 6-foot Kol.	Boundaries.				Possession.			
Registration District.	Taluk.	Amsam.	Desam.		East to West.	North to South.	East.	South.	West.	North.	Former.	Present.
Malabar.	Calicut.	Kasba.	Veliyancheri.	1	Valappil Paramba.	18 10 1/2	Western portion of Parayil Talam Nilam.	Taraparamba Parayil Talam Nilam Kandan.	Western portion of Parayil Talam Nilam.	Western portion of Parayil Talam Nilam.	Do. Ayappan and 3 others.	Do. Ayappan and 3 others.

MAMUKKOYA (signature)

Witnesses —

* * *

Note.—Translated from a copy furnished by the District Registrar.

No. 57.

*Kanam*¹ deed, executed by Chekku Panikkar, son of Puliyoosseri Mittale Vittil Ittu Amma of Cheruvannur Amsam and Desam, Calicut Taluk, to Govindan Nayar, son of Chellat Imbichechi Amma of the above Desam. Whereas I have granted you, for the period included within 12 years (12 കൊളളശിരസം) Dhanu Nyayar (ആമര = solar month) of this year 1057, a renewal of Kulikkanakudiyirippu (കുലിക്കനകുടിയീർപ്പന കൊളളശിരസം) of Vattakandi Paramba and two others items of property, which are my Taravad Janmam² in the above Desam, and the boundaries and extent of which are described in the schedule below, on a pattam of 14 fanams for Parambas 1 and 2, and 4 paras of paddy per Nanaliyan para (നനാലിയൻപരാ), worth 10 annas, for land No. 3, and on a Kanam of 12 fanams, being the amount for which a lease was granted

¹ This is quite a modern phrase. The proper term for a *Kanam* deed is *Pattamola* or *Pattola*. See Glossary and Deeds 17, 23, 31, etc.

² *Kulikkanu kudiyirippinna polichcheluti chartti*. Literally, for an improving (Kuli) Kanam dwelling-house site, having cancelled (*polichcheu*) and renewed (*chuti* = written) and written (*chartti*).

³ *Taravad Janmam* has now come to signify merely "family property," but the retention of the word *Taravad* before *Janmam* points out the direction in which modern ideas on the subject have been derived. All *Janmam* land has descended to the present owners through the ancient Nayar Taravads (*Tara* = Nayar village, and *padu* = authority).

in 1046 after payment of the improvement value of (കുഴിശ്ശുർ പീശ്ശുമാർക്ക്) 2 coconut and 1 jack tree in Paramba No. 2 plus 4 fanams, being the improvement value with Ali (അഥ് or അഗ് = customary deduction in paying for improvements under നെട്ടിപ്പാടങ്ങൾ when the Janmi has not to pay for the tenth plant) of two coconut trees now grown in the said paramba making a total under the two heads of 16 fanams, from which deduct fanams 5 for arrears of rent, leaving a balance of 11 fanams as present Kanam and on a Purappad pattam of 13½ fanams and 4 paras of paddy, half a fanam being deducted for interest on the Kanam¹ amount; you should from this (day) മുതൽ ആരംഭം enjoy the lease (പാട്ടുവാട) of these lands annually (കുറേക്കാരെ), and pay me annually 13½ fanams and 4 paras of paddy, being the Purappad pattam (പുറപ്പാട്ടുവാട) due to me after deducting the interest on your Kanam (amount) and obtain receipt (പ്രമാണം). Customary improvement value, subject to Ali (അഥ്, see above) നെട്ടിപ്പാടങ്ങൾ മുതൽ ആരംഭം will be paid for young trees (കുട്ടികൾ) already planted but not paid for (മുപ്പന ചെടികൾക്ക് പീശ്ശുമാർക്ക്), and for trees which may be planted hereafter (ഇളമുണ്ടാകും), excepting two old jack trees (മുപ്പനമാങ്ങ) previously existing in Paramba No. 1. and four coconut and one jack tree in Paramba No. 2, of which the improvement value has been paid (കുഴിശ്ശുർ പീശ്ശു), although a premium² (പ്രീമിയം) of Rs. 5-8-0 for 12 years is now collected; if the Purappad pattam payable annually be not paid at stated periods but be allowed to fall into arrears, the same should be paid in one lump (അന്നായി), with interest at 12 per cent, whenever I demand it. Written in the hand of Katakatt Pappu Nayar on the 19th Dhanu Nyayar (ആയം = solar month) of the year 1057, corresponding to 1st January

¹ Here *Kanam* signifies simply money advanced and secured on the land. Compare the use made of the word in Deed No. 4.

² The incorporation in the deed of clauses relating to the valuation of improvements is quite a modern practice.

³ The tenant's payments here may be summed up thus:—

RS. A. P.			
Rent per annum	.. .. .	{ 14 fanams	3 8 0
		{ 4 paras paddy at 10 annas.	2 8 0
RS. A. P.			
Recoupment of premium, with interest at 12 per cent per annum spread over 12 years.	Principal	..	5 8 0
	Interest	..	4 4 7
	Total	..	9 12 7
			————— = 0 13 0½
			12
Total rent per annum ..			
			6 13 0½

The holding is about 1½ acres in extent, so the rent is rather over Rs. 4-8-0 per acre per annum.

1882, with Kuttitalat Cherunni Nayar and Kamyingat Appunni as witnesses (അപ്പുണ്ണി, കട്ടിതാലാട്ട് ചെറുണ്ണി).

Regis- tra- tion.	Where situ- ated.	Names of Lands.	Ar-a.		Boundaries.				Possession.	
			East to West.	North to South.	East.	South.	West.	North.	Former.	Present.
Malabar.	Calicut. Cheruvannur. Cheruvannur.	1 Vatta- kandi Paramba.	27	38	Inna- cham- kandi Pa- ram- ba.	Ati- yara- kavu Pa- ram- ba.	Do.	Path- way.	Chel- lat Go- vin- dan Na- yar.	Chel- lat Go- vin- dan Na- yar.
		2 Tayitot- tam Pa- ramba.	25	27	Itt. mi- ritu Pa- ram- ba.	Choyi- chito- chuka Pa- ram- ba.	Do.	Do.		
		31 Kandam in Mak- kaloti Nilath.	15	12	Umma- padam Nilam.	Umma- padam Nilam.	Umma- padam Nilam.	Umma- padam Nilam.		

Note.—Translated from a copy received from the Registrar of Malabar.

No. 58.

Karipanyam deed (കരിപണയം = mortgage with possession), executed by Mangungalasseri Tekkinkattil Narayanan Nayar, son of Kunchiamma of Mundur Amsam and Desam, Palghat Taluk, to Anappara Purakkal Pachchi, daughter of Iluvan Velu, of Nechehippalli Desam, Kavalpad Amsam, of the said taluk. One item of land sowing 5 paras and specified in the subjoined schedule being given to (your) possession (എന്റെ അധീനത) as *Karipanyam* (കരിപണയം), (I have) this day received 360 fanams, which, with 40 fanams already due, makes under two heads (രണ്ടു തല) a total of 400 fanams, equal to Rs. 114-4-7. For this sum of Rs. 114-4-7 you should, by cultivating (കൃഷി) the land mentioned in the schedule, measure out (വെട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടു) a pattam of 33 paras and 5 Idangalis of paddy, out of which, deducting 22 paras 5 Idangalis as interest on the money advanced (അടയ്ക്കലിനു), (there is left) a balance inclusive of assess-ment of a pattam of 11 paras of paddy, which must be annually measured out at my house in my para from 1058 (M.E.) within the 30th Makaram, after being dried and cleaned (വെട്ടിപ്പുറം), and a receipt should be taken (by you). Moreover, you should quit and give possession of the land (to me) when the 400 fanams is returned on the day following any *Uchchar* (ഉച്ചാര or ഉച്ചാരം is the season when leases of land are generally granted and cancelled; ഉച്ചാരം = festival in honour of Bhudevi's (ഭൂദേവി).

= goddess of earth) menstruation on Makara Sankaranthi (end of January)]. Written in the hand of Narayanan, the receiver (പ്രാപ്താവ) of the money) on the 29th January 1882, corresponding to 17th Makaram of the year 1057, with the undersigned as witnesses.

District.	Sub-district.	Taluk.	Amson.	Desam.	Number.	Name of Land.	Per 6-foot Kol		Boundaries.				Possession.	
							East to West.	North to South.	East.	South.	West.	North.	Former.	Present.
Malabar.	Palghat.	Palghat.	Kavalpadi.	Nochhipalli.	1	One Kandam of 5 paras, out of Mangalasseri Kuru of 20 paras.	10	30	Mangalasseri Kuru Nili Kandam Nilam.	Mangalasseri Kuru Ada Mari Nilam.	Nili Kandam Nilam.	Canal.	Narayanan Nayar.	Pachchi.

Note.—Translated from a copy furnished by the District Registrar.

APPENDIX XIII.

MR. GRAEME'S GLOSSARY WITH NOTES AND ETYMOLOGICAL HEADINGS.

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N—cont. Nikuti Sishtam, <i>see</i> Nikuti Chittu. Nikuti Vittu, <i>see</i> Nikuti Chittu. Nilal Kuttam, <i>see</i> Kut- tam. Nilam, <i>see</i> Kandam. Nirmutal. Nokkichartta. Nokkiyelutta Peimasi, <i>see</i> Nokkichartta.	Pattakkaran, <i>see</i> Pat- tam. Pattali, <i>see</i> Pattam. Pattam. Pattamali, <i>see</i> Pattam. Pattamola, <i>see</i> Pattola. Pattan. Pattinnu randu. Pattola, <i>see</i> Pattam. Pepper vine. Perpetual lease. Perum artham. Phalam. Pidika, <i>see</i> Houses. Pila, <i>see</i> Revenue. Pisharam, <i>see</i> Houses. Podi. Polichcheluttu. Poluttikkaran, <i>see</i> Mani- yani. Ponnarippu, <i>see</i> Reve- nue. Potippadu. Potippattu, <i>see</i> Potip- padu. Prabhu. Pramanam, <i>see</i> Kara- nam. Pramani. Pramani, <i>see also</i> Tara. Pravrittikkaran. Pravrittikkaran, <i>see also</i> Maniyani. Proprietors. Pukil. Pulayatta penna, <i>see</i> Revenue. Punam, <i>see</i> Modan. Punja. Pura, <i>see</i> Houses. Purappad, <i>see</i> Kanam. Purushantaram, <i>see</i> Revenue. Pushpottu, <i>see</i> Houses. Puttada. Puval, <i>see</i> Revenue.	Renewal, <i>see</i> Kanam. Revenue. Rice. Rice Lands, <i>see</i> Rice. Robbin.
O Oart. Old Viray Fanam, <i>see</i> Fanam. Oppu. Otti. Ottikkum-purameyulla Kanam, <i>see</i> Otti.	P Pada Kuttam, <i>see</i> Kut- tam. Padam, <i>see</i> Kandam. Pakuti ola, <i>see</i> Amsapa- tram. Palisa. Palisa Madakkam. Pallimanyayal, <i>see</i> Palli- yal. Pallinyayal, <i>see</i> Palliyal. Palliyal. Palliyali, <i>see</i> Palliyal. Palparambu. Panaya Eluttukaran, <i>see</i> Panayam. Panayam. Panaya patta Kulikka- nam, <i>see</i> Kulikkanam. Pandakkaval. Pandaram. Pandi. Panikkar. Para. Parambu. Para of seed land, <i>see</i> Para. Pasima, <i>see</i> Pasuma. Pasuma. Patam. Pattachchittu, <i>see</i> Pat- tam.	S Sakshi. Salt. Salt-pans, <i>see</i> Salt. Sanar. Silakkasu, <i>see</i> Keikkuli. Silver Fanam, <i>see</i> Fa- nam. Sisht Bakki. Sisu. Slaves. Sthana-mana-avakasam Sudran. Sultani Fanam, <i>see</i> Fanam. Svarupakkur, <i>see</i> Svaru- pam. Svarupam.
P Pada Kuttam, <i>see</i> Kut- tam. Padam, <i>see</i> Kandam. Pakuti ola, <i>see</i> Amsapa- tram. Palisa. Palisa Madakkam. Pallimanyayal, <i>see</i> Palli- yal. Pallinyayal, <i>see</i> Palliyal. Palliyal. Palliyali, <i>see</i> Palliyal. Palparambu. Panaya Eluttukaran, <i>see</i> Panayam. Panayam. Panaya patta Kulikka- nam, <i>see</i> Kulikkanam. Pandakkaval. Pandaram. Pandi. Panikkar. Para. Parambu. Para of seed land, <i>see</i> Para. Pasima, <i>see</i> Pasuma. Pasuma. Patam. Pattachchittu, <i>see</i> Pat- tam.	R Rakshabhogam, <i>see</i> Revenue. Rasi, <i>see</i> Pasuma. Rasi Fanam, <i>see</i> Fanam. Rat Hunts, <i>see</i> Kuttam. Reas.	T Tala Udaya Tamburan. Talappanam, <i>see</i> Reve- nue. Tandu. Tappu, <i>see</i> Revenue. Tara. Taravadu, <i>see</i> Tara. Taravattukaran, <i>see</i> Tara. Tarisu. Tei, <i>see</i> Sisu. Tikappalisa, <i>see</i> Palisa. Tingalppanam. Tippali. Tiruvatira Nyattutala. Tittu, <i>see</i> Adima. Tiyan. Tobacco. Todi, <i>see</i> Parambu. Toduppanayam. Tol, <i>see</i> Revenue. Tottam, <i>see</i> Parambu. Tusikkanam.
U Ubhayam, <i>see</i> Kandam. Ulaparambu.		

U— <i>cont.</i>	Varam-pattam, <i>see</i> Pat- tam.	Vilumpadi.
Ulpatti, <i>see</i> Kandam.	Varge.	Virippu.
Undaruti.	Varyam, <i>see</i> Houses.	Vittu-pati-pattam, <i>see</i> Pattam.
Ur.	Vastu.	Vittiratta pattam, <i>see</i> Pattam.
Uralan, <i>see</i> Ur.	Vastu Mutal, <i>see</i> Vastu.	Vittolam pattam, <i>see</i> Pattam,
Urayma, <i>see</i> Desam.	Vayal, <i>see</i> Kandam.	Vittu, <i>see</i> Valli.
	Velinellu, <i>see</i> Kutti- nellu.	Vittupadu.
V	Vellakkedu.	Vyalavattam.
Vakachchal.	Veppu, <i>see</i> Otti.	Vyavaharamala.
Vakachchalkkaran, <i>see</i> Vakachchal.	Verumpattam, <i>see</i> Pat- tam.	
Vakku.	Vettukatti, <i>see</i> Kodunga Katti.	Y
Val, <i>see</i> Revenue.	Veyilkkedu.	Yapana, <i>see</i> Kulichche- kam.
Valli.	Vidu, <i>see</i> Houses.	Yogakuttam, <i>see</i> Kut- tam.
Valumel Kodi.	Vilachchal-meni-pat- tam.	
Valum-pudavum.		
Vanokki.		
Varam, <i>see</i> Pattam.		

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS NOTED IN THE GLOSSARY.

S.A. = Sadr Adalat.
 S.C. = Sadr Court.
 M.H.C. = Madras High Court.
 M.H.C.R. = Madras High Court Reports.
 M.S. Decisions = Madras Sadr Court Decisions.
 M.S.C. = Madras Sadr Court.
 S.D.C. = South Malabar District Court.
 S.S.C. = South Malabar Subordinate Court.
 N.D.C. = North Malabar District Court.
 I.L.R. Madras = Indian Law Reports. Madras Series.

GLOSSARY.

ADIMA GRANT called a TITTU.

Adima, from Dravidian *adi* (= bottom, base, foot). means slavery, feudal dependency. *Tittu*, from Dravidian *tinduka* (= to touch, defile), means a writ from a superior to an inferior.

In Malabar there are few castes under the rank of Nayar who did not, and who do not still, acknowledge a feudal dependence upon some superior lord, and who are not Adiyans or vassals. Persons of this description were not formerly allowed to possess land in Janmam right; and therefore, when a Janmi made over land to a person in the condition of an Adiyani, it was called an Adima deed or grant, although he might not be his own vassal, and although the proprietor might have received the full Janmam value for the land. The right of proprietorship continued with the Janmi, and the tenant paid him a small sum of money—not more, perhaps, than two fanams annually—by way of acknowledgment of proprietorship. The tenant, however, could not be dispossessed, and the land descended to his heirs, and only reverted to the Janmi on failure of heirs.

The Adima grant of a paramba or garden was also often conferred by a superior lord, or Tala Udaya Tamburan, upon his own Adiyān or vassal; but here it was in the feature of an Inam or gift, no consideration having been received for it by the proprietor. An annual trifling tribute of superiority is, however, reserved to the proprietor to prevent the garden being entirely alienated. The garden reverts to the proprietor on failure of heirs on the part of the Adiyān and if the Adiyān takes a part with the enemies of his patron, the latter may resume the property. Under any other circumstances the Adiyān cannot be dispossessed, and he has the right of burial within the garden.

Notes.—1. See *Kudima, Changuadam*.

2. In this the land is made over in perpetuity to the grantee, either unconditionally as a mark of favor, or on condition of certain services being performed. The terms Adima and Kudima mean a slave, or one subject to the landlord, the grant being generally made to such persons. A nominal fee of about two fanams a year is payable to the landlord to show that he still retains the proprietary title. Land bestowed as a mark of favor can never be resumed, but where it is granted as remuneration for certain services to be performed, the non-performance of such services involving the necessity of having them discharged by others will give the landlord power to recover the land. The non-payment of the annual fee will form no ground for ousting the grantee, but it will be recoverable by action. The hereditary property of Native princes cannot be conferred on this tenure, the ruling prince having only the right of enjoyment during life, without power to alienate.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

3. A grant on condition of performing service is irredeemable so long as the grantee is ready and willing to perform the service.—S.D.C. 522 (1876). 113 (1877), 663 (1879)

ADIMA PARAMBU.

Adima (q. v.) *Parambu* (Dravidian) = higher or dry ground laid out in terraces, all fields too high for irrigation, an orchard, garden, compound.

Is a garden given to a slave (not a Cheruman or a person who can be sold), rather a vassal under the lord's particular protection. A certain pattam is taken sometimes, and sometimes none. Land so given can never be taken away, but remains with the vassal till his death. If he dies without heirs it reverts to the lord paramount. A Vettuvan or salt manufacturer who had got such a piece of land at Calicut said it was a place where he could be buried. He seemed to consider it a privilege insured to him.

Note.—See *Parambu*.

ADIYAN.

From Dravidian *adi* (= base, bottom, foot), means servant, slave.

Is literally slave both in Tamil and Malayalam, and in the Northern Division of Malabar it is applied to the real slaves, but in South Malabar it means generally vassals. Under the old system, where every Tiyan was under a kind of vassalage to some superior, to some patron, to a Tamburan as he is commonly called, the patron was bound to protect him and to redress any petty wrongs he might sustain, and the client or vassal acknowledged his dependent state by yearly presents, and was to be ready with his personal services upon any private quarrel of his patron. This kind of dependency gave the patron no right of disposal of the person of his vassal as a slave, nor did it acquit the dependent individual of a superior obligation to the Raja or his representatives, the Desavali, and Neduvāli, upon a public emergency.

Individuals were often clients of the church, which, by means of its representatives, the Uralar, was bound to protect them. Even at the present day an individual will immediately say who his Tamburan or patron is, and the yearly presents are still kept up.

Note.—See *Changngatam*.

ALIPADAM.

From (Dravidian) *ali* = (the ocean, the deep) and (Sanskrit) *padam* (a range, especially of rice-fields).

Alam means, as in Tamil, depth, lowness, and *padam* field. The word applies to the lowest rice-lands.

Note.—See *Kandam*.

ALI SILAVU.

Ali, properly *alu* or *aluku* (Dravidian), means the high wall round an orchard. *Silavu*, properly *chelavu* (Dravidian), means expense.

The expense of preparing gardens. It bears the proportion of 20 per cent. to the established valuation of trees, which is settled in making the *Kulikkanam*. This being added to the value of the trees, which in most places is half a rupee a coconut tree, the proprietor must pay for both, or else the interest of the two sums, according to the usual rate of the place, is included in the *Pramanam* and deducted from the *pattam*.

AMSAPATRAM or PAKUTI OLA.

Amspatram, from Sanskrit *Amsam* (= share, part) and Sanskrit *Patram* (= a leaf, a letter).

Pakuti Ola, from Dravidian *pakuti* (= division, share) and Dravidian *ola* (= palm leaf, a writing leaf).

Is a deed of division of hereditary property among relations; another kind of *Panaya Ola Karanam* for rice-lands; it is also called *Muri*: the same deed is used for plantations, and it is called in addition *Ketti-adakkam* on account of these words being in the deed, which show that it refers to plantations.

Is a deed under which a Janmi makes over land for money borrowed. The mortgagee pays himself the interest and gives to the Janmi the *purapad* or residue of the *pattam* after deducting the interest, and in some cases the land tax is also to be deducted. The land is to be restored on payment of the debt without any deduction of *Sakshi*, and no *Policheheluttu* is allowed under this deed. The interest is supposed to be rather high in this transaction compared with that of many other land tenures.

ANAKKOMBAN.

From Dravidian *Ana* (= elephant) and Dravidian *kombu* (= tusk, ivory).

A species of fine paddy grown in the Palghat District in low rice-lands, which is ten months in coming to maturity. It is heating. It is generally exported to Coimbatore, where it fetches one-twentieth more than any other kind of paddy.

ANUBHAVAM or ANUBHOGAM.

(Sanskrit) = enjoyment, usufruct.

A deed of gift of land as a reward for services performed, answering, perhaps, to Inam land. The holder cannot be dispossessed, and the right is hereditary; but if the grantee or any of his descendants die without heirs, the land reverts to the Janmi, and on the succession of heirs the Janmi is entitled to Purushantaram. In some instances a trifling payment of one or two fanams is made by the grantee to the Janmi in token of acknowledgment of proprietorship. An hereditary grant of Anubhavam of the purapad, or residue of purapad after deducting mortgage interest, which remains in the hands of a mortgagee, is sometimes made to the mortgagee himself, or to some other person not connected with the land to whom the mortgagee is required to pay it.

Notes.—1. See *Adima Kulicheckam*.

2. It was customary for princes, when conferring a title on any person, to grant him at the same time sufficient land to enable him to maintain the dignity of his position. Grants under this tenure were also bestowed upon persons for special services rendered, or for the future performance of certain services. The tenant cannot be ejected except where there are conditions imposed and he fails to fulfil them; but, on the other hand, he and his heirs have only the right of enjoyment and cannot alienate their title. A trifling annual fee is generally paid to the landlord to show that he has not surrendered the proprietary.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

APHALAM.

(Sanskrit) = unfruitful, from *a* (Sanskrit negative particle) and Sanskrit *phalam* (= fruit), perhaps from Dravidian *palam* (= fruit).

A tree past bearing.

ARECA or BETEL-NUT. (*Areca Catechu*.)

The tree = *Kamugu*, *Kamundu*, *Kavundu*, or *Kelunggu* (Dravidian)
Its fruit = *Adakka*, *Adekka* (Dravidian), whence Portuguese *Areca*.

The nut of the betel-nut tree (not the tree itself) in Malayalam, whence probably the botanical name *areca*.

According to Arshad Beg's Settlement of 1783-84 or 959 of the Southern District, exclusive of Palghat—

Total Trees	..	..	..	..	..	3,361,195
Aphalam or Sisu	..	..	..	..	..	2,161,115
Productive	..	..	..	..	..	1,200,080

HOONS. S. C.

Or about one-third assessable Revenue .. 20,018 0 0

59 productive trees per hoon, or 20 productive trees per rupee.

The number according to the Janmi Pymaish account of 981, furnished by the Collector, Mr. Vaughan, was 4,409,843: of this past bearing 1,326,652, pupils 1,376,846, productive 1,706,345. Their revenue of that year, deducting past bearing and pupils, Rs. 58,656 1 qr. 32 $\frac{3}{4}$ reas; average assessment per productive tree 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ reas.

Note.—The number according to the Jamabandi accounts of Fasli 1280 (1879-80) was 8,167,552, of which 1,661,003 were returned as past bearing 3,304,740 as

too young to bear, and 3,201,189 as productive. The revenue, assessed on the productive trees alone, was returned as Rs. 81,311-12-0, giving an average of nearly ¹ 5 pies per productive tree.

ATTIPPETTOLA or ATTIPPERU.

From Dravidian *Atti* (= causal of a verb signifying to be close, contiguous to, hence causal form = to come in contact) and Dravidian *peru* (= birth, bringing forth), and Dravidian *ola* (= palm-leaf, leaf for writing.) The full phrase is *Nir Atti peru*, meaning the birthright (*peru*) obtained by coming in contact (*Atti*) with *nir* (= water).

Per in Malayalam corresponds with the Sanskrit word *Janmam*, which means born, created, acquired, and more generally property. *Atti* means to join, mix. These two words united give but an imperfect meaning, and the word *nir* is generally prefixed. *Nir-atti-per* thus means the *Janmam* combined with water is given up. The *Janmi* reserves no *purapad* (balance of rent after deducting mortgage interest) or anything to himself. He cannot, after the execution of this deed, redeem the mortgage, and the relinquishment of the proprietary right is absolute under it. At the time of executing and delivering the deed, the following persons must be present. A *Sva-jati*, a person of the same caste; *Bandhu*, a relative; *Putran*, literally the son, but in Malabar construed to mean the heir, whether a nephew or son; *Narapati*, the Raja; the writer of the deed; *Tatra Sambandhi*, a resident round the spot. In practice the attendance of the Raja, or the execution of the deed before the Raja, is dispensed with. It is only necessary that he should be apprized of the transaction. The mortgagee gives two fanams, which is placed in a small vessel of water; the mortgagor, holding the deed in his hand, pours the water over it, which the mortgagor receives as it falls, and either swallows it, or puts it upon his head, or upon his feet, or upon the ground, according to the relative caste of the two parties. The deed is then delivered to the mortgagee. This deed mentions generally that the full value of the property disposed of has been received, and states the boundaries of it, but it does not specify the amount received.

Notes.—1. See *Janmam* and *Perumartham* and *Sthana-mana-avakasam*.

2. The purchaser, in coming into possession, is bound by all obligations which attached to the proprietor. He cannot disturb those who may be holding the property or any portion of it on *Kanam* mortgage, but merely receives the surplus rent produce in place of the former landlord. On the other hand, he comes into all the rights and privileges of the former landlord, and may pay off *Otti* mortgages and sell or transfer the property as he pleases. —(Proceedings of the Court of *Sadr Adalat*, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

ATTUVEPPU.

From Dravidian *Aru* (= river) and Dravidian *veppu* = (placing, planting).

Plantations bordering the seashore and rivers.

Notes.—1. One of the classes into which coconut gardens are divided.

2. As matter of fact, such gardens do not always border on the shore or river.

CHANGNGATAM.

(Sanskrit) = convoy, guard, income of Rajas from granting such guards, grants of land to persons liable to such service, companion.

Is also a kind of vassalage, and is applied particularly to Nayers who have placed themselves in a state of dependency upon some *Desavali*,

¹Correct average = $4 \frac{215740}{246293}$ pies.

Naduvali or Raja. The word Adiyam would, with respect to them, be degrading and improperly used. Nayars have often agreed to give Changngatam or protection-money to some chief of authority, and to make yearly presents in consequence from 4 to 34 fanams to individual patrons, and as high as 120 to the church. The church, again, has often subjected itself to Changngatam money to Rajas to ensure the benefit of their power.

Notes.—1. "Those who desire to proceed thither should first pay a certain sum of money to the king of the country, who will then appoint people to accompany them and show them the way."—*Fah Hian's Travels*, quoted at *Indian Antiquary* VII, p. 3. "Thither" meant the country called by Fah Hian the "Kingdom of the Dakshina" or of the South.

2. There were four classes of officers about the Raja, whose posts were not hereditary but within his gift, viz., (1) *Mummattippad*, attendants with a daily allowance of three Nalis of paddy, youthful attendants; (2) *Araundippad*, attendants with double the above allowance; (3) *Pandarappad*, treasury officials; and (4) *Changngatippad* (see heading).—(*Gundert's Dictionary*.)

3. See *Kudima*, *Kulichchakaran*, *Revenue*.

CHANGNGATIKKURI.

From Sanskrit *changngali* (=convoy, guard, companion, friend) and Dravidian *Kuri* (=lot, share, lottery, club).

May be construed a season of friendship, a periodical association the lodge of friendship, a society of friends. It was a meeting formerly very common in Malabar among the natives, and still partially kept up, for the purposes of conversation, of discussing any particular subject, of inquiring into the conduct of any individual. It is not, it appears, confined to people of the same caste, but the association was often composed of Nayars, Tiyars and Mappilas. Besides promoting social intercourse, it has a tendency to prudential consequences. It induces economy. Where there is a variety of castes in the society, the entertainer gives to those who are not of his own caste a certain quantity of rice and allows them to dress it by their own people. It is supported by the subscription of the members in the following manner. Suppose there are 25 members; that each contributes 4 fanams monthly, making a total stock for each month of 100 fanams; that the society is limited to 25 months' duration, and every member is obliged to give an entertainment to the party once in the course of this period at his own house. It does not come to the members in regular turn, but is decided by lot, that is, every member places with his subscription a ticket with his name into the deposit, and a ticket is drawn every month by some indifferent person, and the person whose name appears on the ticket drawn gives the entertainment and is entitled to the amount in deposit for the month. The entertainment is calculated to cost at most not more than 10 per cent. of one month's subscription of all the members, and the great advantage is derived from drawing a ticket at an early stage on account of the interest upon the sum to the remaining period; there is no other prize; every member's subscription amounts in the end to the whole principal gain which he can ever make.

The greatest disadvantages to any member are the drawing his ticket towards the close of the duration of the society, the consequent loss of interests on his monthly subscriptions, and the loss of principal expended in the entertainment to the extent of two or two and a half month's subscription.

But these are counterbalanced by his facility of procuring easy loans of money upon the security which the ultimate certainty of attaining a prize affords. The monthly subscriptions in the meantime are small and not felt, and induce a habit of saving which would not otherwise be practised.

The interest upon loans which the members thus procure is to be paid only till the prize comes up. The lender derives no benefit from the chance of its coming up early.

Notes. —1. See *Changngatam*.

2. The *Kuri* was of three kinds: (1) *Nettkuri*, where the shares were paid in paddy; (2) *Arikuri*, where the shares were paid in rice; and (3) *Panakkuri*, where the shares were paid in money.

KURI MUPPAN.

Is the president of the society termed *Changngatikuri*, whose duty it is to see the money collected, or, in failure, to forfeit to the prize-drawer double the deficient subscription. He is entitled to the privilege of giving the first month's entertainment. The society has of late years fallen into disuse, partly because the European authorities have discouraged it among all public servants as liable to abuse, and partly because it does not enjoy the necessary power to enforce its rules by degradation or other punishment, and members are not to be found who will support it from their own respectability. The contempt of its regulations can only be attempted to be remedied by a tedious, vexatious and expensive appeal to a judicial tribunal—an appeal likely to be more particularly ineffectual from the compact of the parties being rather understood than expressive, founded more upon a sense of honour than upon law or written agreement.

CHANGNGATIKKURI KALYANAM.

See *Changngatikuri*; *Kalyanam* (Sanskrit) = luck, happiness.

May be termed an association of friendship and pleasure among the natives of Malabar. It is an entertainment given by a respectable native, at which all his friends who are invited present a sum of money and a certain number of coconuts, plantains, betel-leaves and betel-nuts, every man according to his fancy, to the entertainer. The host feeds all those who come and has diversions for the company. An account is kept of what each guest offers, and when these guests in their turn announce that an entertainment is to be given by them, the person who has formerly had the benefit of an entertainment is expected to be present and to make a return at least equal, but in general half as much again, and sometimes double what he has received.

To any person who evades the invitation and does not send the proper present of money and fruit, a small vessel of arrack and the bone of a fowl are sent in derision to shame him into a more liberal spirit, and he is desired to eat and drink them and to return the money, etc., he formerly received. This, in general, was sufficient to ensure a compliance with the custom.

Note. —*Kurikkalyanam* is in some places used to signify *Changngatikuri*. Such associations are still kept up.

CHAVER.

From Dravidian *Chava* (= death) and Dravidian *Eruka* (= to arise, ascend), literally, those who went forth to death.

Or lands granted by Rajas to the families of deceased heroes who fell in performance of solemn vows to fight till death against the enemy. If any

escaped this conflict they were excommunicated their caste and obliged to flee the country. The Ilaya Raja of Angadipuram states that much of his original rajyam in Vullatra was alienated from this cause in his wars with the Zamorin. It appears the private Janmam of conquered states were not respected by the conquerors.

Notes 1.—The name was applied to those persons who, for the honour of the *Valluvakonattiri* or *Vellattiri Raja*, elected to run, armed with swords and shields, the gauntlet of the Zamorin's 30,000 spears at Tirunavayi in Ponnani taluk every twelfth year.

2. Their ostensible object was to elude the spears and to slay the Zamorin, who, armed with Cheraman Perumal's sword awaited their onslaught. *Conf.* pp. 162-69 of the text.

CHERLABHAM.

Cherlabham, from Dravidian *cheru* (= wet soil) and Sanskrit *labham* (= gain, profit).

Meaning generally the same as Kolulabham, but more literally the profit of the earth or soil—the cultivator's share.

Note.—See *Kolulabham*.

CHERUJANMAM.

From *cheru* (Dravidian) = small, and *Janmam* (Sanskrit) = birth.

Inferior rights applied to the fees receivable by the carpenter and smith in Malabar.

Notes.—1. See *Janmam*.

2. Hereditary rights and perquisites were claimed, within certain defined local limits, by (1) the *Kanisan* (astrologer) for feasts, (2) the *Asari* (carpenter) for dedication of houses, (3) the *Tattan* (goldsmith) for marriages, (4) the *Malayan* (musicians and conjurers) for devil feasts, (5) the *Vannan* (washerman), (6) the *Velan* (midwife, accouchour), (7) the *Vilakkattaravan* (barber), etc.

CHERUMAKKAL.

From Dravidian *cheru* = *chiru* (= small) and Dravidian *makkal* (= children).—(Gundert).

Slaves in general. It is supposed to be derived from *cheru* = soil, and *makkal* = children: children of the soil, or sons of the earth. Others say from *cheru*, small, and *makkal*, children, indicating that they are to be treated as young children by their masters.

Notes.—1. From a census taken in 1857 of the slave population it appeared that they were then distributed as follows:—

1. Chirakkal	13,380
2. Kottayam	2,850
3. Kurumbraaad	16,590
4. Wynad	16,561
5. Calicut	14,082
6. Ernad	35,419
7. Walluvanad	34,902
8. Palghat	25,280
9. Ponnani	28,668
10. Cochin	71
District total	187,812

2. The bulk of the slaves being located in the ancient *Cheranad* (part of the *Ernad taluk*) and in the neighbourhood of it, it is not unreasonable to suppose they got their name as being the aborigines of *Cheranad*, or possibly of the still more ancient kingdom of *Chera*.

CHIRA.

(Dravidian) = enclosure, dam, tank.

A reservoir of water or tank on a smaller scale; it answers to *eri* or lake in the Dravida country. In the Palghat and Pannalapuram districts it is used for cultivation. It is formed by a bank thrown across the higher parts of a tract of rice lands and resting at each end upon eminences. Cultivation of rice is carried on on land lower than its level; and in the bed of it a kind of rice called *Kuttadan* is sown, which takes nine months to come to maturity. It is sown in Chithri or April, before the commencement of the heavy monsoon, and is cut in Margulli or December, and it shoots its head above the water, the depth of which is often six feet.

COCONUT.

In Malayalam *tenguga* contraction for *tengugunkayi*, from Dravidian *tekke* (= south) and Dravidian *kay* (= ripening fruit).

According to Arshad Beg's Settlement of 1783—84 or 959 of the southern districts, exclusive of Palghat there were—

Coconut trees	..	..	..	..	2,896,099
Aphalam and Sisu	..	..	..	..	2,162,508
Productive	..	..	..	..	733,591

or about one-fourth assessable revenue 36,724-5½ fanams, or twenty trees per hoon, or 7 trees per rupee.

The number according to the Janmi Pymaish account of 981, furnished by the Collector Mr. Vaughan, was 6,124,367, past bearing 1,792,987, pupils 1,244,440, productive 3,086,939. Their revenue of that year, deducting past bearing and pupils, Rs. 3,15,115-0 gr. 75½ reas; average of assessment per productive tree 40 $\frac{13\frac{1}{2}}{16}$ reas.

In talking of the price of coconuts, it is always understood to be the nut without the husk, which latter is sold separately.

Note.—According to the jamabandi accounts of fasli 1289 (A.D. 1879-80) the number of coconut trees was 9,519,567, of which 1,310,253 were past bearing, 3,611,566 were not yet come into bearing, and 4,597,808 were productive. The productive trees were assessed at Rs. 3,49,835-11-3, being at the rate of 1 anna

$\frac{2799143}{4597808}$ pies per productive tree.

COWLE.

(Arabic) *qabul* = engagement, cowle.

Notes.—1. A Government cowle for the cultivation of waste land confers a right of entry, and of compensation for improvements, but does not affect the Janmi's right to rent.—S.D.C., 132 (1877), 79 (1878).

2. A Janmi is not at liberty to eject a squatter on waste land who has obtained a cowle from Government, if 12 years have elapsed from the date of entry.—S.D.C., 195 (1878), 674 (1879).

3. A Government cowle does not confer any right as against a prior occupant.—S.D.C., 47 and 48 (1878).

DASTA BAKKI.

From Persian *dast* (= balance in hand) and Arabic *bakki* (= remnant, surplus).

A balance of revenue collected from the person due, but not brought to the public credit by the Revenue Officers.

DESAM.

(Sanskrit) = region, country, parish.

A village, the same as Tara in the Malabar province. In the ancient Hindu histories a kingdom, of which there were 56 in India, is meant by it.

Note. See pp. 87-90 of the Text. The *Desam* and the *Tara* were not the same thing. See *Tara*.

DESAVALI.

From *Desam* (q.v.) and Dravidian *vali*, from *valuka*, to live, live prosperously, reign.

Hereditary heads of villages. Before Hyder's conquest some had one, some two or more villages; their places are now supplied by Mukhyas-tanmars.

The number of Nayars or fighting men attached to a Desavali was from 25 to 100; if it exceeded the latter number, he ranked as a Naduvali.

Note.—See pp. 87-90 of the Text. He was the military chief, not the civil chief, of the *Desam*.

DESAKOYMA.

From *Desam* (q.v.) and Dravidian *Koyma*, modern form of *Konma*, from *Kon* (= king), means sovereignty, authority.

Same as Desavali.

Note.—This word denotes the functions of a *Desavali* which were as follows:—

1. **DESAM.**

See *Desam*.

2. **DESADHIPATYAM.**

From *Desam* (q.v.) and Sanskrit *adhipatyam* = supreme authority.

3. **AMBALAPPADI.**

From Dravidian *ambalam* (= place devoted for public use or assemblies, a temple) and Dravidian *padi* (= a step, bench).

4. **URAYMA.**

From Dravidian *Ur* (= village, town, parish) and Dravidian *vayma* modern form of *vanma* from *valuka* (= to live prosperously, reign) meaning authority, office.

Sthanams or dignities.

Ambalappadi is the seat of honour, a certain step or degree in a temple to which only particular persons are entitled. The claim to it is derived from ancestry, but the dignity is saleable. It is, however, understood that it cannot be disposed of except to a person of the proper caste and necessary respectability. It is, strictly speaking, confined to Brahmans, but there have been interlopers of the Samunta caste.

The Urayma is the office to which is attached the general superintendence of the affairs of a temple ; a person who has attained the Ambalappadi dignity in the village holds invariably also that of Urayma, that is, he is the Uralan of the temple, but the Uralan may be such without being an Ambalappadi (*sic*).

Desam means that a person possesses in proprietary right the whole property of the village or Desam. He is the janmi or Mutalalan of the Desam.

Desadhipatyam is the office held by the Desadhipati or Desavali, which is the political ruler or representative of Government in the Desam; of the Desam and Desadhipatyam an individual may be possessed of the one or the other separately. The Desavali was not necessarily proprietor of all the lands of the village. But a person enjoying these four dignities collectively and in the same Desam is esteemed as one who has reached the summit of honour. All the dignities were saleable, either separately or collectively, except the Urayma and the Ambalappadi, which went always together, and generally the Desam and Desadhipatyam.

Ambalam equals temple of the first order, called Maha Kshetram dedicated to the Hindu Trimurti. There were 108 principal temples constructed by Parasurama between Gokarnam and Kannya Kumari (Cape Comorin), and the one opposite to Mr. Babington's bungalow at Varakkal, near Calicut, is of the number.

Notes.—1. See pp. 87-90 of the Text ; also *Taru* and *Ur*.

2. A *Desam* was not synonymous with a *taru*. Great confusion has arisen from thinking so.

3. The seat of honour in the *ambalam* is just *outside* the sanctuary. As Brahmans can enter the sanctuary itself, it was no honour to them to be seated on the *ambalappadi*. To be thought entitled to exclusive right to the *ambalappadi* was, on the other hand, a source of profit which Brahmans coveted. The *ambalappadi* was originally the seat of the chief man directing the proceedings of any public meeting, such as a temple feast ; he was, in short, chairman.

4. *Ambalappadi* and *Urayma* were the privileges of the headmen, *Karanavar* of the *taru* (Dravidian *teru* = street, village) or of the *Ur* (Dravidian = village), along with other privileges, some of which are still observed, for example, *Urpalli*, the special place set apart in the village (*Ur*) for cutting up the carcasses of deer, etc., killed in the village hunt, the headman of the *Ur* (a *Paravattukaranavan*) being entitled to a hind-quarter and other parts of the animal.

EDAM or IDAM.

(Dravidian) = place, house, mansion.

Is the distinctive name of a house or palace occupied by a member of the family of the Palghat Raja ; it is also used sometimes for the house of a Naduvali of consequence in the Palghat district. In the same part of the country the house of a common man is called a *Vidu* ; *Edam*, in Tamil means place.

Note.—The use of the word is not confined to the Palghat taluk.

ELAM.

(Dravidian) = cardamoms.

A thousand rupees a candy the Wynaad cardamom sells for.

Note.—The best cardamoms now fetch from Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 1,400 per candy of 700 lb.

ENNAM.

(Dravidian) = number, counting.

Counting. It is a term used for the expense of reaping, reckoned 10 per cent. In some places this proportion is given after the paddy is measured out; in others one out of ten sheaves is given in the field.

Note.—The number of sheaves varies: in one part of Chirakkal taluk at the present time one out of twelve goes to the reapers. See *Patam*, *Kolulabham*, *Cherlabham*, and *Pandukkaval*.

ETTUKKONNU and MUPPARA.

Ettukkonnū, from Dravidian *ettu* (= eight) and Dravidian *onnu* (= one).

Muppara, from Dravidian *munnū* (= three) and Dravidian *para* (= a measure, bushel).

Meaning one to eight, and three paras; it expresses the nature of the land-tax in the Travancore province. On the garden land one in eight (of the pattam or rent) is said to be taken, and on rice-lands three paras (out of ten).

FANAM.

From Dravidian *Panam* = coin, fanam, money in general.

Old Viray or Gold = 4 to a rupee. There are $12\frac{1}{2}$ Malabar pice to one fanam.

New Viray or Gold = $3\frac{1}{2}$ to a rupee. There are $14\frac{1}{4}$ Malabar pice to one fanam.

Silver = 5 to a rupee, and each fanam worth ten Malabar pice.

Note.—Mr. Græme has omitted mention of the

I. *Rasi fanam*.—The most ancient of the indigenous fanams, bearing at the present time a fanciful value. They are of gold, and have the same 14 dots as the gold fanams mentioned above. *Rasi* means a sign of the Zodiac, so it is supposed the 12 dots are the 12 signs of the Zodiac, and the two separate dots are the sun and moon. The 12 Zodiacal signs are divided into four good, four middling, and four bad signs, which may account for the appearance of the dots on one side of the coins: the four prolonged dots being the good, the four ordinary-sized ones the middling, and the four tiny dots placed separately in a corner by themselves the four bad signs. The other emblems are not understood.

II. The *Sultani fanam*.—A coin of Tipu's, which in 1790-92 had fallen in value to $3\frac{1}{2}$ = a rupee.

GARCE.

120 paras of 25 Macleod seers, or 3,000 Macleod seers, make a garce, Bombay salt, according to my experiment, weighs 90 lb. the para of salt, so that a garce is 10,800 lb.

GRAMAM.

(Sanskrit) = village.

Equivalent to Agraharam in the Carnatic, a Brahman village. At the time of Parasurama's gift of the country to the Brahmans, 64 Gramams

were established from Goa to Cape Comorin, 32 from Kanyirote (or Cassergode north to Comorin south); to these were attached all the Sudra villages.

Notes.—1. See Chapter III, Sections (a) and (b) of the Text.

2. Mr. Graeme here follows the *Keralolpatti* tradition, which is unreliable.

GRANDHAVARI.

From Sanskrit *Grandham* = verse, book.

A book formed of the leaves of the Kudappana palm or Talipot tree, in which Janmis register their agreements respecting land with their tenants or mortgagees. Where it is kept it is said to be a register which may be safely referred to as authenticating an agreement otherwise doubtful, but it is not kept up so much as it used to be. The Kudappana of Malabar does not afford the leaf capable of being so used; the impression of the iron pen goes through and prevents its being written on both sides. The proper kind is only procurable in Travancore and Canara. It is brought for sale. It is much more expensive than that of Malabar. It is also much more durable.

HOBALI.

(Dravidian) = division of a district.

A term introduced into Malabar by the Muhammadan Government. It is in Malabar a subdivision of a taluk comprehending several Desams or villages. It corresponds with Magani in Canara and with Maganum on the Eastern Coast.

Note.—The Muhammadans called their village organization in Malabar the *Tara*. See Sir Thomas Munro's Report, Revenue Selections, Vol. I, p. 842. See also *Tara* and *Ur*.

HOUSES.

Different names for them in Malabar according to castes—

<i>Mana</i>	..	..	..	Nambutiripadu's house.
<i>Illam</i>	..	..	..	Nambutiri's house.
<i>Kovilakam</i> or <i>Kottaram</i>	..			Raja's house.
<i>Idam</i> or <i>Kuttala</i>	..	..		Naduvai's house.
<i>Vidu</i>	..	..	..	Nayar house.
<i>Pushpottu</i> or <i>Pisharam</i> or <i>Varyam</i> .				Houses of Ambalavasi or servants of the pagoda, expressive of their caste.
<i>Matham</i>	..	..	..	Houses of Chakkyar.
<i>Kudi</i>	..	..	..	House of Chaliar or weavers.
<i>Pidika</i>	..	..	..	House of Mappilla.
<i>Pura</i>	..	..	..	House of Tiyan.
<i>Chula</i>	..	..	..	The house of a Cheruman.
<i>Pura</i> or <i>chala</i>	..	..	..	The house of a blacksmith, goldsmith, silversmith, carpenter, brazier.

IDAPADU.

From Dravidian *idam* (= place, house of *Naduvais*) and Dravidian *padu* (falling, falling into power, place, rank of officials, etc.), means the authority exercised by the family inhabiting the *idam*, who also controlled the pagodas of *Urile Bhagavati* (goddess of the *ur*,

village) and of *Muvanti kali* (the tutelary deity of Calicut) lying within their limits. Pagodas: 18 should be included in the range of a Kartava of 3,000 (Nayars).

Note.—See *Edam*.

ILLAKKUR.

From Dravidian *Illam* (= a house) and Dravidian *kuru* or *kur* (= part, share).

Illam, a house; *kur*, partition, share. It means the private property of a Raja which descends to his heirs. He relinquishes this property to his nephew or next heir upon his giving up one official dignity for a higher step. Not that he absolutely gives up all control over it, but this arrangement is made to distinguish and separate it from the public property of the official station he has just held, and to prevent its being claimed by his successor in it.

Note.—See *Kurvalcha*.

ILAVAN.

From *ilam*, from *Chinggalam*, *Simhala*, *Sihala* = Ceylon.

The name of the Tiyan in the Palghat and Tenmalapuram Districts in common parlance, who are aborigines of Malabar; in other places they are only so named in writings.

Note.—The Tiyan or Tivar (from *tivu*, corruption of Sanskrit *dvipu* = an island) are believed not to have been the aborigines of Malabar, but to have come from an island (Ceylon), bringing with them the southern tree (*tengngkay*), i.e., the cocoanut. See *Tiyan*, *Shanar*, *Mukkuvar*.

INAKKUMURI.

From Dravidian *inakku* (= agreement, certificate of agreement) and Dravidian *muri* (= fragment, note, bond, receipt).

There are two kinds of deeds of this denomination. A mortgagee making over land to another person in mortgage gives him an *Inakkumuri*, or certificate that he has received a sum of money from the second mortgagee and has made over the land to him, and calls upon the Janmi to confirm him in the same tenure which he himself possessed. If this certificate be shown to the Janmi, he has a right to demand *Sakshi* for the renewal of the deed, but the second mortgagee often withholds the production of the deeds in order to avoid payment of the renewal money. That is also called an *Inakkumuri* which a Janmi gives to a mortgagee when he has sold the Janmam right of the mortgaged land to a third person. In it he refers the mortgagee to the purchaser for the future responsibility for the *kanam* money.

Note.—1. Mortgagees may transfer their interest to sub-mortgagees, and the latter come into the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges as the former possessed. A notice should be given to the landlord at the time of such transfer. In an action for the recovery of the property, when an *Inak* has been given, the landlord must recognize and sue the property in possession, but it is only liable to pay the amount which would have been payable to the original mortgagee.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

2. Mr. Graeme and the Sadr Court both here use *kanam* as synonymous with mortgage. It is clear that the *Kanakkur* had the privilege of selling his holding, independently of the *Janmi*, a most important point. See Chapter IV, Section (a) of the Text.

JACK TREE. (*Artocarpus integrifolia*.)

In Malayalam the tree = *pilaru*; its fruit = *chakka*, whence Jack.

Chakkha = the Malayalam name for the fruit of the *Artocarpus integrifolia*, whence is probably derived the name Jack.

Chakka, *Mangay*, *Tal* or *Talu*, *Takara* = a common saying expressive of the kind of food which the poorer classes of people live upon chiefly in Malabar. *Chakka* is the Jack, *Mangay* the Mango, *Tal* or *Talu* a species of wild Yam with a broad leaf, often cultivated in private gardens, and *Takara* a species of Dhol. It is called Sag in Hindustani, and the leaf is eaten boiled. The Jack is eaten boiled, in general mixed with salt, etc.

Note.—According to the Jamabandi accounts of Fasli 1289 (A.D. 1879 80) there were 1,441,034 Jack trees, of which 500,641 were past bearing, 605,640 were too young to bear, and 334,753 were productive. The productive trees were assessed at Rs. 52,337-8-7, or at the rate of 2 annas $6 \frac{6217}{334753}$ pies per productive tree.

JANMAM.

(Sanskrit) = birth, birthright, hereditary proprietorship, freehold property = the Sanskritised form of the Dravidian *peru* (= birth, birthright).

The landed property of a Janmakkaran or proprietor.

Notes.—1. See Chapter IV, Section (a) and *Attiperu*.

2. The purchaser, in coming into possession, is bound by all the obligations which attached to the proprietor. He cannot disturb those who may be holding the property, or any portion of it, on kanam mortgage, but merely receives the surplus rent produces in place of the former landlord. On the other hand, he comes into all the rights and privileges of the former landlord, and may pay off Otta mortgages, and sell or transfer the property as he pleases.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

JANMAKKARAN or JANMI or MUTALALAN.

Janmakkaran and *Janmi* = from Sanskrit *Janmam* (q.v.) and Sanskrit *Karan* (= doer, one who has to do with).

Mutalalan, from Dravidian *Mutal* (= beginning, principal, stock, property, money) and Dravidian *al* (= person).

A landed proprietor. In Malabar there are 44,378, and the same number of estates, and the land assessment being about Star Pagodas 480,000, each estate on an average bears to the whole revenue a proportion of little more than 10 pagodas per annum.—(38th paragraph of the Revenue Board's Minute of 5th January 1818). This number is taken from the 77th paragraph of Mr. Warden's letter to the Revenue Board of 16th June 1813, and the 33rd paragraph of his letter to the Board of 20th April 1815, which again was taken from the Janmi Pymaish accounts of 981, but by mistake the taluks of Kawai, Cotiote, and Randatara were omitted. The copy of the Janmi Pymaish accounts received from Mr. Vaughan by Mr. Grame makes the number 52,303, which reduces the revenue payable by each to little more than 9 pagodas. It is conjectured (though I have not yet obtained any accounts to prove it), that half the revenue is paid by estates yielding from a thousand to five thousand rupees' assessment, which will make the amount of the assessment payable by the greater proportion of the proprietors very small indeed. Supposing that half the revenue is paid by estates yielding

arevenue of a thousand rupees, that will withdraw eight hundred and forty from the number, and the remaining half, viz., 240,000 Star Pagodas, will be paid by 52,463 estates or proprietors, which will be between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 pagodas for each. The Board of Revenue have considered the number stated as so many estates, whilst Mr. Warden expressly calls this number so many proprietors, but upon examination I find that neither the one nor the other mode of considering it is strictly correct. That may be called an estate which an individual possesses in the whole province or in a village, and others have denominated single fields estates; but in the Janmi Pymaish accounts is entered as one estate the whole landed property possessed by an individual in one Hobali comprehending several Desams or villages: the number of estates is therefore either too great or too little, according to the acceptation given to the term. But if it is wished to know what assessment is payable on the whole estate in the province of each individual, this account will not show it. The number of estates is too great. It is only correct with respect to each Hobali, for many Janmis possess lands in different villages of the same Hobali, in different Hobalis of the same taluk, and in different taluks of the province, all of which, with the exception of those within the confines of villages, are entered as separate estates. The real number of Janmis is, in consequence, not equal to the number of estates specified. Some individuals are entered ten times instead of one, and very many appear four times. The number cannot therefore be taken at more than 15,000, but for this conjecture there is no document.

Note.—See *Proprietors* and *Perumartham* and *Sthana-manu-arakasam*.

JANMAKKAVAL.

From *Janmam* (q.v.) and Dravidian *kaval* (= custody, guard, watch).

Is a fee which is given to a kind of headman among slaves for watching a large tract of rice-land and protecting it from cattle. The land may belong to different proprietors, though the watcher is the slave of only one. The fee consists in the crop of a certain portion of every rice-field. The watcher is generally selected from the caste of Palium, which is considered the most trustworthy and attentive, and the watcher goes on such occasion by the name of Kalladi Palium, though the Kalladi is a different caste of slave.

JANMAKKOLU.

From *Janmam* (q.v.) and Dravidian *kolu* (= ploughshare, cultivating tenure).

Answering to Moolgainee in Canara. It is a fixed rent which cannot be raised, and the proprietor cannot remove the tenant. It prevails in some few places in the Northern Division of Malabar.

Notes.—1. In this case the land is made over for permanent cultivation by the tenant in return for services rendered. Where the proprietary title is vested in a pagoda, the grant will be made for future services. In some cases land is mortgaged on this tenure, the Kanam mortgagee paying the surplus rent produce to the landlord after deducting the interest of the money he has advanced. The tenant has, in North Malabar, only a life-interest in the property, which at his death reverts to the landlord. In the South the land is enjoyed by the tenant and his descendants until there is failure of heirs, when it reverts to the proprietor; except where the land is granted for special services, an annual rent is payable under this tenure. The tenant's right is confined to that of cultivation, but it is permanent, and he cannot be ousted for arrears of rent, which must be recovered by action, unless

there be a specific clause in the deed declaring the lease cancelled if the rent be allowed to fall into arrears.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856).

2. This right reverts to the landlord on failure of tenant's heirs.—High Court Spec. App. 495 (1869).

JANMAKKUDIYAN.

From *Janmam* (q.v.) and Dravidian *Kudiyan* (= inhabitant, subject, tenant).

May be translated a proprietary inhabitant. It is not uncommonly used to designate the modern Janmakar, who has acquired his property by purchase, in contradistinction to the ancient or hereditary Janmakar.

JANMAPANAYAM, OLAKKARANAM or JANMAPANAYAM ELUTTU.

Janmapanayam, from *Janmam* (q.v.) and Dravidian *panayam* (= bet, stake, pledge).

Olakkaranam, from Dravidian *Ola* (= palm-leaf writing) and Sanskrit *Karanam* (= acting, instrument, deed). *Eluttu* (Dravidian) = writing, writ.

The Janmakkaran is supposed to have received an additional 10 per cent on the amount of the Otti, making altogether 30 per cent beyond the Otti. Under this deed he pledges the Janmam or proprietary right, without relinquishing the actual possession of it by which he is bound not to transfer the Janmam right to another without the consent of the present mortgagee. He has still, however, the power of redeeming the mortgage by paying the debt and the interest of all sums borrowed since the period of the execution of the Otti deed, with the proviso that the interest do not exceed double the amount of the sums so borrowed. The amount of the debt, but not the pattam, is specified in this deed.

Notes.—1. "This is the last resource short of selling the land altogether. In executing this deed the landlord relinquishes the power to redeem his land, and has nothing left him but the nominal right of proprietorship. By going through the form of casting a few drops of water from his hand he yields up all right of further interference in the land. Nor can he sell his proprietary title to any one but the mortgagee, as he has already made over to him all the rights and privileges possessed by a proprietor. This tenure prevails only in the neighbourhood of Calicut."—S.C. Circular, dated 5th August 1856, No. 18.

2. Mr. Græme in his report (paragraph 1553) remarked: "Before the conquest several intermediate stages of mortgage, in the hope of future redemption before land was sold, were common, and its disposal with all this was very rare; but in the present times the intermediate deeds are dispensed with entirely in Palghat, and in Calicut the Otti and Janmam deeds, instead of being as before at different and distant periods from each other, are now very frequently executed on one and the same day, and the property transferred without reservation on the part of the proprietor."

3. The above interpretation of this deed was probably more theoretical than real. It was supposed to be the fifth of the six deeds culminating in *Janmam*.

4. A suit to recover lands granted on a pepper-corn rent is barred after 12 years from the grant.—S.D.C., 368 (1879).

KAL.

(Dravidian) = foot, leg, stem, pillar.

Literally, leg; figuratively, support. In the Northern Division of Malabar it means the standard tree round which the pepper-vines climb.

It applies to trees such as the Moochy wood tree (moorka), which are planted expressly for the support of the vine. A coconut or jack would not be called a Kal.

KALAMENI.

From Dravidian *Kalam* (= pot, vessel, measure) and Dravidian *meni* (= body, shape, sample, average).

An average.

KALAPPAD.

From Dravidian *Kalam* (= a threshing-floor) and Dravidian *padu* (= falling, falling into power of, rank, nature, measure of space and time).

A term in use in the Walluvanad Taluk, and, perhaps, other places to the southward in Malabar. It means a threshing-floor, a house or a place for removing the grain from the straw, whether by threshing, or, as in Walluvanad, by treading with men. More generally it means a collection of paddy-fields under one manager or cultivator, the produce of which is brought to one threshing-floor.

KALAYI.

(From Dravidian *kal* = foot, stem, or stubble, and *ayi* (= became) = the second cultivation of a rice-field.

Means rice of a second crop. It implies that one crop must have been cut in Kanni (September and October), and that the second crop is cut in Makaram (January and February). It does not apply to a crop cut in Makaram which had no previous crop.

Note.—*Kalayi Nilam* is the opposite of *Ariri Nilam*, which means land on which *Ariri*—a single crop—is raised.

KALKURA PATINARU.

Kal (Dravidian) = one-fourth; *kuruvu* (Dravidian) = deficiency; *patinaru* (Dravidian) = sixteen.

Quarter less 16 or 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ Viray fanams, which Desavalis could receive in fines from inhabitants. If the fine amounted to 16 or above it, it was the right of the Naduvalis.

KIRANI or KANAKKAPPILLA.

Derivation of *Kirani* is doubtful. *Kanakkupilla*, from Dravidian *kanakku* (= accounts) and Dravidian *illa* (= child, honorary title).

Writer or Accountant. In Malabar the first used exclusively for Portuguese and half-caste writers, the second is also used for them, but I find it was also the common name for the Raja's accountants in the Kadattanad, Kottayam (Cotiote), and Chirakkal Rajyams.

KANAM.

From Dravidian *kanuka* (= to see) means now-a-days possession, mortgage or lease, but originally it meant supervision, protection.

Which, I think, is generally supposed to mean mortgage or pledge, must be construed to be the thing or consideration for which the mortgage or pledge is given, and it seems applicable only to lands, timber trees, and slaves. In Arabic the terms for the different incidents of mortgage are very distinct and precise. Murhoon is the thing mortgaged or pledged; Rahin is the mortgagee; Moortahin the mortgagor; and Mooblunghi Murhoon the money or consideration which is given for the pledge. Kanam corresponds with Mooblunghi Murhoon, or the money given, and Panayam with Murhoon, or the thing mortgaged. Panayam Eluttu is the mortgage writing or deed. Though the pattam or rent capable of being collected from the lands which is in the possession of the mortgagee is more than sufficient to pay the interest of the mortgage debt, yet it is generally calculated that the value of the pattam would, if sold, be not more than adequate to pay the principal. If the mortgagee retains more than his fixed share of the pattam for the payment of the interest of the debt, and neglects to pay the remainder to the Janmakkaran, he forfeits the land, which is instantly resumable by the Janmakkaran. It is supposed that the original intention of receiving the kanam was to secure the proprietor against the imposition or the neglect of the tenant, that it was to be considered that the pattam was permanent notwithstanding the representations of the tenant, whether true or false, of bad seasons and accidents. The principal of the kanam was not, therefore, more than equal to one year's pattam, and the proprietor thus provided against failure by having received the pattam in advance for a year. The introduction of the land-tax and the increasing necessities of the proprietors obliged them to involve deeper in debts and mortgages.

There is a great distinction to be observed between a mortgage and what is called kanam. A mortgage is the thing given for the security of the creditor for money borrowed of him. A kanam is an advance of rent made by a tenant to a proprietor for the security of the latter against failure in payment of the pattam. It was originally as much the custom for a tenant to have been a long time in possession of land, merely paying the simple pattam before he advanced money, as for him to acquire possession in consequence only of advancing the pattam money. The occupancy of the land, in short, sometimes preceded, and sometimes followed, the advance of money.

One of the six Pramanams or deeds of mortgage recognized in the Sastra.

Notes.—1. See Chapter IV, Section (a) of the Text, and *Pattam* and *Pattola* or *Pattamola* and *Proprietors* and *Keikkuli*.

2. Said to be the second of the six deeds culminating in *jannam*.

3. If no period be specified the mortgage is considered to extend to 12 years, and always so where a fee has been paid. The mortgagee has possession, recovering the interest of the money he has advanced from the produce of the land, and paying over the net profits to the landlord. Should he fail in the last respect, the amount is placed to the landlord's credit when the mortgage is paid off, allowance being made, on the other side, for any improvements which the mortgagee may have effected. Failure to pay over the net proceeds regularly to the landlord will not give the latter power to redeem his land before the expiration of the period stipulated (or that of 12 years), unless there be an express condition to that effect in the deed. Any attempt, however, on the part of the mortgagee to defraud the landlord and usurp the property will give the latter that power. Should the landlord desire to

raise a further sum of money on the land, and the mortgagee be unwilling to advance it, he may mortgage the property to a third party, who will be entitled to possession on paying off the sum originally advanced by the first mortgagee. The latter, however, has the option of advancing the required sum and remaining in possession if he pleases. Where the land has been mortgaged for a particular period, the landlord cannot interfere until the expiration of such period. Kanam mortgages are generally renewed at the end of the period fixed, the landlord receiving a fee; but there is no obligation on either side to renew them unless the landlord and mortgagee should be mutually desirous of doing so. Where the mortgagee discovers that the landlord has acted fraudulently in valuing the produce of the land, he is entitled to have the deed cancelled.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

4. The following are notes of some of the voluminous and conflicting decisions of the Courts on the various points connected with *kanam* and *kutikkanam*. The Courts, starting with an erroneous idea as to what *janmam* was have, in their endeavours to ascertain customs, been evidently making law instead of merely declaring it, and deciding by it.

(a) *Renewal*.—The payment of *keikkuli* fees (fine) is merely an accident of the contract, and when the *kanam* amount has been passed, all necessary acts will be presumed to have been done, particularly when undisputed possession has followed upon the demise.—S.S.C., 5 (1856).

“The payment or non-payment” (of the renewal fees) “is wholly irrelevant to the question of validity of the deed.”—S.S.C., 57 and 155 (1855). A suit for money advanced on account of renewal fees is not barred until three years from the date of the refusal to renew.—S.D.C., 69 and 182 (1876). A renewal is the making of a new, not a continuation of an old, contract.—S.S.C., 197 (1855). A contract to renew, of which the mortgagee might claim specific performance, is a sufficient answer to a suit for redemption.—S.D.C., 524 (1876), 644 and 650 (1877), 305, 572, 573 (1879). A tenant may forfeit his right to insist on specific performance of an agreement to renew by denying his mortgagor's title to a portion of the demised property.—S.D.C., 625 (1877). A contract to renew must, if in writing, be stamped, and if the consideration exceeds Rs. 100, and if the proper construction is that the whole amount is to be credited to renewal fees, it ought to be registered under Section 17, Clause 3, Act VIII of 1871. *Aliter*, if part of the consideration is for arrears of rent.—S.D.C., 126 (1876). The execution of the *kanam* and *kyehit* deeds and their registration is good evidence of oral agreement to renew.—S.D.C., 333 (1877).

(b) *Incidents*.—A *kanakkaran* creating a mortgage or *quasi-mortgage* of the *kanam* holding of which he is not owner “is to me a contradiction in term;” the *quasi-mortgagee* is simply a creditor.—S.S.C., 144 (1855). It is necessary for the security of a sub-mortgagee that he should make known his claims to the proprietor. By not doing so he renders himself liable to have his claim overlooked on a settlement occurring between the proprietor and the superior mortgagee, and for this the proprietor can of course not be held liable.—S.S.C., 103 (1844). A mortgagee cannot, by private arrangement with his mortgagor, prejudice the rights of the sub-mortgagee in possession. S.D.C., 346 (1878). Sub-mortgagees have no right as against *janmis* to hold for twelve years from date of sub-mortgage.—S.D.C., 180 (1851). No sub-*kanam* does exist. The *kanam*, with all its incidents attached to it, can only be cut out of a right superior to itself, and the only way in which a more *kanakkaran* can convey such a right is by selling that which accrued to him from the possessor of a *janmam* or *otti* right. He can also give his *kanam* right on simple mortgage.—S.S.C., 234 (1855). The *janmam* right can be sold while *kanam* right is outstanding.—S.S.C., 113 (1858). The contract is not complete till the deed has been properly delivered.—S.D.C., 626 (1876). “No *janmi* can, in less than twelve years, demand the restoration of his land by a *kanakkaran*, except in the case of the breach of express or implied covenants by such *kanakkaran*. Such a protection the custom of the country provides against the grasping avarice of proprietors, and it is only the strict preservation of this custom which can prevent this species of tenure from becoming a monstrous fraud, in which the weak will always be the prey of the strong.”—S.S.C., 398 (1854). So also in S.S.C., 63 (1855), and M.S.C., 154 (1855). A *janmi* has no power to enhance his demands during the currency (12 years) of a *kanam* lease.—S.S.C., 57 (1853). *Kanam* right is “an incorporeal right over the land, which may or may not be accompanied by physical possession.”—S.S.C., 441 (1855). If a *kanakkaran* has two claims, both must be settled before he can be ousted from the land.—N.D.C., 125 (1856); M.S.C., 22nd April 1858. The *kanam* amount cannot be apportioned piecemeal on the several parcels of land the possession of which constitutes the *kanakkaran's*

security.—S.S.C., 37 (1854). The kanam amount secured on several parcels of land cannot be apportioned among them: the kanakkaran may resist redemption and recovery till the whole of his kanam claim has been paid.—N.D.C., 380 (1868). So also "my money was advanced on the security of all the parcels, good, bad, and indifferent together, and until I get all back I shall not relinquish any."—N.D.C., 193, 216, 221 (1876); M.H.C., 611 (1877). In a suit by a janmi for damages for waste, the defendant's liability will depend on whether there has been any injury to plaintiff's reversion.—S.D.C., 116 (1876), 560 (1877). A janmi cannot attach and sell his kanakkaran's interest for arrears of rent if that interest has already been assigned by private sale.—S.D.C., 335 (1877). A kanam deed is not a lease for more than one year, and is not compulsorily registrable.—S.D.C., 353 (1876). An understanding as to how the increased fruitfulness of trees is to be brought to account in future demises does not make the tenure a permanent one.—N.D.C., 177 (1861). If land is taken back before the expiration of the lease, a portion of the fees paid at the commencement of the lease, proportionate to the time unexpired of the lease, is returned to the tenant, who, however, if guilty of breach of covenant, is not entitled to the return of such proportionate part.—N.D.C., 401 (1873).

(c) *Melkanam*.—"When there are two valid equitable titles, he who has got the legal estate shall prevail is a doctrine peculiarly necessary in a country like this." A man should not accept a kanam deed when the land is not in the possession of his demiser without sufficient enquiry into the demiser's title to give him possession, which was held in this case by a previous kanam demisee.—N.D.C., 38 (1860). If the janmi is unable to give possession, the remedy is by suit against him for return of the money.—2 M.H.C.R., 315. "These acceptors of kanam rights while other rights are outstanding are a pest to the country. The remedy for this hardship is the non-acceptance of kanam rights until it is in the power of the janmi to deliver the land."—N.D.C., 86 (1860). A first kanakkaran is entitled to the first chance of supplying his janmi's further needs. If this is not done, and even if, in the course of proceedings in Court, the first kanakkaran denied his janmi's title, the second kanakkaran has no cause of action, for asking a return of the land.—1 M.H.C.R., 13.

Semble: If the first kanakkaran denied his janmi's title before the date of the second kanam, it would not be necessary to give him the option of supplying his janmi's needs.—*Ibid*.

A melkanam is not wholly invalid, but will operate as an assignment of the equity of redemption although the time for redeeming may not have arrived.—S.D.C., 484 (1879). Whilst a prior kanam mortgage is outstanding and the document is in the hands of third persons claiming a lien thereon, a renewal of such mortgage is invalid.—S.D.C., 159, 743, 768 (1877). A melkanakkaran cannot oust a kanakkaran or his assignee before the expiration of 12 years from the date of the kanam.—M.S.C., 129 (1862).

(d) *Purappad*.—Rent tendered and refused, if of the proper amount; exempts the tenant from future claims for that amount.—S.S.C., 157 (1855). In deciding that a kanam tenant allowing the *purappad* to fall into arrears was not liable to be turned out, the High Court pointed out two ways in which the janmi can recover his *purappad*, viz., (1) by suing for it; or (2) by taking credit for it on paying off the kanam amount after the lapse of 12 years.—1 M.H.C.R., 112. In a suit for redemption of kanam, arrears of rent, the recovery of which is barred by the Statute of Limitations, may be set off against the mortgage money.—S.D.C., 426 (1876), 449 (1877). The principle of this is that the kanam is deposited as security for the rent, and that the mortgagor is entitled to an account of rents and profits.—S.D.C., 285 (1877). When no date is specified for payment of rent in kind the presumption is that the rent is payable in Kanni and Makaram. If the rent for one crop is specified, double the amount may be presumed to be a fair rent for two crops.—S.D.C., 370 (1877). It is usually the rule that 60 per cent. of the rent is payable in Kanni and the rest in Makaram.—S.D.C., 393 (1878). The words "Kanam free from the payment of rent" will not enlarge that kanam into an *ottu*.—M.H.C., 142 (1870).

(e) *Improvements*.—When a janmi rents a land, he must well know that the tenants cannot live thereon without a house, and, consequently, that they would, in conformity with established usage, build one. If the building is unnecessarily large, or in other respects informal, or not sanctioned, he ought to have put a stop to it; but the idea of making the renters pull it down and carry off the materials, since he tacitly consented to its being built, is absurd.—N.D.C., 55 (1843). The Sadr Court admitted an appeal to try "whether the tenant was entitled to the full value of the house," or "whether he has the option of either removing

the materials or receiving only their value," and confirmed the Civil Judge's decree allowing hire of labourers as part of the cost of the house.—M.S.C., 11 (1847). Tenants in North Malabar are entitled to Vettukanam, and the law encourages cultivation so much that even trespassers are entitled to it less one-tenth.—M.S.C., 32 (1872); N.D.C., 312, 315 (1873). Rupees 11½ per 100 porukkams (1210 to the acre) was taken as a fair price for converting pambra into rice-fields.—N.D.C., 283 (1874). The implied contract to pay for improvements is limited to agricultural leases.—S.D.C., 286 (1876). No compensation is claimable for improvements made prior to the date of the demise, unless specially reserved.—S.D.C., 627 (1877). All reasonable improvements must be paid for.—S.D.C., 156, 161 (1877). It is usual to apportion the compensation for improvements among the sub-tenants.—S.D.C., 170 (1878).

(f) *Forfeiture of Lease*.—The following have been held as reasons—

I. *Sufficient* for cancelling the lease before the expiration of the customary 12 years' period. Failure under improving lease (*Kulikkanam*, q.v.) to make reasonable improvements.—N.D.C., 68 (1859). Alteration of boundaries.—S.D.C., 75 (1853). Denial of janmi's title.—2 M.H.C.R., 161. Removal of foundation-stones of a ruined pagoda outside limits of holding, and from possession of which the tenant was specially shut out.—N.D.C., 82 (1844). Neglect to plant trees under improving lease (*Kulikkanam*, q.v.).—N.D.C., 62 (1875). "Acts to invalidate the lessor's title obviously operate the forfeiture of lease."—S.S.C., 191 (1854); N.D.C., 172 (1861). Destruction of a pond essential to irrigate the lands.—S.S.C., 157 (1855). Cutting down trees without janmi's permission.—N.D.C., 211 (1859). Fraudulent setting up of a different tenure to that given by the janmi.—N.D.C., 218, 219, 220 (1859). Failure to cultivate in a husband-like manner under an improving lease (*Kulikkanam*, q.v.).—N.D.C., 274 (1859). Fraudulent attempt to embarrass the janmi by a false dispute as to the boundaries of a portion of the holding.—N.D.C., 21 (1861). False claim of right larger than tenant really possessed.—N.D.C., 176 (1861). Denial of janmi's title by the assignee of a kanam right.—1 M.H.C.R., 14, 445. Neglect to cultivate.—N.D.C., 350 (1870). Cutting down fruitful trees without janmi's consent.—N.D.C., 386 (1872). Denial of janmi's title after institution by the janmi of a suit to oust.—2 M.H.C.R., 109. Express agreement to surrender on demand.—S.D.C., 566, 612, 621 (1876). 204 (1878); M.H.C., 278 (1879).

II. *Insufficient* for cancelling the lease before the expiration of the customary 12 years' period. Burial of a corpse.—N.D.C., 350 (1873). "Non-payment of purappad being a breach going only to a part of the consideration, should not in all principle be held to repudiate the contract."—N.D.C., 172 (1861). So also in 1 M.H.C.R., 112, and M.S.C., 84 and 111 (1862).

KANAKKARAN.

From *kanam* (q.v.) and Sanskrit *Karan* (= doer, or one who has to do with).

Mortgagee; the person who has lent the kanam.

KANAM-PURAM-KADAM.

From *kanam* (q.v.) and Dravidian *puram* (= the back, outside, beyond) and Dravidian *Kadam* (= debt, obligation).

This is an expedient for raising money on land already made over on kanam. It is quite a separate transaction, sometimes taking place at the time of the mortgage, in which case it is referred to in the kanam deed; at other times effected long after the mortgagee has come into possession. In the latter case the fact of the mortgage is alluded to in this deed, and the landlord engages to pay off both the mortgage and the loan together. The loan thus made gives the mortgagee an additional lien upon the property as security for the repayment of the loan. Where the new loan is added to the sum first advanced, and a fresh mortgage-bond is executed, the transaction is treated altogether according to the rules applying to kanam mortgages.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

KANDAM.

(Sanskrit) = piece of anything, land.

A division in rice-fields.

Note.—Perhaps this word meant originally a share of the *Tara* rice-fields held in common.

NILAM.

(Dravidian) = ground, soil, rice-field.

Which means particularly rice-land ; means also a field (answering to a stullum in the Carnatic) having a distinct name, and having many kandams or divisions of banks for the convenience of irrigation.

PADAM.

(Sanskrit) = range, especially of rice-fields.

UBHAYAM.

(Sanskrit) = in South Malabar, rice-fields.

ULPATTI.

(Sanskrit) = birth, origin, rice-fields.

Terms used in Malabar for rice-lands ; some of these terms are peculiar to some districts.

VAYAL.

(Dravidian) = rice-fields.

A large tract or sheet of paddy land.

KANDI.

(Dravidian) = gap in a hedge or fence, a piece of high ground.

A division used in garden lands only to express one paramba or garden. It is used when speaking of the number of gardens in an estate.

KAPPAM.

(Dravidian) = tribute, taxes. "

Equivalent to peishcush or tribute. The Rajas of the Northern Districts of Malabar agreed to give to the Bednore Government in 913 M.S. a kappam of 80,000 rupees.

KARALAN.

(Dravidian) = workers, agents, temple servants. Their office *Karayma* (ancient, *Karanmei*).

Is the agent or deputy for the uralan, or founder, in the management of the lands of Hindu temples.

Notes.—1. *Karayma* right is not proved to be a right of perpetual tenure of land ; it is equally consistent that it was a title to the perpetual performance of certain services for which certain payments were demandable.—N.D.C., 142-171 (1859). *Karayma* right is unsaleable—M.H.C., 120 (1867)—and indefeasible.—

M.H.C., 623 (1874). *Karalar* have no right to succeed *Uralar* on these becoming extinct. The right of appointing others "always did, and does still lie with the executive."—N.D.C., 1 (1860).

2. Lands made over by the trustees or managers of pagodas to those employed in performing certain offices therein are conferred on this tenure. So long as they fulfil their duties, the tenants are not liable to be ousted; to maintain an action of ejectment, therefore, it must be shown either that they have neglected their duties, which has rendered it necessary to employ other persons to perform them, or that they have endeavoured to set up a proprietary claim in subversion of that of the pagoda.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

3. For other and more ancient uses of this word, see pp. 110–13 and Chapter IV, Section (a) of the Text.

KARANAM or PRAMANAM.

Karanam (Sanskrit) = acting, organ, instrument, deed; *Pramanam* (Sanskrit) = measure, authority, proof, bond.

Generally means bonds and agreements of all kinds.

Note.—The six kinds of *Karanams* culminating in *Janmam* were, 1. *Kulikkanam*; 2, *Kanam*; 3, *Otti*; 4, *Ottikkumpuram*; 5, *Janmappanayam*; 6, *Janmam*.

KARAVEPPU.

From Dravidian *Kara* (= shore, river-side, bank) and Dravidian *Veppu* (= deposit, planting).

Plantations on elevated spots of ground, in contradistinction to *Attuveppu*, situated on low ground.

Note.—High-lying coconut gardens are divided in the revenue accounts into three classes of *Karaveppu*. See *Ur. Karaveppu* gardens are not unfrequently situated on the high banks of rivers and backwaters. See *Attuveppu*.

KATTAKKANAM also MUPPAPPANAM.

Kattakkanam, from Dravidian *Katta* (= lump, mass, clod) and *Kanam* (q.v.); also called *Kashtakkanam*, from Sanskrit *Kashtam* (= hard, bad) and *Kanam* (q.v.).

Muppappanam, from Dravidian *Muppan* (= old man, chief) and Dravidian *panam* (= money).

Is the acknowledgment or *Nuzur* paid by a cultivator to a proprietor for land he is allowed to cultivate. It is not an advance which is recoverable. It is not deducted from subsequent payments to be made, nor is any interest granted upon it; the cultivator pays the full established *pattam* besides. Its proportion to the *pattam* does not seem uniform. It means, literally, clod-money.

Note.—*Kattakkanam* is the tenure of a simple lessee who deposits in his *Janmi's* hands a sum of money as security (a) for due fulfilment of his lease contract, and (b) for payment of rent. It does not carry with it a right to hold for 12 years; the security is returned without interest at the end of the lease.—N.D.C., 18 (1874); S.D.C., 466 (1877).

KATTAVADI or KATTAKOL.

From Dravidian *Katta* (= lump, clod) and Dravidian *vadi* (= stick, staff) or Dravidian *Kol* (= staff, rod).

Literally, clod-breaker. The stick in Malabar, with a knob at the end of it, with which men and women break the clods in a field after it has been dug by the *mamutty* or spade.

KATTUVARAM.

From Dravidian *Kadu* (= jungle) and Dravidian *varam* (= share of produce).

A tax of two fanams upon every individual possessing land in a few Hobalis of the Temmalapuram District, where there is no regular Modan cultivation. It was intended as an equivalent for any cultivation which might be carried on in the Kad or jungle.

KAVALPHALAM.

From Dravidian *Kaval* (= custody, protection) and Sanskrit *phalam* (? Dravidian *palam*) (= fruit, produce).

Protection fund or compensation for protection.

KEIKKULI or SHILAKKAS.

From Dravidian *Kei* (= hand) and Dravidian *Kuli* (= wages) and from Dravidian *Shila* (= purse) or perhaps Sanskrit *Shilam* (= conduct, habit, character) and Dravidian *kasu* (= gold, copper coin).

A fee or fine or Nuzur of so many fanams on a Potippadu which the lessee or Verumpattakaran gives to the Janmi or proprietor upon the renewal of his lease. In Kaval Taluk, two Velli fanams, the Potippadu, is the rate fixed, which, calculating at the rate of 41½ rupees per 1,000 Idangalis, is supposed to add one-fourth to the Janmi's share in the year in which it is imposed. It is the extent of Shilakkasu which any land can afford that seems to give it a value in sale and purchase above its nominal value, or that at which the pattam is entered in account. Where this proportion is given, the lease is only for one year; where it is for four, it is equal to one year's pattam, that is, the full pattam is taken once in four years, being an equivalent for Polichcheluttu, though Keikkuli in the Southern Division answers to Shilakkasu in the Northern Division, where the transaction is a simple lease or Verumpattam. It is also applied in the Southern Division to land having already a mortgage upon it. It is taken in lieu of Sakshi, being in general the amount of one year's pattam.

Note.—See *Kanam* and *Pattola*.

KEIPPANAM.

From Dravidian *Kei* (= hand) and Dravidian *panam* (= money).

Note.—*Keippanam* property is property given on marriage (among Mappillas), which is returnable on termination of the marital state by death or divorce; to the widow if she survives, or to her children if she has died, or to the Taravad in absence of wife and children. The widow and children have a life interest independent of the Karanavan.—N.D.C., 60 (1874).

KEIVIDA OTTI.

From Dravidian *Kei* (= hand) and Dravidian *vida* or *vidatta* (= without leaving) and *Otti* (q.v.).

Is not a separate deed, but if the two first words are tacked to the Otti deed, it becomes a condition that the mortgagee can never be dispossessed, that the land can never go out of his hands, that the mortgage is irredeemable. *Kei* is "hand" and *vida* is "without letting go."

The following note is by an experienced Native Revenue Officer of the district :—

Notes.—1. This question is not settled as yet. I believe it has been decided both ways. The whole thing turns on the meaning of the expression. Above it is written കെരവിടാൻ, and interpreted accordingly. But some hold that the term is കെരവിടുക, and that the meaning is that in Otti of this description the landlord “relinquishes” in favor of the Otti holder his right, recognized in ordinary Otti cases, of taking from the garden mortgaged (if the property is a garden) a few coconuts and a jackfruit annually without asking for the permission of the tenant.

2. The balance of authority is in favor of a Koivida Otti being irredeemable. The mortgagee cannot, however, assign.—S.D.C., 578-629 (1878).

3. The landlord in this case relinquishes the power of transferring the property to a third party, and binds himself to borrow any further sum he may require only from the mortgagee. Should the latter decline to advance the amount, the landlord may pay off the mortgage and re-assign the property to another party.—(Proceedings of Madras Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856).

KERAM.

Canarese mode of pronouncing *Cheram*.

The Sanskrit name for the coconut fruit. A law is in existence in Malabar, contained in a book called Kera Kalpam, composed in the Sanskrit language but written in the Malayalam character, regulating the mode of planting coconut, betel-nut and jack trees, and the pepper-vine, and of settling the Kulikkanam.

Note.—Dr. Gundert's view is that *Keram* is the Canarese mode of pronouncing *Cheram*, i.e., *Chera* or Malabar, and hence applied to its chief fruit, the coconut palm.

KILAYIKURUJANMAM or KILAYIJANMAM.

From Dravidian *Kilu* = place below, under ;

From Dravidian *Ayi* = became ;

From Dravidian *Kuru* = part, share, class ; and

Sanskrit *Janmam* (q.v.).

A deed in use.

Note.—Means the right to the lower kinds of paramba produce when the higher (i.e., *Nalubhayam* or coconut, areca and jack trees, and pepper-vines) belong to another.

KODUNGA KATTI.

From Dravidian *Kodunga* (= bent) and Dravidian *Katti* (= knife).

The knife worn for defence by the Nayars of Malabar, fastened to a hook attached to a leathern girdle at the back of the body.

Note.—Also called *Ayudha Katti*, *Vettu Katti*, *Katti*, *Val*, Nayar knife, Mappilla knife, etc.

KOLICHCHAL.

(Dravidian) = falling.

Literally, fall. Is an allowance made by inspectors of pepper-vines for the quantity of pepper which is likely to fall off between the period of inspection and the season for plucking.

KOL.

(Dravidian) = staff, rod, measuring rod.

A pace (a native's), ten of which regulate the distance that ought to be observed in the original planting of coconuts; another is afterwards planted between the two original ones, when they have grown large, in order to supply their place when they decay.

KOL PEIMASI.

From *Kol* (q.v.) and Persian *Paimaish* (= measure, survey).

The survey which took place in 983 under Mr. Warden of the rice-lands by actual measurement in cawnies and goolies is so called; all other paimaishes in Malabar have been merely inspections without measurement.

Note.—The result of this *Pymaish* was embodied in what are known in the district as the Hinduvi, *i.e.*, Mahratta accounts. It is the only reliable account in the records, but even in regard to it the details, owing to the changes in names of fields and in holdings, are not always available for references. It refers to wet lands alone.

KOLULABHAM.

From Dravidian *Kolu* (= ploughshare) and Sanskrit *labham* (= getting gain, profit).

Kolu, ploughing, and *labham*, profit; or the profit of agriculture. It is the cultivator's share.

Is the cultivator's clear profit after deducting expenses under the name of *Vittu Valli*, or charges of cultivation. Out of the *Kolulabham* is reckoned, indeed, to pay the inconsiderable expense of *Eru Irumbu*, or cattle and iron. It is generally supposed that the *Kolulabham* is a third of the gross produce (deducting, always, 10 per cent for reaping), and that the *Vittu Valli* is another third. It may be so reckoned when the produce is above seven-fold, but within that the *Vittu Valli* comes to more than a third and encroaches upon the *Kolulabham*.

Notes.—1. "Besides the rent there is a cultivator's share, which is very valuable and which affords a comfortable subsistence to a family."—Graeme's Report, paragraph 1428.

2. "Taking the pattam to be four-tenths of the gross produce, the gross produce would be paras 19,204,887; to this again may be fairly added 20 per cent. ("the usual deduction," paragraph 1555) for the expence of reaping, for the fees of carpenters, smiths, and other petty proprietors denominated *Cheru Janmakkar*, and for portions of crops given up to slaves for watching, *which are never brought into any calculation of produce* and the gross produce would then be paras 23,045,865."—Graeme's Report, paragraph 1563.

3. See *Ennam*, *Patam*, *Cherlabham*, *Kudiyankur*, *Pandukkaval*, *Valli-vittu*.

KOLUPPANAYAM.

From *Kolu* (Dravidian) = ploughshare, and *panayam* (q.v.).

Notes.—1. Under this tenure, the mortgagee has only the right to cultivate the land. If no period be specified, the landlord is at liberty to pay off the mortgage whenever he pleases. This tenure prevails in the neighbourhood of Palghat as well as in North Malabar—(Madras Sadr Adalat Proceedings, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856).

2. In absence of a period fixed in the lease, it was held that a *Kolukkanam* lease was for 5 years, which had been the time fixed in the previous lease.—N.D.C., 248 (1877).

KOYILMENI or ENNIPADU.

From Dravidian *Koyil* (= hire of fruit-gatherer) and Dravidian *Meni* (= average). And from Dravidian *Ennuka* (= to count) and Dravidian *padu* (= authority).

Different modes in use of valuing or estimating the produce of coconut gardens. Koyilmeni means strictly the number of pluckings, or more generally the number of crops. After deducting the Sisu or young plants, and the Aphalam or those past bearing, it is estimated what the productive trees will yield with reference as well to their appearance as to the kind of soil—Attu Veppu, Kara Veppu, Pasima, etc. (in which they are classed by nature rather than by any public account or any written deed). It is estimated that the tree produces so many crops in the year and so many fruit for each crop. Eight crops (Ettu Koyil) of 7 fruit each (Elu Meni) are the highest at which a tree is rated in account, making altogether 56 fruits; but it is reported that there is one garden at Calicut whose trees have in general produced 64 fruits each.

The Ennipadu is the reckoning of the actual number of fruit growing in a particular year. There is supposed to be great enmity between the Janmi and the Kudiyan when this extreme measure is resorted to, and it is not common. When the estimation is fixed to take place, the Janmi gives notice to the tenant that he must not touch the fruit for a year, but allow it to remain on the trees. At the end of the year the Janmi counts the number there actually are, and fixes his pattam or share accordingly. In the present times the fear of the dishonesty of the tenant, who might make away with many of the fruit before the day of examination arrived is sufficient to deter Janmi from this unpopular mode.

KRISHI.

(Sanskrit) = ploughing, agriculture.

Seems the land under the direct management of proprietors or their stewards, also called Svakaryam Krishi.

KRISHIKKARAN.

From *Krishi* (q.v.) and Sanskrit *Karan* (= doer, one who has to do with).

Steward of Janmi, employed to pay the slaves of the estate and other domestic expenses.

KUDI.

(Dravidian) = house, hut.

A pair; applied to a slave and his wife in speaking of their price.

KUDICHILLARA.

From *Kudi* (q.v.) and Dravidian *chillara* (= sundries).

Tax on houses, shops, warehouses, and implements of the profession of blacksmiths, potters, oilmen, weavers, etc. Persons of these professions pay the house-tax as well as the tax on their implements. The Kudichillara amounts in Malabar to a revenue of Rs. 1,10,441-12-9 $\frac{16\frac{1}{2}}{25}$ and consists of the following items, viz., taxes on large houses, on small houses

and huts, on upper-roomed retailer shops, on retailers' shops, on petty retailers' shops, on warehouses in the bazaar, warehouses, in other places, on oilmen's mills, on carpenters' tools, on blacksmiths' anvils, on silver-smiths' tools, on grinders' stones, on sawyers' saws, on weavers' looms, on smiths' hammers, on smiths' shops, on potters' furnace, on brass-smiths' shops, on barber shops, on washermen's stones, on mud-wall bricklayers, on mat-makers' tools, on Pattom or Cherumars, on fishermen's nets, on fishermen's boats, on pack-bullocks, on brinjals, etc., on betel-leaf vendors, on grazing lands in Kanattil, on salt godowns belonging to salt-pan proprietors, on coconut safe, on chunam-makers' furnace, on Kangany, interest on Sircar land given on Kanam, Annakat or fees on tailor acting as barber, on teahtorum; total 37 items composing the Kudichillara. Supposing the tax upon the houses of the lower classes to be generally 2 fanams (new Viray) a house, it would take off the tax upon 25,000 houses to reduce the house tax revenue in the sum of 5,000 pagodas or 60,000 fanams.

Note.—The Mohturfa taxes were abolished in 1861.

KUDIPPAKA or KUDUPPU.

From *Kudi* (q.v.) and Dravidian *paka* (= separation, enmity).

Family or house feud or enmity. It is the common term to express the deadly hatred subsisting between two families. If a member of a family has been killed, his relations have been known to steep a cloth in his blood and vow never to lose sight of it till they have avenged his murder by the death of the murderer and the destruction of his habitation.

Note.—It was the custom to burn the body of the slain in the house of the slayer, which was of course also burnt. It was usual, however, to burn only an outhouse.

KUDIYAN.

(Dravidian) = inhabitant, subject.

Who pays revenue direct to Government, not less than one hundred and fifty thousand.—(Mr. Warden's letter to Board of Revenue, 16th June 1813, paragraph 77.)

Note.—The number of separate pattas issued or in force in Fasli 1290 (A.D. 1880–81) was 178,790.

KUDIYAN KUR.

From *Kudiyān* (q.v.) and (Dravidian) *Kur* (= share, portion).

Cultivator's share.

Note.—See *Kolulabham*, etc.

KUDIYIRIPPU.

From *kudi* (q.v.) and (Dravidian) *irippu* (= sitting, residence).

It is consideration of 2 fanams which before the land-tax a tenant used to pay to a proprietor for land taken for building alone.

Notes.—1. A *Kudiyirippu* temro carries with it power to build shops if the locality is suitable for the purpose.—N.D.C., 21 (1879). One who has obtained permission to build a house in a paramba, but not to enclose any portion of it, is liable to pay rent for use and occupation if he excludes the owner or his assignee from access to the trees.—S.D.C., 367, 382 (1877).

2. The payment was made as a token of fealty to the *Junmi*. The land taken was used for a garden as well as for building purposes.

KUDIYIRUMAPPADU.

From *kudi* (q.v.) and (Dravidian) *irikkuka* (= to sit, remain, be in a place), and (Dravidian) *padu* (= falling, falling into one's power, etc.)

Is a *muri* or document by which a Janmi who is entitled to receive *purappad* from a mortgagee assigns over the payment of it to a third person from whom he has borrowed money.

Note.—This is an agreement between a landlord and his creditor, according to which the latter agrees to receive the rent produce of land leased to a tenant in lieu of interest in money upon the sum borrowed by the landlord. Should any dispute arise between the landlord and his tenant, and should the latter in consequence refuse to deliver rent produce according to the landlord's deed of assignment, the creditor, can sustain an action only against the landlord.—(Sadr Adalat Proceedings No. 18, dated 5th August 1856).

KUDUMANIR or KUDIMANIR.

From Dravidian *Kuduma* = narrow point, crest, (top) or Dravidian *Kudma* (= tenantry) and Dravidian *nir* (= water).

The terms of the body of this deed¹ are the same as those in the deed of Attipper. The difference in the title alone shows a difference in the attributes. The proprietor acknowledges by this deed to have received the full value of the property, and the execution and delivery of the deed are attested by the same formalities as those of the Attipper deed. The word *Kudima*,² which means the condition or station of tenant, shows that the proprietor has still some proprietary right and that the mortgagee continues in the relation of *Kudiyar* or tenant. As a tribute of acknowledgment of proprietorship the mortgagee is bound to pay a sum of money, not exceeding two fanams or a half or a whole Tipree of ghee, which, and the periods of payment, are specified in the deed. Under this deed the proprietor has no power of redemption.

Notes.—1. See *Adima*.

2. The foot-notes to Mr. Grange's text are by an experienced Native Revenue Officer of the district.

3. In this case the land is made over in perpetuity to the grantee, either unconditionally as a mark of favour or on condition of certain services being performed. The terms *Adima* and *Kudima* mean a slave or one subject to the landlord, the grant being generally made to such persons. A nominal fee of about two fanams a year is payable to the landlord to show that he still retains the proprietary title. Land bestowed as a mark of favour can never be resumed, but where it is granted as remuneration for certain services to be performed, the non-performance of such services involving the necessity of having them discharged by others will give the landlord power to recover the land. The non-payment of the annual fee will form no ground for ousting the grantee, but it will be recoverable by action. The hereditary property of native princes cannot be conferred on this tenure, the ruling prince having only the right of enjoyment during life, without power to alienate.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856).

4. *Kudima Janmam* is the highest but one of the Malabar tenures; the land is never recoverable.—N.D.C., 285 (1862).

¹ *Adima* is more properly *Service Inam*. It used to be granted in favour of village artisans, washermen, and others who in return for the bulk of the rent of the land were bound to perform certain services. Sometimes it was likewise granted to Cherumars and other low caste people to enable them to bury or burn their dead in spots where the latter were not liable to be disturbed.

² *Kudima* used to be given by big Janmis to their dependents and others as building sites.

KULICHCHAKKARAN.

From Dravidian *kulichcham* (from *kuli* = hire, wages) = pay of Nayar militia, and Sanskrit *karan* (= doer, one who has to do with).

An armed servant or vassal of a Naduvali or Raja ; he is sometimes paid with land for his maintenance.

Note.—See *Adima*, *Kudima*, *Changngatam*.

KULICHCHEKAM.

Or *Kulichcham* (see *Kulichchakkaran*), from Dravidian *Kuli* (= hire, wages), means besides pay the honorable service of Nayars, especially in war. Military tournaments formerly in use among the Nayars.

KULICHCHEKAM or YAPANA or ANUBHOGAM.

Kulichchekam (q.v.) *Yapana* (Sanskrit) = livelihood, maintenance, provisions for soldiers. *Anubhogam* (q.v.).

Corruptly called *Chaikavam*, the terms used for lands given in free gift, that is, without rent to Nayars for the performance of military service when required.

Note.—See *Adima*, *Kudima*, *Changngatam*, *Anubhavam*.

KULIKKANAM.

From Dravidian *kuli* [= hollow, hole, excavation, pit (for planting fruit trees)] and *kanam* (q.v.).

Before the introduction of the land-tax the pattam used to be settled once in twelve years, and *Kulikkanam* allowed for young trees, and a deduction made for those that had gone to decay. This practice was observed even though the garden did not admit of any increase beyond the number originally planted. The tenant's business was to take care of the trees that were standing, but he was under no obligation to replace old ones with young ones without being paid the *Kulikkanam* money. Since the tax, wherever the proprietor receives regularly from the tenant the pattam and takes upon himself the payment of the public assessment, the settlement of the *Kulikkanam* and the pattam is conducted as before ; but where the assessment is entered in the name of the tenant, and he only pays to the proprietor the *Nikuti Sishtam*, or what remains after discharging the assessment, the system of *Kulikkanam* and pattam is generally relinquished. The tenant is responsible for the revenue ; he gets nothing from the proprietor for improvements, and he enjoys the undivided profits of them. The *Kadattanad Raja* is said to have made over all his garden lands to his tenants in this way, and no settlement of *Kulikkanam* and pattam has been made between them for many years. The chief condition of it is that the mortgagee is to be paid a certain sum for the trees he may grow in a garden, or the interest upon that sum, to be deducted annually from the pattam or rent in the case the principal is not paid. If the tenant who planted the trees is continued in the lease, the *Kulikkanam* money is only given for such trees as bear ; but, if he is to be dispossessed for another, the proprietor must pay it for the young trees also. This kind of tenure does not, I think, imply poverty in the Janmi. It is a good arrangement for ensuring the improvement of property by giving the tenant an interest in it. The general

price of a coconut tree is from 1 old to 4 fanams from 4 to 8; betel-nut trees 1 fanam, pepper-vine 4 rupees for vines capable of yielding 1 maund, and jack trees from 2 to 16 fanams each.

It is according to the Sastra and to ancient custom to plant coconut trees at the distance of forty feet from each other. It was then the practice to continue the tenant in possession who had planted the trees, but the Mappillas being now in the habit of turning out the original tenant as soon as the trees come to maturity and paying off the Kulikkanam money, the tenants now plant closer than they used to do in order to increase the number of trees upon which they are entitled to the Kulikkanam.

It is not customary to settle the Kulikkanam and the pattam for four or five years after the trees begin to bear. The tenant in this period enjoys the produce free of any payment to the proprietor, which, and the produce of Chama and the oil-plant for the first two years, make up the expense he has to sustain, as the compensation to him does not come to him till the latter period of his undertaking. A tenant who takes upon himself the planting of trees must possess a certain capital from which he can afford to advance the expense, or, at all events, he must be able to afford to labor unpaid for this period.

The Kulikkanam rates vary from one to four old gold fanams, or one-quarter to one rupee, but half a rupee is the most prevalent.

PANAYA-PATTA KULIKKANAM.

See *Panayam*, *Pattam* and *Kulikkanam*.

This is a deed¹ of mortgage executed by the mortgagor in favor of the mortgagee for plantations, and differs in no respect from that given for rice-lands, except that it promises to give the Kulikkanam, or the fixed value of the trees, and the Aliva, or the expense of preparing the garden, in conformity with the Desa Mariyada or custom of the village. In deeds² in use in the Northern Division of Malabar the rates of Kulikkanam for the different kinds of trees are specified. In the Panayapatta deeds, as well for rice as garden lands, the proprietor of the land has a right of Polichcheluttu, that is, to renew the deeds every twelve years; or, when the Janmi dies, his successor³ may demand the Polichcheluttu (or tearing up of old bonds and the making of new), by which he is entitled to a deduction Sakshi and Oppu and Suchi from the mortgage debt, or to receive the amount of it in hand from the mortgagee. It is understood that the proprietor has not the right of renewal within five or six years after the last renewal. There are two modes of settling the pattam on plantations, the Kulikkanam pattam and the Koyil⁴ Meni pattam: the first is where the pattam is fixed at one-fifth or 20 per cent of the Kulikkanam

¹ I have already said that Kanam sometimes means simply money. I believe Kulikkanam means digging money or hole-money, i.e., compensation for digging and planting the land. കുഴിപ്പണ expense.

² Sometimes the descriptions of trees in respect of which *alone* improvement value is claimable are likewise specified.

³ Obsolete.

⁴ Koyil = harvesting; meni = fold. Koyil meni = gross produce? The Kulikkanapattam is almost nominal, being fixed at a time when there are perhaps no bearing trees in the paramba. The practice is to lease out on a nominal rent in the first instance, and to continue to collect the same till the trees planted by the tenant have come into bearing. When this is done the custom is to value improvements, make the value a charge (kanam) on the paramba, fix a Koyil Meni Pattam, deduct therefrom the interest on the Kanam amount, and divide the residue between the Janmi and Government.

or established value of the trees, and the latter is where the produce is estimated and two-thirds of it determined to be the pattam. Under the Kulikkanam tenure the tenant or mortgagee is not answerable for any loss of trees or diminution of produce occasioned by mere neglect in not fencing the premises or not manuring the trees. No remission, however, is made in the pattam by the Janmi for loss occasioned by this cause. The loss the tenant himself thus sustains is a sufficient punishment to him. If, however, he does a positive injury by cutting down trees without the consent of the Janmi, he is answerable to him for their value; they are the property of the Janmi. The Kanam money may be forfeited *in toto*, or in part in proportion to the injury done. He is not however, responsible for the acts of the sovereign or the visitations of Providence, known by the name of Rajikam and Devikam. A tenant is entitled to the value of the Kulikkanam for every succession of trees which he plants, and if he throws up the garden, insisting upon this right the proprietor must pay, but much depends upon the relative situations of the proprietor and the tenant. If the latter has a good thing of the tenure, or from having no other residence it would be inconvenient for him to remove, he will submit to a modification of the right not quite so favourable to him. For instance, a tenant possesses a garden producing a pattam of 100 fanams; he plants more trees yielding a further pattam of 40 fanams. The pattam being a fifth of the Kulikkanam value, he is entitled to 200 fanams for the addition without any deduction for trees decayed of the original number. The loss from this cause being, however, 20 fanams of pattam, the proprietor deducts it and gives him credit for only 20 fanams in addition, that is, he gives him only 100 instead of 200 fanams to which he was entitled as Kulikkanam, but a remission is made for the pattam of trees decayed, and the future pattam is fixed at 120 fanams. He has the right to revise the pattam upon the tenant's demand of Kulikkanam for new trees, but if he anticipates an unfavourable result, he will decline any inspection of the trees upon which the pattam has been settled; he must, at all events, pay the Kulikkanam money. If a tenant is obliged to quit a garden on the motion of the proprietor, the proprietor must pay the full Kulikkanam of all trees, however young, and the tenant on notice of such a measure frequently introduces young trees for the purpose of getting the Kulikkanam money.

The Janmi has no right to revise a pattam after it has once been fixed except upon a demand of Kulikkanam for new trees, but all this depends a good deal upon the relative circumstances of the parties. Upon every Polichcheluttu or renewal of bonds the tenant has a right to demand a revision of the pattam, and if he has suffered from Devikam (the visitation of Providence, which comprehends losses by fire, lightning, storms, floods, etc.) or from Rajikam (the acts of a sovereign), he may claim remission or decline payment of the pattam. These losses must be supposed to exceed 20 per cent to come within the extent of these exceptions. Jack and mango trees are exclusively the property of the proprietor, and cannot³ be cut without his permission. The tenant is entitled to cut down all unproductive coconut and betel-nut trees.

Notes.—1. See Kanam.

2 The foot-notes to Mr. Græme's text are by an experienced Native Revenue Officer, Mr. P. Karunakara Menon.

¹ Doubtful. *Vide* note below.

² Not legally or customarily recognized at present as far as I am aware.

³ Nor, in my opinion, can the landlord do so without the tenant's consent.

3. The landlord contended that "whenever a Kulikkanam deed provides for no period, the ryot must give up the land when demanded," and that "if this be not allowed, the ryot (who is merely to receive his Kulikkanam improvements) and proprietor are placed on the same footing." The tenants contended "that it is not customary to resume parambas when no injury or arrear of rent is sustained." It was held that summary ejectment in the manner asked could not be granted.—Malabar Auxiliary Court, 43 (1843).

4. "The law only gives 12 years' possession to a Kulikkanam tenant."—N.D.C., 33 (1876).

5. In a Kulikkanam lease there was a clause to this effect: "If you plant these said four fruits and the coconuts bear fruit as is the usage, I will give a taragu, fixing rent after estimate of the produce." Held that the Janmi was entitled to take a full rent after the Kulikkanam lease was up, that is, after 12 years quite and sure enjoyment by the tenant, and that the tenant was obliged to give up the land at the end of the 12 years on receiving the value of his improvements.—N.D.C., 98 (1876).

6. A Kulikkanam lease is not forfeited by failure to pay rent; even though there is an express stipulation in the deed of lease, the tenant has a right to hold for 12 years.—N.D.C., 75 (1875).

7. Where no express period has been stipulated this lease is considered to run for 12 years, otherwise for such period as may have been agreed upon. At the expiration of either of these periods the landlord may either renew the lease to the same tenant, paying him the value of his improvements, which may also be invested as a mortgage, or he may satisfy all the tenant's claim upon the land for improvements, and may let the property to a new tenant. Compensation is allowed for buildings and fruit-producing trees and shrubs of every description. In the event of the tenant failing to reclaim the land, plant trees, and otherwise fulfil the conditions of the deed, he may be dispossessed by the landlord before the expiration of the period specified. The landlord may exercise a similar power in the event of the tenant setting up a fraudulent title to the land.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856).

8. Under this tenure the tenant binds himself to pay a stipulated rent, as well as to bring new land under culture. Failure in either of these respects, or any attempt to defraud the landlord of his title, will render the tenant liable to ejectment. If no period is named in the agreement the lease will be considered to extend to 12 years.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856).

9. A tenant cannot be disturbed under this tenure for 12 years, or during the period, if any, stipulated, unless he attempts to set up a claim subversive of the landlord's rights. Possessing a pecuniary interest in the property, he cannot be dispossessed for neglect to improve it.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856).

10. The customary payment for improvements was meant as payment for the Janmi's share of produce not as payment for the cultivator's interest in the land. See Chapter IV, Section (a) of the Text.

KUPPA MANYAL.

From Dravidian *Kuppa* (= heap of dirt, sweepings), and Dravidian *Manyal* (= saffron, yellow dye).

The Anotta or *Bixa orellana*. There is a great abundance of it growing wild at Quilandy, about 15 miles north of Calicut, without any kind of cultivation. The natural color of the juice of the seed, which is used as a dye, is yellow, for which purpose it is exported to Bombay. It is so easily procurable that no stock is laid in for exportation, but the coasting merchants pick it up as they find it growing in the lanes about Quilandy. The seeds are carried off without any preparation. They are used in Malabar as beads in necklaces by the Mappilla women and are called Mulla. The tree grows in hedges with little or no care within the precincts of the town of Tellicherry.

KURVALCHA.

From Dravidian *Kur* (= share) and Dravidian *valuka* (= to live, live well, reign).

Is the step or throne which the Rajas of Malabar ascend. It answers to Puttum in Tamil and to Musnud Tukht in Persian. *Kur* is share and *Valcha* is the management or government, implying that a Raja has come to the possession of the share of rank to which he is entitled by his seniority.

Note.—The term was always used in speaking of the share of Government entrusted to a subordinate prince of the ruling family.

KUTTADAN or MUNDAKAM.

A species of paddy sown within the bed of tanks in the Palghat District. It is sown in the middle of Chittreo (April), when there has been a little rain, and it grows afterwards during the monsoon in water, and is not cut till the middle of Tye (January), making a period of nine months for its growth.

The name of a rice which has only one crop in the year, and that crop is only cut in Makaram (January and February).

The names of paddy crop sown in Kumbham (February and March) and is eleven months before it comes to maturity. After the ploughing there is no expense of cultivation. The smallness of the expense of cultivation is mentioned as a proof that the Valli cannot be regulated by the number of meni produce.

Note.—The two names are not generally applied to the same kind of paddy; the former kind grows in salt marshes—planted April, reaped January. The latter is a rice of slow growth, reaped about January.

KUTTAM.

(Dravidian) = junction, assembly.

A collection of houses, consisting of 500 or 600 persons, six necessary for a Kartavu of 3,000.

Notes.—1. See pp. 132, 133 of the text. The *Kuttam* was evidently the "Six hundred" of Deeds Nos. 3 and 4, Appendix XII.

2. The *Kuttam* answered many purposes, e.g., *Nilalkuttam*, assembly under shade of a tree to discuss Tara affairs, etc., *Padakuttam*, for war; *Nayattukuttam*, for hunting; *Yogakkuttam*, for meditation; *Nadu-kuttam*, for arbitration.

3. In the Laccadive Islands there are periodical *kuttams* for killing the rats which infest the coconut trees. Any one absenting himself is fined.

4. The Honourable Mr. Hudleston has suggested that the *Koot* organization which gave so much trouble in Canara in 1832-33 was probably identical with the *Kuttam* of Malabar.

KUTTIKANAKKOLA.

From Dravidian *Kutti* (= stake, peg to mark limits) and Dravidian *kamakku* (= accounts), and Dravidian *Ola* (= palm-leaf, writing).

A kind of memorandum or register written upon the Karimbana palm or palmyra leaf, in which is recorded the Janmakaran's Pramanams or deeds with his tenants and the amount of the pattam share.

KUTTIKKANAM.

From Dravidian *Kutti* (= stake, peg, stump) and *Kanam* (q.v.).

Is the privilege of half a rupee or one rupee (according to local custom) to which every proprietor of a forest is entitled for every tree cut within the limit of his property. It means literally, stump money.

Note.—This is an arrangement by which the landlord assigns on mortgage a tract of forest land, receiving a stipulated fee for every tree felled by the mortgagee; the entire number of trees to be cut down, and the period within which they are to be felled, being expressly fixed in the *Karar* entered into between the parties. The mortgagee usually makes an advance and agrees to pay the balance by instalments. The non-payment of the stipulated instalments does not render the mortgagee liable to dispossession unless there be special clause in the agreement to this effect. The instalments may be recovered by action, but the mortgagee remains in possession during the period stipulated.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856).

KUTTINELLU or VELINELLU.

From Dravidian *Kutti* (= peg, stump, stake, in a fence) and Dravidian *veli* (= hedge, fence) and Dravidian *nel* (= rice).

Hedge grain; a contribution formerly made by Janmakars for keeping up fences against cattle, half of which contribution was taken and consolidated with the land revenue in 975 M.S. in the taluk of Kawai. It amounted to 16 Idangalis for every 100 of seed, or 8 of which were incorporated with the land revenue.

KUTTIVASI.

From Dravidian *Kutti* (= peg, stake, stump of a tree, hence what remains, balance) and Dravidian *vasi* (= excess, difference).

With the soft *t* it may be called the Nuffur Bakce, or balance against individuals.

KUVA.

(Dravidian) = arrowroot.

The Malayalam name for the arrowroot that grows in Malabar. It grows without cultivation, and is commonly eaten by the poorer classes boiled in water and mixed sometimes with *teire* (curds), and salt.

Note.—The different kinds in Malabar are *Anakkuva*, elephant arrowroot; *Channakkuva*, *Costus speciosus*; *Nyettikkuva*, *Curcuma augustifolia*, *Manyakkuva* and *Malankuva*, *Koempferia*; and *Manyalkkuva*, *Curcuma longa*.

MACLEOD SEER.

Macloed seer is 25 to a para of salt, or 3,000 to a garce. Of the Madras seers there appear to be 4,800 to the garce in measuring salt.

MADHYASTANMAR.

Plural of Sanskrit *Madhyastam* (= neutral person mediator, arbitrator).

Arbitrators answering to Panchayat, though the latter term is not known in Malabar. *Dharmakarta* is also used.

Note.—The *Karanavar* of the *Pura* answered to the village Panchayat of Eastern districts. See *Paravattu Karanavar*.

MALIKANA.

(Persian)—what is due to the *Malik* or proprietor when set aside from the management of his estate, allowances to deposed Rajas.

Which is a Bengal term implying the fee or privilege of the proprietor, and was originally applied to the allowance made to the Bengal Zamindar in concluding the permanent settlement; means in Malabar the fifth or 20 per cent. of a fixed revenue of their former countries which the dispossessed Rajas of Malabar receive from the Company.

Note.—The allowances are calculated on the revenue of 1800-1.

MANIYANI.

(Sanskrit) = manager of estate on behalf of the Janmi.

POLUTTIKKARAN.

A Malayalam corrupt form of—

PRAVRATTIKKARAN.

From Sanskrit *Pravatti* (= occupation, business) and Sanskrit *karan* (= doer, one who has to do with).

Stewards or managers for Janmis or proprietors on estates or fields kept under their own direct management.

Note.—The officers who collect the revenue from ryots in Cochin and Travancore are called *Pravratikars*.

MANNATTAPPAN.

From Dravidian *Mannadi* (= immigrant landowners in Palghat) and Dravidian *appan* (= father).

A caste of Vellalars or cultivating Sudras residing in certain Hobalis of the Palghat Taluk, who are said to have come from Kangayam in the Coimbatore province, and who are now so intermixed with the Nayars as not to be distinguished from them except when a Tiyan addresses them and gives them this appellation instead of Nayar. In Kangayam they are called Mannadi.

MAPPILLA.

From *Ma*, that is, Sanskrit *Maha* (= great) and Dravidian *pilla* (= child, honorary title).

A tribe of Mussulmans in Malabar whom Europeans call Mappillas. They are supposed to be descendants of the Arabs who first settled on the Malabar Coast, and in some families the inheritance by nephews, instead of sons, is observed, the same among the Nayars, but generally the succession is by sons. Some derive the name from *Ma*, mother, and *pilla*, son, implying that they are the sons of their mothers, but that their fathers are unknown in consequence of the promiscuous intercourse between the first Arab settlers and the Native women of Malabar. Others, from *Makkal*, daughter, and *pilla*, son, literally, but meaning son-in-law, that is, son to the man whose daughter he has married. *Makkalpilla* is usually pronounced *Mappilla*. *Makkalpilla* is the common word for son-in-law in Tamil. *Mokhaepilla*, or people from *Mokhacc*, as *Mocha* is usually pronounced, is another derivation. The Rajas, in writing

to a Mappilla, designate him Jonakan, and they are often called Jona Mappillas. The Nestorian Christians are called Nassrani Mappillas. The number of Mappillas in Malabar, according to an account taken in 1807, amounts to 172,600.

Notes.—1. Dr. Gundert's view is that *Mappilla* was an "honorary title given to colonists from the West, perhaps at first only to their representatives." The name is not confined to Muhammadans.

2. The number of Mappillas (Muhammadans) in Malabar at the census taken in 1871 was 546,912.

MARICHAM.

(Sanskrit) = pepper.

The Sanskrit name for the pepper. The Hindustani word *mirc* is evidently derived from it.

MARYADA.

(Sanskrit) = limit, boundary, custom.

Which in Tamil means honor, respect; signifies in the Malabar province the custom, the usage, and corresponds exactly with the Hindustani word *mamool*.

MELKKOYMA.

From Dravidian *mel* (= above) and Dravidian *konma* or *koyma* (= royal authority).

Note.—*Melkkoyma* was the right the sovereign power possessed over property of which the ownership was in others. Malabar Rajas not now being sovereigns have no longer *Melkkoyma* rights.—N.D.C., 118 (1861).

MENAVAN or MENON.

From Dravidian *mel* (= above), and Dravidian *avan* (= he).

Is the accountant or register, and answers to Karnam and Kanakkapilla (Conicapoly). The appellation is generally, if not always, confined to an accountant of the caste of Nayar.

Note.—The accountants of Amsams (parishes) are now styled *Menons*.

MENI VILACHCHAL.

From Dravidian *Meni* (= body, shape, sample, average article), and Dravidian *vilachchal* (= produce of corn).

Means in one case the number of fold. If you ask the *Meni Vilachchal*, or produce of an extent of land requiring so many paras of seed to sow it (in a single crop), it is usual to state the *Vilachchal*, or produce, of the best crop, and not the aggregate of the different crops. For instance, the first crop may produce 8 paras, the second 10, and the third 6: instead of saying 24, the answer would be 10.

It means also the gross produce. The number of fold produced from one para of seed land (or land which requires one para to sow it for a single crop) is about 5 1/4 in the province of Malabar upon applying the total gross produce (15,571,268 paras) to the total seed sown (2,638,163

paras) according to the accounts rendered by the Janmakars in 981. The assessment being proposed to be regulated on the principle of deducting seed and the same quantity under the name of Vittuvalli or expense of cultivation, and also one-third for the cultivator, and dividing the remainder in the proportion of 6 in 10 to the Sircar and 4 in 10 to the Janmi, the Government assessment comes to $\frac{8}{16}$ of a para for every para shown, or about 26 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of the gross produce.

Note.—The distribution of wet land produce, according to the scheme drawn up by Mr. Rickards and approved by Government (1803-4), is known as the *Vikachchal meni pattam* (q.v.) scheme.

MENNOKKI.

From Dravidian *mel* (= above, and Dravidian *nokkuka* (= to look at, view, look after).

The common name formerly for accountants in the Kurumbranad and Polwe and Pyrmala Districts and in the Kartavus or lordships of Vadakkampuram, and Kilakkampuram, or the Northern and Southern Divisions of the Calicut District.

MODAN and PUNAM.

Mean generally high lands where a particular kind of paddy is capable of being cultivated, and where the oil-plant and millet and toor are also planted. In the Northern Division that land only is called Punam in which there is a great deal of underwood, and which can only be cultivated once in six years; and that Modan which is high land, but not overgrown with wood, and capable of being planted with coconut, etc., trees; but in the Southern Division Modan is the only name and Punam is not known. The Punam is never ploughed, but always dug. The plough could not make its way through the roots of the underwood. The seed is sown, or rather placed in the holes dug, dry and not sprouted.

Rice sown on high orchard land.

Note.—*Modan* cultivation is now assessed at a uniform rate of 12 annas per acre in the low-country taluks, and *Punam* cultivation at rates varying from 8 annas to 12 annas per acre. The assessment is imposed only on the breadth of ground annually occupied.

MRIGAM NALKKALI.

Mrigam (Sanskrit) = quadrupeds, wild animals. *Nalkkali* (Dravidian) = quadrupeds, tame animals.

Four-footed animals. In the Southern Districts of Malabar a permanent allowance has, by ancient custom, been made by proprietors in fixing the pattam for estimated losses by animals, whilst in the Northern Districts no allowance was made for this and other items, such as Veli Nelli; but the proprietors take upon themselves the expense of protecting their fields from cattle and pay it out of their pattam, each contributing so much to one or more persons appointed to watch a particular tract.

MUDA.

(Dravidian) = load, bale.

Means, literally, a fastening, or bundle, or package. It is applied to the packages in a circular form, like a Dutch cheese, fastened with

whisps of straw, in which rice is made up in the south of Malabar and Canara. It is uniformly of the same size, containing 25 Macleod seers. In the Sea Custom accounts the Muda of rice is reckoned at 81 lb. and of paddy at 55 lb.

MUKHYASTHAN.

From Sanskrit *mukhyam* (= chief, principal) and Sanskrit *stham* (= staying).

Is quite a modern term, introduced since Hyder's invasion, in lieu of the Taravattukarar or heads of villages. Though it may be derived from the Sanskrit word *Mukhyam* or chief, it is doubtful whether Mukhyasthan, which was unknown in Malabar, was not an imitation of the Persian word *Mokhtusir*, which was common in the Mysore durbar and means a person of authority, a chief.

Note.—Mr. Græme, contrary to other observations made by him, here alludes to the Taravattukarur as being the heads of villages. See *Tara* and *Ur*, and *Muthyasthanmar* and *Taravattu-karanavar*.

MUKKATAVALI.

From Dravidian *munnu* (= three) and Dravidian *Kalam* (= about five English miles, a league), and Dravidian *vali* (= ruler).

The limit of the jurisdiction of a Kartavu of 3,000 men, extending to 3 Katam.

MUKKUVAR.

From Dravidian *mukkuka* (= to dip, immerse, plunge) and Dravidian *avar* (= they).

A tribe of fishermen in Malabar whom Europeans call Mucquas; their number, according to an account taken in 1807, was 12,369.

Note.—" Said to be immigrants from Ceylon with Ilavar " (c.v.)—*Gundert*.

MULLUVALLI.

From Dravidian *mullu* (= thorn) and Malayalam *valli* (= proper subsistence given in kind to slaves or day-laborers).

Literally, thorn expense, the expense of taking care of plantations. It is synonymous with Ali Silavu.

MUNNU or NALU MENI NILAM.

Munnu (Dravidian) = three; *Nalu* (Dravidian) = four; *Meni* (Dravidian) = average; *Nilam* (Dravidian) = rice-field.

A paddy-field requiring only one para of seed and capable of producing three and four fold.

MURI.

(Dravidian) = a fragment, note, bond, receipt.

A receipt.

MUTIRA.

(Dravidian) = horsegram.

Horsegram, answering to Kollu in Tamil, Kooltee in Hindustani.

NADUVALI.

From (Dravidian *Nadu*) = the country, a (province) and Dravidian *valuku* (= to live, to live well, rule).

He was not considered a Naduvali who had not at least 100 *Nayars* attached to his range; any number below that ranked a person as a Desavali.

Notes.—1. See *Desam* and *Tara*, and *Kuttam*.

2. Mr. Græme is here referring to the modern idea of a *Naduvali*. In ancient times the *Nad* was the territory of the Six Hundred, of the *Kuttam*, of the *Kanakkar*, supervisors, protectors, Nayar militia.

NALUBHAYAM.

From Dravidian *nalu* (= four) and Sanskrit *ubhayam* (= garden produce in North Malabar).

Means the four products, and is applied in the Northern Division of Malabar to the produce, collectively, of the coconut, the betel-nut, the pepper and the jack tree.

Note.—The fifth in degree of importance was the *Kodi*, betel-leaf vino.

NAMBIYAR.

Honor, plural of Dravidian *nambi* (= a title among Nayars).

A caste of Nayar; the caste is distinguished by this termination to their name.

NAMBUTIRI or NAMBURI.

From Dravidian *Nambuku* (= to trust, confide) and Sanskrit affix *tiri* (= *tiru* = *sri* = blessed, fortunate).

A Brahman of Malabar.

NAYAN, plural NAYAR.

(Sanskrit) = leader, in honorific plural, lord; in ordinary sense, soldiers, militia.

A caste of Hindus in Malabar classed among the Sudras; their number, from an account taken in 1807, was 156,283. Among Nayars nephews, and not sons, are entitled to succeed to property. This material point being established, the law of shares among relations follows in other respects the general Hindu law of succession. There are some Nayar families in Travancore who circumcise. The origin of this custom does not seem clearly known. There is some faint tradition that there was a forcible, but partial, circumcision of natives of Malabar by people from Arabia long before Hyder's invasion. The word Nayar has much resemblance to the Gentoo word *Nayadu*, to the Canarese and Tamil *Nayakkan*, and to the Hindustani *Naig*; all titles of respect, applied in the manner that *Sahib* is at the end of a name.

NIKUTI CHITTU.

NIKUTI or NIKUTI, from Arabic *nagdi* (= ready-money) or Canarese *nigadi* (= instalment) or Sanskrit *niiti* (= right, proportion, law, justice), means the land-tax payable in money introduced by the Muhammadans (Mysoreans).

CHITTU (Dravidian) = note, bill.

A document given by the Sircar to every person who is to pay the Nikuti or public revenue showing the annual amount of Nikuti he is to pay.

NIKUTI SISHTAM.

Nikuti (q.v.) *Sishtam* (Sanskrit) = balance.

Is where the Kudiyan gives to Janmakar in pattam whatever remains in the pattam after paying the Nikuti.

Different ways in which it is settled in the districts south of the Kotta river, viz. :—

Suppose in the Sircar accounts the land is entered at paras	25 seed.
that according to the rate of assessment fixed in the time of Arshad Beg, viz. .. gold fanams	3
the assessment is originally gold fanams	75
to which is added 1 in 10 augmented in the time of the Rajas, and become the permanent assessment	7½

The Total Assessment is .. 82½

Suppose the total pattam to be paras	100
an agreement has passed between the Janmakar and Kudiyan that the grain shall be valued at gold fanam ..	1

Total Gold Fanams .. 100

The Sircar assessment is to be deducted .. 82½

There remains Nikuti Sishtam to be given to the Janmakar	17½

Kanam is to be deducted when there is any.

Another way—

The total pattam is fanams	100
The interest is to be deducted upon 200 fanams principal of Kanam or debt at the rate of ½ in 10.	10
There remains	90
of which 2 in 10 is to be given to the Janmakar or.	18

NIKUTI VITTU.

Nikuti (q.v.). *Vittu* (Dravidian) = seed.

Is the quantity of seed assessed in the time of Hyder by the Huzzur Nikuti accounts. It is in contradistinction to the Vittu, which is the seed required to sow the land for one crop.

Note.—In Wynad also the actual seed sown is not always shown in the accounts.

NIRMUTAL.

From Dravidian *nir* (= water) and Dravidian *mutal* (= property, money).

Is a compound of Nir, water, and Mutal, property; figuratively it means that additional property or security is acquired to the mortgagee by a pledge given by the proprietor that he will perform the ceremony of giving water to the mortgagee. It is a kind of mortgage, without possession, of the additional right which the act of giving water confers. After the execution of this deed, the proprietor cannot transfer the land to another without the express consent of the mortgagee. It is still, however, in his power to redeem the mortgage by payment of the debt. At this stage of the mortgage the proprietor has generally received 10 per cent upon the sum specified in the deed of Otti in addition to that which he had received under the deed of Ottikkumpuram. The amount of the debt, but not the pattam, is specified in this deed.

Note.—When the landlord requires to borrow a still further sum on the security of land assigned to an Otti mortgagee to whom he has already executed an Ottikkumpuram deed, he is bound first to apply to such mortgagee, and if the latter should consent to make the required advance, the landlord gives him a Nirmutal document, by which he makes over to him all but the right of water. Such further advance is recoverable with the amount of the original mortgage, the Otti claim being, in fact, merged in the Nirmutal deed. In this case, as in that of an Ottikkumpuram transaction, if the mortgagee decline to make the advance, the landlord may obtain it from a third party, who satisfies the claim of the original mortgagee and comes into possession. In any of the three cases last mentioned the landlord is at liberty at any time to pay off the mortgage and redeem his property.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856).

NOKKICHARTTA or NOKKIYELUTTA PEIMASI.

From Dravidian *Nokki* (= having looked) and Dravidian *chartta* (= assessed) or Dravidian *Elutta* (= written). *Peimasi* — (Persian) *Pymaish*.

Terms in use for survey. The latter seems to have been introduced only in Tipu's time. The surveys, except what was made by Mr. Warden in 1783, are not to be understood as meaning an actual measurement of the land by square feet, but merely a calculation of the quantity of seed necessary for sowing with respect to paddy, or an inspection of the number and a valuation of the produce of trees with respect to orchards.

OART.

Used in the Commissioners' correspondence of 1793 for garden. The Portuguese word is Horta, and its origin is evidently from Hortus.

OPPU.

From Dravidian *okka* (= together, all), means agreement, and hence a signature as the mark of agreement.

Is the signature. A fee upon one of the parties signing a new mortgage-deed respecting land.

OTTI.

From Dravidian *Otta* (= one, single), hence *ottuka* (= to step aside, make room for another) and *otti* (= the stepping aside to make room for another, or, perhaps, the substitution of one thing for another).

In former times the Otti deed was scarcely ever executed before the Pattola deed. It was the consequence of the mortgagor becoming involved in a greater degree than when he first incurred the debt to the mortgagee. It is a deeper stage into debt. In the present times it is very usual for persons to borrow to that extent at once, without going through the preliminary step of Panaya Pattam to render it necessary to execute the Otti deed.

In this deed the amount of the debt only is specified and not the pattam or rent. In this stage of mortgage the interest of the debt is equal to the annual pattam, and the mortgagee pays no pattam to the proprietor. It is also called Veppu (in Palghat) and Palisa Madakku (in Nedunganad and Walluvanad), which latter term is expressive of this characteristic feature.

The mortgagor under this deed and under the subsequent deeds, which indicate advanced stages of the mortgage, is not entitled to policheheluttu and its concomitant advantages, Sakshi, etc., etc.

He is considered to have already received two-thirds of the value of his mortgaged land, and to be entitled to one-third more before he has relinquished his proprietary right.

Though this and other deeds have certain defined rules, it must not be understood that they are rigidly observed with respect to the proportion to the whole estimated value of the Janmam or proprietary right which should constitute it to be one kind of deed or another, but the particular sums to be given will be exceeded where the quality of the land and the great demand on the part of others may render the mortgagee apprehensive of losing possession, and in other cases the Janmi may not get so much as is supposed in these explanations.

Under this deed, as the proprietor receives no rent from the land, he must be considered to have lost all interest in it, and to be wholly inefficient for the purpose of improving it; he is no longer even a pensioner upon it.

Notes.—1. This tenure gives the mortgagee possession and the entire produce of the land, the landlord merely retaining the proprietary title and the power to redeem. Where no period has been stipulated, the landlord may pay off the mortgage at any time. The principal alone is repayable, the mortgagee recovering the interest of his money from the produce of the land. If the landlord be desirous of raising a further sum and the Otti mortgagee refuse to advance it, the money may be received from a third party and the mortgage transferred to him. But the original mortgagee has a right to be first consulted.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sudr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

2. The following are some of the decisions of the Courts. An Otti holder, like a Kanakkuran, forfeits his right to hold for 12 years by denying his Janmi's title.—2 M.H.C.R., p. 161. An Otti holder is entitled to the first chance of supplying his Janmi's deeds for further loans.—M.S.C., 17 (1860); M.S. decisions (1860), p. 249. The words "Kanam free from the payment of rent" will not enlarge that Kanam right into an Otti right.—M.S.C., 142 (1870). Until the Otti holder refuses to purchase it the Janmam right cannot be sold to another person.—S.S.C., 344-358 (1855). The offer to sell the Janmam right must be "at a reasonable rate."—N.D.C., 64 (1859). A Janmi can at any time call on an Otti holder to purchase the Janmam right, and, on his refusal, he can sell his rights to whom he pleases. M.S.C., 30 (1857). To grant land on Janmam to a third party without the Otti holder's consent is directly at variance with the general usage of the country.—S.D.C., 135-155 (1854). The Otti holder is entitled to the refusal of the opportunity of making a further advance—M.S.C., 17 (1860) and 1 M.H.C.R., p. 356. The right to hold for 12 years probably attaches to an Otti.—N.D.C., 28 (1862); M.H.C., 380 (1862). The difference between a Kanam and an Otti pointed out: the latter includes (a) the right of pre-emption of Janmam, and (b) Janmi's right is reduced to a mere pepper-corn rent.—M.H.C., 101 (1862).

DRAVYAM.

(Sanskrit) = object, movable property, money.

The amount of Otti received by the Janmi when giving his property under the tenure of Otti.

OTTIKKUM PURAMEYULLA KANAM.

(Literally) the Kanam which is in addition to the Otti.

May be considered the third stage of mortgage. The mortgagor has borrowed 10 per cent more than the sum he had received when he executed the deed of Otti. The deed specifies the amount of debt with this addition, and makes no allusion to the pattam. The mortgagor is as little entitled to Polichcheluttu, Sakshi, and Suchi under this as under the deed of Otti.

If the mortgagor should pay off the mortgage debt, he must also under this deed, and under all the deeds executed at subsequent stages of the mortgage, pay the interest of the additional 10 per cent from the time he borrowed it, with this qualification, that it does not exceed double the amount of the principal from which it sprung.

Ottikkumpuram means above or beyond the Otti.

Under this deed the mortgagor has still the power of transferring the property to another or recovering the possession for himself by redeeming the debt.

The addition to the Otti deed which makes this deed called Ottikkumpuram is not necessarily limited to 10 per cent. The mortgage retains this denomination till it becomes deep enough to be classed under Nir-mutal.

The amount of the debt, but not the pattam, is specified in this deed.

Note.—When the landlord wishes to obtain a further sum he applies to the Otti mortgagee, and on receiving it executes this deed to him, in which he binds himself to repay the amount at the same time that he pays off the mortgage. The mortgagee must always have the option of making such further advance, but if he decline, the landlord may apply to a third party and assign the property to him, the latter paying off the claim of the original mortgagee.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.).

PALISA.

(Malayalam) = interest on money, distinct from interest on rice (= Polu, or Palisa).

Interest. The subjoined are the denominations of the different kinds of Palisa and the meaning of them in the Southern Division of Malabar, not including Palghat and Temmalapuram, where the Janmakar's and tenants' pattam rate is one gold fanam for 2 paras. In the Northern Division it is generally 2 silver fanams for 1 para, but in Kavai alone it is 1 silver fanam for 1 para. The terms of interest which in this table indicate so many years' purchase for the Southern Division generally have not the same meaning in the Northern Division or in the Palghat and Temmalapuram Districts of the Southern Division, for which there ought to be a separate table.

Rice Lands.

Names for the different species of interest.		Number of Idangalis to be given as interest a year for every fanam.	Amount of the interest a year on a principal of 100 fanams.	Number of Idangalis established from ancient usage as the average price per fanam.	Number of Idangalis according to this rate per 100 fanams.	Centage interest on the principal.	Number of years' purchase or number of years in which the simple interest or the pattam will equal the principal.
No.		PS. Ys.	PS. Ys.	PS. Ys.	PS. Ys.	PS. AS.	YRS. MOS.
1.	Makani (lit. $\frac{1}{16}$) Palisa.	0 16	0 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 or 10	100 or 1,000	0 10	160 0
2.	Arakkal (lit. $\frac{1}{8}$) Palisa.	0 8	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	100	1 4	80 0
3.	Kal (lit. $\frac{1}{4}$) Palisa.	0 4	2 5	1	100	2 8	40 0
4.	Ara (lit. $\frac{1}{2}$) Palisa.	0 2	5 0	1	100	5 0	20 0
5.	Mukkal (lit. $\frac{2}{3}$) Palisa.	0 3	7 5	1	100	7 8	13 4
6.	Nor (lit. full) Palisa.	0 1	10 0	1	100	10 0	10 0

The Makani Palisa is a hundred and sixtieth part paid in interest for the principal.

The Arakkal Palisa is one-eightieth	do.	do.	whether in paddy lands or plantations.
The Kal Palisa is one-fortieth	do.	do.	
The Ara Palisa is one-twentieth	do.	do.	
The Mukkal Palisa is a thirtieth or one-third	do.	do.	
The Nor Palisa is a tenth	do.	do.	

Remarks.— No. 1. May be explained to be an interest of one-sixteenth of every Idangali pattam for every fanam borrowed, or (taking the settled price of 10 Idangalis a fanam) one hundred and sixtieth part of the principal, or 160 years' purchase, or $\frac{1}{16}$ per cent. This explanation applies to the Palisa upon paddy-fields. In plantations it is customary to refer its relation to every 10 fanams borrowed. A Makani Palisa is one-sixteenth, to be paid in interest of one fanam pattam for every ten fanams borrowed. Its centage, number of years' purchase, and proportion to the principal, are the same as in paddy lands.

No. 2 (Blank.)

No. 3. After deducting the proportion for the assessment, this rate of interest prevails in some places.

No. 4. After deducting the proportion for the assessment, this rate is the most prevalent.

No. 5. Not in use before the introduction of the land assessment, but now in some places it prevails inclusive of the Nikuti.

No. 6. Not in use before, but now is in use inclusive of the assessment. When the assessment is half the pattam, the Nor Palisa, including the Nikuti, is equivalent to the Palisa exclusive of the Nikuti.

Plantation.

Names of different species of interest.	Amount of the interest a year for every 10 fanams borrowed.	At this rate amount of the interest a year on a principal of 100 fanams.	Centage interest on the principal.	Number of years, purchase or number of years in which the simple interest or the pattam will equal the principal.
	FANAMS. AS.	FANAMS. AS.	FANAMS. AS.	YEARS. MONTHS.
Makani ($\frac{1}{10}$) Palisa.	0 1	0 10	0 10	160 0
Arakkal ($\frac{1}{8}$) Palisa.	0 2	1 4	1 4	80 0
Kal ($\frac{1}{4}$) Palisa . .	0 4	2 8	2 8	40 0
Ara ($\frac{1}{2}$) Palisa . .	0 8	5 0	5 0	20 0
Mukkal ($\frac{3}{4}$) Palisa.	0 12	7 8	7 8	13 4
Ner (full) Palisa .	1 0	10 0	10 0	10 0

TIKAPPALISA.

From Dravidian *Tikayuka* (= to become full, complete) and *Palisa* (q.v.).

With respect to plantations has the same meaning as Ner Palisa in regard to rice-lands. It is the full interest or 10 per cent., that is, it is 10 fanams given in purchase for every fanam pattam (rent). It is the highest interest on land recognized by custom; any excess above it would be usury.

KADAMVAYPA.

From Dravidian *Kadam* (= debt) and Dravidian *vaypu* (= growth).

Rate of interest observable in loans of money, in contradistinction to the interest on land mortgage loans, which is much lower, but in Ernad and Vellatra many Janmakars have been obliged to borrow part of the money upon which their land is mortgaged on the terms of the Kadamvaypa.

PALISA MADAKKAM.

From *Palisa* (q.v.) and Dravidian *Madakkam* (= return).

Used in Palghat.

The chief feature of this deed¹ is that the interest of the money borrowed is equal to the value of the pattam in the possession of the mortgagee, and in this respect it exactly resembles the Otti deed. In it, however, the pattam is specified (which is not the case in the Otti deed) as well as the amount of the debt.

It is rather more favourable to the Janmakar than the Otti deed, because, as long as the mortgage has not reached the point of Otti, the Janmakar is at liberty² to raise his terms, and the specification of the

¹ Otti and Palisa Madakkam are one and the same, at present at all events.

² The distinction is scarcely maintained at the present time.

pattam gives him the means of doing it. Under the Otti deed the knowledge of the pattam is lost in former deeds, and the proprietor, it is well known, has no right to more than half as much again as he has already received. He has already got two-thirds of the whole value of the Janmam.

Notes. —1. See *Otti*.

2. The foot-notes to Mr. Græme's text are by an experienced Native Revenue official.

PALLIYAL, or PALLIYALI, or PAILLNYAYAL, or PALLIMANYAYAL.

Pallimanyayal, from Dravidian *Palli* or *Pallum* (= pit, hole, excavation) and Dravidian *Nyaru* or *Naru* (= what rises above ground, young plant fit for transplantation).

The highest stage of Ubhayam, a low rice-land: it corresponds, I think with the *bill* of Canara. The paramba may be called the high land which is not artificially irrigated.

In one kind of Palliyal or Pallimanyayal or Potta there is no cultivation. It only answers for sowing seed to be transplanted to lower lands.

Note.—Pallimanyayal was originally land excavated for rearing rice plants for transplantation.

PALPARAMBU.

From Dravidian *Pal* (= an empty, void, desolate, waste place) and Dravidian *Parambu* (= high ground, orchard, garden).

A destroyed garden.

PANAYAM.

From Dravidian root *pan* (= to exchange, buy, bet) = bet, stake, pledge, mortgage.

In speech this deed is often designated the Todu Panayam deed with reference to its character, which corresponds with the *Tors Udanwo* deed of Canara.

By this deed the Janmi engages to pay a certain interest for money borrowed, or, in failure thereof, to make over to the Panayakkaran or mortgagee certain lands therein named.

In some cases the term for repayment of the principal is specified, in others it is omitted; but it is supposed the mortgagee has a right to be put into possession of the land if the mortgagor do not pay upon the demand of the mortgagee.

If the Janmi decline putting the mortgagee into possession in failing to pay the interest, the mortgagee is in the habit of bringing an action for the recovery of the principal and interest by any means, whether by the sale of the mortgaged land alone or by the sale of other property belonging to the Janmi; and the Judicial Courts, it is said, pass their decisions conformably to this principle.

If the Janmi, upon failing to pay the interest, were immediately to put the mortgagee in possession, the latter, it is thought, would have no right to sue for recovery of the debt by any other means.

Under this deed the Janmi has properly no right to dispose of the Janmam in the mortgaged land without the consent of the mortgagee ; but if any transfer of the kind should be clandestinely made, may insist upon the purchaser paying his demand or placing him in the possession of the land.

Where a mortgagee is placed in possession under this deed, he is to pay to the Janmi the residue of the pattam after deducting the mortgage interest.

Under this deed there is no right of Polichcheluttu, Sakshi, Oppu, and Suchi.

Notes.—1. The land is here pledged as security for the repayment, with interest, of certain sums advanced, but the lender has no right to interfere in the management of the property. In some cases it is stipulated that on failure on the part of the borrower to pay the interest, the lender shall be placed in possession of the land. Where such stipulation exists, the lender can sustain an action for possession ; in other cases he must sue for the recovery of the principal and interest of the loan, the land being liable in the event of the money not being paid. (Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

2. The tender of the mortgage amount makes the person to whom tender is made responsible for rent from date of tender.—M.S.C., 134 (1857). A simple mortgagee has no claim to improvements.—S.D.C., 338 (1877).

3. This deed was evidently a mortgage without possession of the land interest pledged.

PANAYA ELUTTUKARAN.

From *Panayam* (q.v.) and *Eluttukaran* (Dravidian) = writ, or deed-holder.

A creditor of a Janmi, to whom the actual possession of the estate is not consigned, but to whom the Janmi has engaged to consign it in failure of payment by a certain time. It depends upon the terms of the deed whether the land becomes in the possession of the mortgagee or not.

PANDAKKAVAL.

From Dravidian *Pandal* (= temporary shed of leaves) and Dravidian *Kaval* (= custody, guard, watch).

A watching fee, consisting of the crop of a certain portion of the field, which a slave receives from his master for his trouble. *Kaval* is watching and *Pandal* is the awning or cover under which the slave sets to watch.

Note.—See *Kolulabham*, and *Ennam* and *Patam*.

PANDARAM.

(Dravidian) = treasury, government.

Term commonly used in Malabar for expressing the Government.

PANDI.

(Dravidian) = the Southern Tamil country with Madura as capital.

The name given to a tribe of Christian fishermen and palanquin-bearers on the Malabar Coast, whom I have seen at Cannanore. They are supposed to have come from the southernmost part of the Malabar Coast, viz., Travancore, and, perhaps, from the Tinnevely province originally.

PANIKKAR.

A kind of Master of Arts, formerly held in great respect in families as teachers of the use of arms and of martial exercises of all kinds.

The agent having jurisdiction either in a village or in a Hobali on the part of the Kartavu, or lord of the Nad or district, to whom intermediate references are made from the Adiyans or vassals of the Kartavu.

PARA.

(Dravidian) = a drum, a rice measure.

In the Malabar province means generally ten of the measure next in quantity to it, that is, ten Idangalis or Dungalis, whatever may be the quantity of the latter. It is nearer to the mercial than to any other measure at Madras.

The standard para which appears in Mr. Greme's statements of assessment contains ten Macleod Idangalis each Idangali being four Calicut Nalis and 3,000 Idangalis a garce.

A PARA OF SEED LAND.

The quantity of seed necessary to sow an extent of land. The quantity varies according to the quality of the land. Major Macleod, in report to the Revenue Board, 18th June 1802, states the average of various experiments from measurement near Calicut made it $\frac{13}{100}$ parts of a cawny, or 7,488 square feet. The lowest rent by these trials was Madras fanams 27 cash 40, and the highest, star pagodas 1 fanam 24 cash 68 per cawny. One para of seed will in some places produce thirty and in others only fivefold. I calculate that a para of seed land is seldom more than one-sixth of a cawny or 9,600 square feet, and seldom less than one-ninth or 6,400 square feet.

Note.—See *Vittupad*.

PARAMBU.

(Dravidian) = high, dry ground, orchard, garden, compound.

May be considered the high land, whether cultivated with Modan rice, the oil-plant, the chama (*Panicum miliaceum*), or coconut and other trees, which is not capable of being inundated or irrigated artificially, and it does not apply exclusively to garden land as I at first thought it did.

TODI or TOTTAM.

(Dravidian) = garden.

Terms used for gardens and plantations.

PASUMA or PASIMA.

(Dravidian) = freshness, softness, richness of soil.

RASI.

(Sanskrit) = (a heap) with Dravidian *Kuru* (= class), means poor, light soil.

Terms used for distinguishing the qualities of lands, viz., Pasima is the first, Rasi Pasima the second, and Rasi the third sort.

PATAM.

(Dravidian) = share of reapers.

It is a term used for the expense of reaping, reckoned 10 per cent. In some places this proportion is given after the paddy is measured out, in others one out of ten sheaves is given in the field.

Note.—See *Ennam*, *Kolulabham*, and *Pandakkaval*.

PATTAM.

Probably from Dravidian *padu* (= falling, falling into one's power, place, situation, order, office, rank of officials and of princes, etc.), hence probably meaning the share of the produce of land due to officials and princes, and latterly to Janmis or other proprietors of land. It was probably at first written as *pattu-varam* (= the *pad's* share (*varam*) of the produce).

The fixed proportion agreed to between a Janmi and cultivator to be given to the Janmi as his share or rent: this proportion is usually paid in kind for rice cultivation and in money for plantations.

In settling the pattam of coconut trees it has, in most places in Malabar, been the custom to give 20 per cent of the kulikkanam money, that is, of the value of the trees. Where the cultivator has demanded immediate payment of the value, the pattam has almost everywhere been settled at two-thirds of the estimated produce. 7½ rupees has been the general price almost everywhere in the central Southern Districts, at which the produce has been commuted between the proprietor and tenant in settling the pattam. At Tellicherry, Kadattanad, Kolattunad and Kavai the rate is 10 rupees. The Mappilla proprietors along the coast frequently, however, take their pattam in kind and dispose of it to the best advantage.

Note.—See "*Varam*," and note to cl. (i) of Deed No. 3, App. XII. See also Chapter IV, Section (a) of the Text. The *kulikkanam* money was the value not of the trees, as Mr. Graine asserts, but of the *Janmi's* share of the produce of the trees, the *pattam* in fact. It would never have paid any one to have planted a garden and to have undertaken to pay as annual rent one-fifth of the value of the trees, but one-fifth of the value of the *Janmi's* share of produce (*pattam*) was a very moderate annual rent.

PATTAKKARAN.

From *Pattam* (q.v.) and Sanskrit *Karan* (= doer, one who has to do with).

The tenant on a simple lease without any mortgage incumbrance.

Note.—The tenant simply yielded up the whole of the *Janmi's* share of the produce, that is of the *pattam*. It was the *pattam* which was not encumbered by mortgage—not the land.

KANI.

(Dravidian) = something to be seen, gift.

Is an allowance, or offering, or tribute, of one Poti of paddy for every Poti of seed-land, which the cultivator makes to the proprietor in Wynad, answering to the Nikuti Sishtam of other taluks. Ramasvami, formerly Tahsildar of Wynad, says the Poti is given for every Poti seed of assessment, which is different from the Poti seed-land and answers to the *Nejja moodie* in Canara.

Synonymous with Pattam and Varam, and is used in the Wynad country for the landlord's rent.

VARAM.

(Dravidian) = share in general, landlord's share, rack-rent, chiefly of rice-lands (pattam of trees).—(*Gundert*).

The proportion given to the proprietor by the cultivator from the produce of his land. This proportion is not fixed, but depends on the actual produce, and the proprietor receives either half, or more or less, according to their agreement, which is made with respect to the quality of the land.

Note.—*Pattam* was probably originally *patta-varam*. In the ancient system certain individuals held the *Varai* or (share-staff) and distributed the produce. See Deed No. 3, App. XII. *Conf. Nakachehal*.

VARAM PATTAM.

See *Varam* and *Pattam*.

Though in general these two words are synonymous to express the landlord's share of the produce on all kinds of land—*Varam* being used in the Northern and *Pattam* in the Southern Districts of Malabar—it appears that *Varam* is used in the districts south of the Kotta river in a more limited way, that is, it is confined to mean the landlord's share arising from lands producing *Modam* or hill paddy and *Till* only, and no other descriptions of land.

Note.—Doubtful if this is so now.

VERUMPATTAM.

From Dravidian *veru* (= empty, bare) and *pattam* (q.v.).

Simple rent unencumbered with mortgage interest.

Notes.—1. The following are a few of the Civil Courts' rulings:—*Verumpattakkar* are entitled on eviction to the value of improvements, whether these have been effected with or without the knowledge of the *Kanakkar* or *Janmi*. This is an ordinary usage in the country.—S.D.C., 40 (1854). A tenancy expressed to be for one year is not necessarily determined at the end of the year. If the tenant remains in possession he holds as a tenant from year to year.—S.D.C., 400 (1877), 437 (1878). Although it is not open for a tenant to deny his lessor's title, it is open to him to show that the title has ceased.—N.D.C., 413 (1861), 73 (1862); S.D.C., 172 (1877). A lessee is debarred from disputing that his lessor had no title.—S.S.C., 366 (1854). *Semle*: Lessor's transferee's lack of title.—M.S.C., 103 (1859). Encroachments by a tenant on adjoining waste are for the benefit of the landlord.—S.D.C., 438 (1877), 559 (1877). A tenant cannot of right claim remission on account of loss by drought.—S.D.C., 60 (1878), 133 (1878).

2. This lease runs only for a single year, unless otherwise specified. At the end of the year the landlord is at liberty either to renew the lease or to let the land to another tenant; but he cannot, under any circumstances, disturb the tenant in his enjoyment until the year has expired. Where the lease is for a specified period, the tenant cannot be ejected during that period unless he endeavours to defraud the landlord or allows the rent to fall into arrears. In either of these cases, however, an action of ejectment will lie against the tenant.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856).

Note.—See Chapter IV, Section (a) of the Text. The records of the Courts having been searched it is believed that no suits of ejectment were in reality brought before 1856, or at any rate before 1822. The *Janmi* used to oust an obnoxious tenant by selling his interest in the land before 1856.

VITTA PATI PATTAM.

= literally, pattam equal to half the seed sown.

Where it is half (of seed sown).

VITTOLAM PATTAM.

= literally, pattam equal to seed sown.

Where it is equal (to seed sown).

VITTIRATTA PATTAM.

= literally, pattam equal to double the seed sown.

Where the pattam is double the seed sown.

IRUNALI PATTAM.

= literally, pattam of two Nalis.

That is, two Nalis out of four which make an Idangali. It is used to express an equal division of the crop between proprietor and tenant, a mode of settlement which is seldom practised in Malabar, and which is only made for the year. It has the same meaning as Varam on the Coromandel Coast.

MENIPPATTAM.

From Dravidian *meni* (= average) and *pattam* (q.v.).

Means the pattam or rent of a given extent of land derivable from the aggregate of the different crops, whilst the Vilachchal meni, or gross produce, refers only to the best crop, in common parlance, though not in account.

MICHCHAVARAM or MICHCHARAM.

From Dravidian *micha* (= height, above) and *varam* (q.v.).

The balance of pattam or rent after deducting mortgage interest. It is the same as Purappad.

MELVARAM.

From Dravidian *mel* (= what is above, above) and *varam* (q.v.).

The tax upon the pattam or varam which was levied by the Rajas in the Northern Districts of Malabar before Hyder's time to pay the tribute of the Bednore or Ikcaree Raja. The Chirakkal Raja states it amounted to 2 in 10; in some places it is said to have been 3 in 10, or 30 per cent of the pattam.

MARUPATTAM.

From Dravidian *maru* (= other, next, back again) and *pattam* (q.v.).

Is the counterpart of the Pattam Pramanam which the Janmi keeps by him, and may be referred to as a document in failure of the Grandhavari.

It is written upon the Karimbana palm or palmyra leaf.

MUNPATTAM.

From Dravidian *mun* (= priority in time or place, first) and *pattam* (q.v.).

Note.—No condition of 12 years' enjoyment attaches to a *Munpattam* lease.—S.D.C., 215 (1878).

PATTACHCHITTU.

From *Pattam* (q.v.) and Dravidian *chittu* (= a note, bill, bond).

A receipt.

Note.—It is not a receipt, as Mr. Grime says, but a lease given by the proprietor to the tenant. The counterpart is *Marupattam* (q.v.).

PATTAMALI or PATTALI.

From *Pattam* (q.v.) and Dravidian *ali* (= a holder).

Is a subordinate officer attached to a Hindu temple, subject, generally, to the Uralan or to his *locum tenens* the Karalan. Generally speaking the office is hereditary, but the Uralan may procure his dismissal for any crime by representation to the Raja or the reigning authority.

The hereditary Karanam or register of a Naduvali. The fixed or permanent writer. It is not applied to registers of Desavalis or others.

PATTOLA or PATTAMOLA.

From *Pattam* (q.v.) and Dravidian *Olu* (= palm-leaf, deed).

Is a deed executed by the mortgagor in favour of the mortgagee, making over certain rice-land to the possession of the latter in consideration of money received, called Kanappanam. In the deed the amount of the debt is specified, the whole number of paras pattam which the land yields, the number of paras which are to be deducted ¹ for the interest of the debt, and the remaining number of the paras pattam of rice in the husk, called purappad, which are to be paid to the Janmi. It describes the particular kind of para in which the residue is to be paid, and that it is to be delivered at the house of the proprietor. The deed states that the Kanam money received is equal to the pattam, by which is to be understood that the amount of the principal does not exceed the annual pattam, and it is said that the original intention of the proprietor receiving an advance was merely that of securing himself against the tenant failing in the payment of his pattam. The necessities of the proprietors in aftertimes drove them to borrow far beyond their annual incomes. Though not specified in the deed, it was formerly customary to give from 3 to 5 per cent. on the amount of the principal to the proprietor upon making out this deed as a fee ² under the name of Oppu or signature,

¹ Among deductions is likewise the equivalent in paddy of the amount of assessment on the land in cases in which the tax is agreed to be paid by the mortgagee.

² At present the rates differ with different Janmis. In some cases these are *ad valorem*, more frequently they are fixed. Other fees are usually paid now-a-days, such as fee to attesting witnesses, and small presents to the mortgagor's relatives.

In the case of the Zamorin and his Kovilakams the fines and fees ordinarily levied are the subjoined :—

(1) Avakasam, at so much per para, or fanam, Janmapattam. The rate varies from 8 to 12 annas.

(2) Twenty per cent. on ditto under the name of " Aduppatha."

(3) Stalat chilavu (expenses on the spot), that is, fees to local Karyastans.

(4) Tiruvoluttu valivadu, *i.e.*, the signature fee.

(5) A fee to the agent of the Janmi, who, under a Power of Attorney, admits execution of the documents before the registering officer.

and further the mortgagee had to give 2 per cent. under the denomination of Suchi, or the point of the iron style used for writing the deed. This was given where the Janmi established Pattolakkaran or register was employed, but the fee was less where the mortgagee appointed a person for the occasion. Altogether the Oppu and Suchi are supposed not to have exceeded 5 per cent. on the amount of the debt in general. But these payments have been for some time discontinued in practice in most places; they have only reference to a state of things in which the interest of the mortgage debt bore little proportion to the annual rent yielded by the land in the possession of the mortgagee, and are too excessive to be applicable to the altered circumstance of the interest of debts being equal to the pattam receivable by the mortgagee. With respect ² to this deed it is understood that if the mortgagee insists upon payment of the mortgage debt, the mortgagor has a right to deduct from the principal from 10 to 20 per cent., the rate depending upon local custom, under the name of Sakshi, and he is under no obligation to return the fees of Oppu and Suchi which he has received. If the mortgagor refuses payment upon demand, the mortgagee has a right to withhold the whole of the pattam yielded by the land in his possession until his claim is satisfied, or he may mortgage the land or sell his interest in it to another. He has no claim upon any other but the particular property mortgaged belonging to the mortgagor, or any right of causing the arrest of the mortgagor. If the mortgagor of his own accord tenders payment of the mortgage debt contrary to the wish of the mortgagee, he must pay the full amount without any deduction for Sakshi, and if the mortgagee has not held possession for three years, the mortgagor must return to him the Oppu and Suchi fees which he has received. If the mortgagee ³ under this deed fails to pay the proprietor the purappad or residue after deducting the mortgage interest from the pattam, he forfeits all claim to the debt, and the proprietor has a right to demand restitution of the land. The Policheeluttu claimable under this deed seems intended as an equivalent for the tenant's profit, named Cherlabham, which he has derived from the land. On the demise ⁴ of the tenant it is a fine of entry to his successor. The amount of it and the frequency of its renewal seem to depend upon the quality of the soil and the quantity of Cherlabham which has been enjoyed by the tenant. The latter is generally ascertained by the competition of neighbours who offer better terms to the proprietor. In the Northern Division the

¹ I dare say they were when paddy was so cheap that the Michelaram received in kind hardly enabled the Janmi to meet the Government demand.

² I am not aware that where a mortgagee demands money, any deduction in Kanam is allowed. The Janmi is not liable to refund fees. Within the last few years a practice has been introduced by certain janmis of inserting a clause in the Kanam deed whereby the mortgagee is deprived of his right of holding for 12 years if he keeps rent in arrear or does any act to the prejudice of the Janmi. Sometimes it is provided that the land shall be surrendered *on demand*. In all these cases the mortgagee is entitled to the refund of a fraction of the fines and fees whereof the denominator is 12, while the numerator is the number of years out of 12 which still remain to run out. The Janmi, however, takes care to mention in the document only a *portion* of the fines, etc., actually received by him, and when it is remembered that only a certain fraction of the *principal* is claimable, and not interest thereon, the hardship this practice works on the tenant becomes clear.

³ At present the law, except in the cases mentioned in Note 4, is, I believe, that the Janmi shall sue for rent from time to time, or set off the accumulated rent against the Kanam money at the end of the 12 years.

⁴ This is obsolete now.

practice of Silakasu, or taking one year's pattam once in three or four years, or a quarter or a third of the pattam every year, as an equivalent for the Cherlabham, has prevailed in lieu of Policheheluttu.

Notes.—1. See *Kanam* and the notes of judicial decisions appended thereto.

2. The foot-notes to Mr. Gremo's text are by an experienced Native Revenue official of the district.

PATTAN.

Corruption of Sanskrit *bhattan* (= a class of foreign Brahmans).

Honorific plural = *pattar*, applied as a caste name.

Is the foreign Brahman, not an aboriginal of Malabar. In the Palghat and Temmalapuram Districts they are the chief money-lenders and traders.

PATTINNU RANDU.

(Dravidian) = literally, two in ten.

Is where the Kudiyan pays only 2 in 10 of the pattam to the Janmi, whatever the Nikuti may be, and the difference between the Nikuti and what remains is his profit and loss.

PEPPER-VINE.

By a vine in the public accounts is meant the standard tree supporting a number of pepper-vines, or as many pepper-vines as there may be clinging to a standard tree are reckoned as one. The vine of assessment, again, the Nikuti valli, is as many vines as produce a certain quantity of pepper; these are counted as one assessment-vine; the quantity is 15 Idangalis of pepper in the Southern Division.

Notes.—1. The 15 *Idangalis* were of green pepper, which would turn out about 6 *Idangalis* of dry pepper.

2. The pepper-vine assessment was abolished in 1806-7, and an export duty levied instead. This continued till 1874-75.

PERPETUAL LEASE.

Notes.—1. A perpetual lease is an absolute alienation of the land subject to a perpetual obligation of paying the quit-rent, but failure to pay the quit-rent will certainly not justify resumption of the land.—S.S.C., 405 (1854), 10 (1855).

2. A perpetual lease is irredeemable, but usually not assignable.—S.D.C., 188 (1877), 29 (1878), 374 (1878), and 236 (1879).

PERUM ARTHAM or ALUKIYA ATTIPPER.

From Dravidian *Perum* (from *peruka*=to bring forth, to obtain, acquire, get) and Sanskrit *artham* (=aim, scope, object desired, gain, wealth, riches, money), and from Dravidian *Alukuka* (=to rot, decay) and *Attipper* (q.v.).

Is a deed under which the Janmi has received the full value of the property mortgaged and is not entitled to any, the smallest, share of the pattam, or even the smallest token of acknowledgment of proprietorship, but he withholds the ceremony of giving water that he may retain the empty title of Janmi.

Notes.—1. This tenure approximates closely to that of Otti, the mortgagee being in possession and enjoying the whole produce. The peculiarity of this transaction is that the sum advanced, which is always the full marketable value of the

land for the time being, is not mentioned in the deed; and the landlord, in redeeming his property, does not repay the amount originally advanced, but the actual value of it in the market at the time of redemption. In other respects the same rules that apply to *Otti* mortgages are applicable to this also. Deeds of this kind are in use only at Palghat and Tommalapuram.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

2. *Perum Artham* is a mortgage under which, when the mortgagor redeems, the mortgagee is entitled (before restoration of the mortgaged land) to be paid its market value at the time of redemption, not the amount for which the land was mortgaged.—1 I.L.R., Madras, 57.

3. *Query*: Was *Janmi*, as Mr. Graeme says, an empty title after his share of the produce of the land had been thus mortgaged? It is contrary to all reason to think so. The *Janmi* still retained his “water contact birthright” (*Nir-atti-peru*), with various privileges attached to it. See *Attiperu, Janmam, Sthana-mana-avakasam*.

PHALAM.

Sanskrit, probably from Dravidian *palam* (=ripe fruit). fruit especially of trees, result, produce.

Fruit, profit, compensation. Under the name of Kaval-phalam or compensation for protection the Zamorin in 933 M.S. levied a general tax of one quarter of a Viray fanam upon every para of seed-land specified in Pramanams or deeds.

A bearing tree.

Note.—It was in parts of Palghat only that the Zamorin levied the tax.

PODI-CHERU.

Podi. dust; *Cheru*. mud; alluding to the different states in which land is before and after the rains. The seed without preparation is sown in the dry land and the sprouted seed on the wet.

POLICHCHELUTTU.

From Dravidian *polikka* (=to break open, undo) and Dravidian *Eluttu* (=writing).

A deed on the periodical renewal of lease, a new bond.

Literally, tearing (of documents). Is the remission or donation which the mortgagee makes periodically to the Janmi upon the amount of the debt and upon renewing the mortgage-bond. It was formerly renewed once in twelve years, the cycle in use before the present Malabar era, and generally speaking may be reckoned 2 in 10 upon the principal, but every family has its peculiar custom. At present the twelve years are not observed, but it depends on circumstances. The former principal is not reduced in the new bond; for instance, it might have been 1,000 fanams, and the Kanakkaran gives one or two hundreds to the Janmi ready money, but the 1,000 are brought into the new bond. It is not receivable when the mortgage has arrived at that stage which is called *Otti*, nor is it payable upon Kadan Vayppa mortgage.

POTIPPADU.

From Dravidian *poti* (=a measure) and Dravidian *padu* (=falling, subjection, nature, measure of space, time).

Poti is a measure equal to 30 Idangalis. *Potippadu* is an extent of land which requires this quantity of seed to sow it.

POTIPPATTU.

From *Poti* (q.v.) and Dravidian *pattu* (=ten).

KAVATTU NEL.

From Dravidian *Kayattuka* (=to increase, raise) and Dravidian *nel* (= unhusked rice).

The tenth of the seed, the tax which pagodas used to receive from the Kudiyar's share in some Hobalis in the Kavali Taluk. It seems to have been consolidated with the Sircar assessment upon the Company's first survey, and no adequate compensation provided for the pagodas.

PRABHU.

(Sanskrit) = lord, prince, chief of Nayar militia.

A military chief or leader of a large force.

PRAMANI.

(Sanskrit) = chief, influential person.

Village arbitrators in the time of the Rajas, respectable inhabitants.

PRAVRITTIKKARAN.

(Sanskrit) = man of business. Often corruptly written Parputty or Parbutty.

The native collector of the revenue of a Hobali or subdivision of a taluk or district, of which there are in general from 9 to 15 to a district. It is rather a modern term, substituted for the ancient term of Pravrittikkaran.

PROPRIETORS.

It has been supposed (Mr. Warden's letter to the Board of Revenue, 16th June 1813) that there are 44,378 proprietors¹ in Malabar, the average revenue of whose estate is 480,000 pagodas, and that there are about 150,000 individuals who pay revenue direct to Government, whose payments do not exceed 3-3/16 pagodas each; that almost the whole² of the Janmam property is vested in pagodas and other religious establishments, and that about three-fourths of the land are held under foreclosed mortgages. This information is founded upon the account given in by the landed proprietors in 981 or 1805-6; but it has not been adverted to that an immense number of proprietors possess estates in several districts and different Hobalis. The account of 981 was made out by Hobalis, and a proprietor who has estates in many Hobalis appeared separately in the account of each Hobali, or perhaps three or four times

¹ One-twentieth of them only pay revenue to Government.

² This was, *perhaps*, the state of things at the time this was written, but it is *not* at present, although Mr. Chattu Nambiar states that Devaswam lands form not less than one-third of the Malabar lands. There is probably some truth in the complaint, so frequently preferred of late, that the Uralars of Devaswams are converting into private (*i.e.*, Taravad) janmam lands belonging to the pagodas. It is however, I believe, well known that *all* Devaswams are not public institutions. Many are strictly private property. It is considered a great point to own a Devaswam, and many jammis, until quite recently, had a tendency to set apart for their Devaswam lands till then their Taravad property. Others, again, used to do the same in order to guard against lands being sold by posterity (it being considered sinful to dispose of pagoda property, but apparently not to misappropriate the produce thereof) or held responsible by Courts for debts contracted by the owners of the Devaswams.

in the account of a district, though properly he should only have been entered *once*. The number of proprietors is therefore swelled beyond all proper proportion, and their actual number is not supposed to exceed 15,000. The number of persons paying revenue direct is much exaggerated from the same cause, though the payment is certainly in very great detail and the number is no doubt very large who pay within one rupee. I have only, however, been able to see Hobaliwar accounts, and many individuals have to pay in several Hobalis of a district. There are no accounts to show how much each individual pays in each district. It has been stated that almost the whole of the Jannam property is vested in the pagodas and other religious establishments. Much of this property must, however, be considered to belong to individual Brahmans to whom the whole landed property is said at one time to have appertained. Taking the number of proprietors at 15,000 each estate may be reckoned to give 32 pagodas revenue, but it is conjectured that half of the whole revenue is due from estates yielding from 1,000 to 5,000 rupees assessment, though the proprietors do not themselves hold the lands in their possession or pay the assessment, the mortgagees being the occupants and paying the revenue. The mortgaging system has been considered injurious, because the mortgagee in possession could not improve his land without the risk of being dispossessed, without affording to the proprietor the temptation to demand more or to transfer possession to another; but it must be recollected that the proprietor cannot dispossess a mortgagee without foregoing the benefit which would be derivable to him if the mortgagee himself were to require payment of a deduction of 20 per cent from the mortgage debt under the name of Sakshi; that it is not customary to alter a pattam long established upon an average estimate; that every fresh demand on the part of the proprietor for an increased rent diminishes his and strengthens the rights and interests of the mortgagee in the land, gives the latter an additional mortgage interest and an improved prospect of becoming the ultimate proprietor. By the gradual operation of this system the greater part of the mortgagees have indeed already become the virtual proprietors of the land. It seems to have been considered that lands were expressly and for the first time made over to mortgagees to¹ discharge an existing debt contracted from causes unconnected with the occupation

¹ I do not believe that in former times the Kanam money was borrowed in order to discharge debts, for it will, I am sure, be found on investigation that in every case, without exception, the existing Kanam on any given land might have been borrowed on a mortgage of a *portion* of it. The fact is, I believe, that the money was received rather as security for rent. In short Kanam originally was not *mortgage* but was *lease*. *Otti* was mortgage. A janni who assigned land on *Otti* did so because he was pinched for money. Of this, however, further on.

A "Kanam" is probably equivalent to the Roman *emphyteusis*, under which the tenant possessed the right of enjoying all the fruits, and disposing at pleasure of the thing of another, subject to the payment of a yearly rent to the owner (*dominus*). The idea of a 12 years' holding is quite modern. Indeed it originated, I believe, with Mr. Holloway, who, taking Kanam as equivalent to *emphyteusis*, is said to have substituted Vyalavattam or *jubilee*, and thence argued that under Kanam demiso the tenant was entitled to hold for a Vyalavattam or 12 years.

The meaning of the term Kanam is not clear. It is said by some to be "small fee," "usufruct," the word being of Persian origin. The root may perhaps be "കാണുന്നു" to see, and the meaning, "money secured on the land," i.e., seen, visible, or mentioned in the deed ("കാണപണം") as opposed to "കാണാപണം" invisible money, i.e., not secured on the land. The latter term is widely used in respect of renewal fees. Generally the word kanam is used as meaning money, as in Kulikkanam, Vettukkanam, Tusikkanam, etc.

of the land: but the fact is, I believe, that the money was almost invariably borrowed from tenants who were previously in possession. The origin of these loans seems to have been that the tenant should give a year's rent (*pattam*) in advance to the proprietor, either as a necessary security for payment or as a bonus for the profit he was allowed to enjoy, and the extravagance or necessities of the proprietor induced them to continue to borrow till the rights and interests of the mortgagee in the land became stronger than those of the proprietor. The inherent principle of redemption which the mortgage of Malabar is described to possess, and which applies strictly to the *Kanam* tenure alone, is accountable for by the *Cherlabham* or cultivator's profit from the soil, which the proprietors have allowed them to possess independently of the deduction from the *pattam* on account of the mortgage interest. This is the origin of the *Policheluttu*, the *Sakshi*, which may be considered fines for the renewal of leases, of 10 and in some places 20 per cent according to local custom and the degree of profit enjoyed by the tenant. Mr. Warden says truly that "The variety and number of the mortgage tenures, till they reach the deed which for ever alienates the *janmam*, affords the most conclusive evidence that can be adduced of the tenacity with which the ancient landholders clung to the *janmam* right." They may also be considered as the result of a circumspect and jealous precaution on the part of the mortgagees, who, whenever they accommodated the necessities of the *janmi*, did not fail at the same time to add gradually but strongly to their securities for the ultimate acquisition of the proprietary right, for every step of the different mortgages involved a condition which increased the difficulty of transferring the land to any but the mortgagee.

Notes.—1. The foot-notes to Mr. Græme's text are by an experienced Native Revenue official of the district, Mr. P. Karunakara Menon. As regards the derivation of *Otti* the derivation shown in its proper place in this Glossary seems preferable; and as regards *Kanam*, the original meaning (supervision, protection) is fixed by Deeds 3 and 4, Appendix XII.

2. The number of *Pattadars* in *Fasli* 1290 (A.D. 1880-81) was 178,790.

3. See Chapter IV, Section (a) of the Text. The fact that the *cherlabham* or *kobulabham* (*q.v.*), the cultivator's share of the produce, was "possessed independently of the deduction from the *pattam* on account of the mortgage interest" by the cultivator should have suggested to Mr. Græme that the thing which the *Janmi* mortgaged under *kanam*, *otti*, etc., was not the soil itself, but the *Janmi's* interest in the soil, his share of produce, the *pattam* in short. And this should also have suggested to him—that the *Janmi* had only a limited interest in the soil—that the *Janmi* was a co-proprietor of the soil not the *dominus* thereof.

PUKIL.

A crop.

PUNJA.

(Dravidian). The name of a rice which is always cut in *Medam* or *Edavam* (April and May). It may be the only crop of the season, for some

¹ This is easily accounted for if *Kanam* is assumed to have been security for rent. Under *Kanam*, then, the mortgagee (I use the word because it is convenient) used to enjoy large profits, and he could not well impose conditions on the *janmi*. When however, the latter became needy and assigned land on *Otti*, the profits to the tenant became smaller and he naturally demanded at least greater permanency of title. And here I may attempt to derive the term *Otti*. I believe it is derived from " *അറുക്ക* " (which see in Dr. Gundert's Dictionary). The verb is " *അറുക്ക* " i.e., to secure (fish) in an " *അറ* " The *Otti* holder secures the land to a certain extent, for the *janmi* cannot sell away to another without first giving the *Ottidar* the refusal.

lands only admit of one, or it may be the second or the third, but it must be the crop that is cut in Medam or Edavam to entitle it to the appellation of punja.

PUTTADA.

From *pu* (Dravidian) = flower.

In the Northern Division of Malabar this species of rice is sown upon paramba land, whilst the kind of rice sown on lands overgrown with wood, which requires to be dug rather than ploughed, is called Punam.

REAS pronounced RAIS.

An imaginary coin introduced into the public accounts of the Malabar province, since the Company became possessed of it, from the Bombay Presidency. There are 100 of them to a quarter or 400 to one Bombay rupee.

REVENUE.

Different sources of the former revenues of Rajas in Malabar, viz. :—

ANKAM.

(Dravidian) = fight, duel, battle-wager.

Was as high as 1,000 fanams or 250 rupees ; was only leviable by the Raja. It was the money which he received as umpire between two combatants under the system of battle-wager. These quarrels arose from private feuds and were meant to wipe off stains cast upon an individual's honor. A preparation and training for twelve years preceded the battle in order to qualify the combatants in the use of their weapons. They were not necessarily the principals in the quarrel, generally their champions. They undertook to defend the cause they had espoused till death. It was indispensable that one should fall.

Battle-wager or trial by single combat was a source of considerable revenue to the Rajas in former times, for each combatant was obliged to deposit with the Raja a certain sum of money. Women were the chief origin of the quarrels which occasioned these combats. They were confined to the Nayers. They were thought necessary to prove or disprove the charge of seducing women under particular protection. It was not indispensable that the parties themselves in the quarrel should be the combatants. Champions were admitted, and, in general substituted. The champions settled all their worldly affairs before the onset of the combat, for it was unavoidable that one must fall. A notification of twelve years took place before the day of combat.

CHUNKAM.

(Dravidian) = toll, custom.

Customs—land and sea—upon imports and exports. By some said to be only $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 per cent and by others as high as 10. Naduvalis were also entitled to inland customs.

ELA.

(Dravidian) = fine, penalty, exacting presents.

The systematic usurpation of the estates of such neighbouring Rajas or Naduvalis or other chiefs as might be incapacitated from poverty or other

cause from governing. The Sastra says the peculiar duty of a king is conquest.

KOLA or CHARADAYAM.

KOLA.

(Dravidian) = violence, forced contribution, extortion.

CHARADAYAM.

From (? Dravidian) *char* (=confidant, third person) and Sanskrit *adayam* (= gain, income).

Forced contributions levied by Rajas for particular emergencies according to the circumstances of the individuals.

TAPPU.

(Dravidian) = blunder.

Fines levied by Naduvalis and Desavalis from their inferiors, and by Rajas from them, for accidental unintentional crimes.

PILA.

(Dravidian) = slip, fault, fine.

Fines levied in the same manner for intentional crimes, according to the magnitude of the crimes and the circumstances of the individuals. It might be a total confiscation of property.

PURUSHANTARAM.

(Sanskrit) = the next generation, succession duty.

Literally, the death of the man. Sums varying from 120 to 1,200 fanams, levied by Rajas from Naduvalis, Desavalis, heads of commercial corporation, from the holders of lands in free gift or under conditional tenure, and generally all persons holding sthanam, manam, or official dignities in the State. They also, in common with other Janmis or private proprietors, levied Purushantaram from their tenants as a fine of entry upon the decease of a proprietor or tenant. It has been supposed that the Rajas were entitled under the head of Purushantaram to a certain share of the property of deceased Mappillas, but the prevalent opinion is that there was no fixed proportion, and that it was not levied generally upon all Mappillas, but was confined to individuals possessed of wealth and holding situations or privileges dependent upon the will or favor of the Raja. The Purushantaram was sometimes enjoyed by the Desavali and Naduvali, instead of the Raja, according to the extent of right and authority which was granted or usurped, and on all occasions they were exclusively entitled to the Purushantaram of their own private lands.

PULAYATTA-PENNA.

(Dravidian) = lewd, adulterous women.

Pulayatta-penna, or degraded women, were a source of profit to Rajas; outcastes, not exclusively, but chiefly of the Brahman caste, they were made over to Rajas to take care of. As a compensation for their maintenance and for the trouble of preventing their going astray again, the family of the outcaste were in the habit of offering to the Rajas as far as

600 fanams or Rs. 150. The Rajas then disposed of them for money, but their future condition was not exactly that of a slave. They were generally bought by the coast merchants called Chetties, by whom they had offspring, who came to be intermarried among persons of the same caste, and in a few generations their origin was obliterated in the ramifications of new kindred into which they had been adopted.

PONNARIPPU.

(Dravidian) = (*pon*) gold (*arippu*) sifting.

Ponnarippu, the sifting of gold, or, generally, gold dust, was considered a royalty and the perquisite of the Rajah or the Naduvali as the case might be.

ATTADAKKAM or ATTALADAKKAM.

From Malayalam *attam* (= extremity, end) and Dravidian *adakkam* (= subjection, possession, enjoyment).

Under the name of Attadakkam the Raja was entitled to the property of a Naduvali, or Desavali or an Adiyar (vassal), or any person who held lands in free gift, dying without heirs: and no Datt Swikaram or adoption could be valid without his sanction. A Naduvali and Desavali enjoyed the same privilege with respect to persons in the same manner dependent upon them.

ADIMAPPANAM or TALAPPANAM.

From *Adima* (q.v.) and Dravidian *tala* (= head) and Dravidian *panam* (= money).

Adimappanam was the yearly payment of 1 and 2 fanams which every Adiyar was obliged to pay to his Tamburan or patron, whether he was Raja, Naduvali, Desavali, or other great man.

CHANGNGATAM.

(See note on this word in its proper place in the *Glossary*.)

Whenever a person wished to place himself under the special protection of a man of consequence, he paid from 4 to 64 fanams annually for Changngatam, or companionship or association, making sometimes an assignment on particular lands for the payment. It was meant for the maintenance of a kind of honorary sentinel, a belted official peon of the present times, whom the patron furnished to the person who sought his protection, but this implied also a necessity for the patron to assist with a stronger force if required in his defence.

RAKSHABHOGAM.

(Sanskrit) — *Raksha*, protection, and *bhogam*, enjoyment, hire.

Rakshabhogam payments were much to the same extent and for the same purposes. It implies an engagement of protection generally without being limited to any specific aid in the first instance.

KALCHA.

Verbal noun, from Dravidian *kanuka* (= to see), means perception, offering, gift.

Note.—Compare *Kanam*.

(Answering to Nuzzur) or presents of from 2 to 1,000 fanams, according to the circumstances of the parties, of congratulation and condolence were made to Rajas and Naduvalis by all ranks of people on occasions of the ascension of Rajas to their pattam or throne; of the opening of a newly-built palace, a marriage, a birth, the ceremony of placing rings on a child, and a death in the family of Rajas and Naduvalis.

ADINYNYA URUKKAL or Wrecks.

From *adinyaya* (Dravidian) = touched bottom, drifted ashore, and *urukkal* (Dravidian) = vessel, ship.

Rajas alone were entitled to shipwrecked vessels or Adinynya Urukkal.

CHERIKKAL or private domains.

From Dravidian *cheri* (= assemblage, village), and, perhaps, Dravidian *kal* (= foot, stem, quarter, place in general).

And they besides possessed extensive private domains in proprietary right, whether by purchases, lapses, or escheats, called Cherikkal.

EIMMULA.

From Dravidian *ci* (= 5) and Dravidian *mula* (= udder).

MUMMULA.

From Dravidian *mu* (= 3) and Dravidian *mula* (= udder).

CHENKOMBU.

Literally, red (chem) horn (kombu).

KANNADAPPULLI.

Literally, eye spotted.

ANAPPIDI.

Literally, elephant-catching.

PUVAL.

Literally, spot or speck tail.

KOMBU.

(Dravidian) = horn, ivory.

KURAKA.

(Dravidian) = the quarter, horn, thigh of an animal.

VAL.

(Dravidian) = the tail of an animal.

TOL.

(Dravidian) = the skin of an animal.

KINATTIL-PANNI.

Literally, pig (fallen) into a well.

Rajas and Naduvalis were besides entitled to *Eimmula* and *Mummular*, cows having 5 or 3 dugs; to *Chenkombu*, or cattle that had destroyed a man or any animal; to *Kannadappulli*, cattle having a white spot near the corner of the eye; *Anappidi*, elephants caught;

Puval, a buffalo having a white spot at the tip of the tail ; *Kombu*, the tusks of an elephant killed ; *Kuraka*, the leg of a deer, wild hog, or other eatable wild animal ; *Val*, the tail of a tiger ; *Tol*, its skin ; and *Kinattil panni*, a hog fallen into a well.

MODERN LAND REVENUE.

The revenue in rice-lands, applying the existing professed rates of assessment per 100 paras to the average value, as fixed by Mr. Grame, of the *actual pattam as rendered by the Jannis in 981*, is Rs. 84 3 qrs. 52 reas per cent in the Southern Division, and Rs. 72 1 qr. 15½ reas in the Northern Division of the pattam, or for the whole province Rs. 82 0 qr. 1¼ reas.

RICE.

According to Arshed Beg's Settlement of 1783-4 or M.E. 959 of the Southern Districts, exclusive of Palghat :—

Total paras sowable	743,031
Deduct fallow	38,386
Sowable land	704,645
HOONS F.	
Revenue	231,481 4

Seed of rice sown, 3 paras per hoon or 1 para per rupee.

RICE LANDS.

There are 231,114 cawnies of rice-land in the Malabar Province, with the exception of Wynad, according to the survey by measurement in 983, and according to Mr. Warden's abstract accompanying his report to the Revenue Board of 16th June 1813, of which 149,143 yield only one crop, 59,720 cawnies produce two crops, and 1,031 cawnies produce three crops ; but deducting 24,214 cawnies for waste and for pagoda and other Inams, there were remaining assessable to the revenue cawnies 209,899, of which 149,143 produce one crop only, 59,727 two crops, and 1,031 three crops. According to the Jamma Pymaish accounts of 981 each cawny gives 67 standard paras and 3¼ Idangalis gross produce, and 5 rupees 42½ reas assessment, if the total revenue of 980 is applied to the total cawnies.

Note.—The rice-lands of the district are now supposed to measure, including Wynad, 394,411 acres, and excluding Wynad 366,466 acres, equivalent to 277,140 cawnies. The total revenue on the rice-lands is Rs. 11,65,921 or Rs. £-15-5 per acre.

ROBBIN.

Is what in the English correspondence is understood by a muda of rice. I cannot discover its origin.

SAKSHI.

(Sanskrit) = witnessing, evidence.

Means renewal or confirmation connected with Polichcheluttu ; 2 in 10 is given for Sakshi upon the renewal of a mortgage-deed.

Note.—See *Pattola*, *Polichcheluttu*.

SALT.

From Fasli 1216, the first year of the monopoly, to the end of Fasli 1227—

				S.P.S.	F.	C.
The highest gross revenue	..	..	..	72,269	2	54
				S.P.S.	F.	C.
Deduct purchase price	..	23,169	22	39		
Deduct charges ..	..	2,127	19	64		
				25,296	42	23
Remaining highest net revenue	..	..	..	46,972	5	31
The average gross revenue	..	..	..	54,477	0	0
				S.P.S.	F.	C.
Deduct average purchase price.	17,739	0	0			
Deduct average charges	..	2,590	0	0		
				20,338	0	0
Remaining average net revenue	..	..	..	31,139	0	0
				GARCE.	M.	SEER.
The highest quantity sold in any year	..	2,563	84	11		
Of which was exported out of Malabar	..	346	151	8		

In Bombay the price rarely exceeds 2 rupees per ton. In 1821 it had risen to 6 and 7.—(*Bombay Gazette*, 18th April 1821.) A ton is 2,240 lb.; a Madras garce of Bombay salt (reckoning a para at 90 lb. and 120 paras to a garce) is 10,800 lb. or 4 tons and 1,840 lb. The price of a Madras garce at 2 rupees a ton is therefore 9 rupees 2 quarters and 57 reas. The usual price at which Bombay salt has been bought in Malabar has been 13 rupees a coomb or 39 rupees a garce at Cannanore, Tellicherry, and Mahe, 42 at Calicut, and 45 at Ponnani.—(Mr. Warden's report of 3rd October 1828). At 7 rupees a ton the price is Rs. 33 3 qr. the Madras garce.

According to a letter from Government to the Revenue Board, of 20th March 1820, the present average consumption of salt in all the territories under the Madras Presidency may be taken at 25,000 garces; reckon them at Rs. 112 the garce, monopoly selling price, they will come to 27,90,000 rupees; but reckoning 30 per cent. for prime cost and charges, the net revenue will be Rs. 19,53,000, or between 5 and 6 lakhs of pagodas. In this calculation there is nothing authenticated but the number of garces sold.

Note.—The annual average importations of salt for the five years preceding the introduction of the excise system was 4,239¹ garces. Since the introduction (1877) of the excise system the annual average importation has been 3,016 garces, i.e., 19 garces of Government salt, 2,596 garces of duty prepaid salt, and 401 garces of foreign salt.

SALT PANS.

The owners of salt pans in Malabar used before the monopoly to employ labourers for the manufacture of salt, or to let the pans out on rent or

¹ Government salt, 3,956 garces; duty prepaid salt, 243 garces; foreign salt 40 garces; total 4,239 garces.

pattam. The pattam was not fixed for a length of time together as on rice-lands, but depended upon the annual produce. It is generally supposed to have been a third leaving two-thirds to the manufacturer.

SIHANAR.

The name by which Tiars or toddy-drawers are called in the Tem-malapuram and Palghat Districts, who are not aborigines of Malabar, but come from the districts to the east of the ghats.

Note.—See *Huvar* and *Tiyar*.

SISHT-BAKKI.

From Sanskrit *Sishtam* (= remainder) and Arabic *bakki* (= surplus).

A balance of revenue uncollected from the person from whom due, in contradistinction to Dast-bakki, a balance collected but not brought to the account of Government.

SISU or TEI.

Sisu (Sanskrit) = young animal or plant. *Tei* (Dravidian) = shoot, young tree.

A young plant.

SLAVES.

Amount, taken in 1807, to 96,368.

Note.—In 1857, when the last census of slaves was taken, the number was found to be 187,812, of whom 148,210 had up to that time remained with their former masters. See *Cherumakkal*.

STHANA-MANA-AVAKASAM.

From Sanskrit *Sthanam* (= standing, place, situation, rank) and Sanskrit *Kanam* (= honor, rank) and Sanskrit *Avakasam* (= title, claim, right).

Dignity and emoluments of a public situation.

Note.—This probably denoted the true position of a Janmi or holder of the "water contact birthright" (*Nir-atti-peru*). See *Attiperu*, *Janmam*, *Perumartham*.

SUDRAN, plural SUDRANMAR.

(Sanskrit) = the fourth caste in the Hindu system.

Who according to the Sastram, are the fourth class of Hindus, are a particular caste of Nayers in Malabar, whose duty it is to perform ceremonies or Karmam in Brahman families on the birth of a child, etc.

Note.—Nayers generally do now style themselves as Sudras.

SVARUPAM.

(Sanskrit) = one's own shape, image, idol, dynasty.

Means descent, family, race, house, answering to Vamsam. The Calicut Zamorin Raja's family is called the Nayaririppu (or vulgarly, Nediirippu) Svarupam, that of the Kadattanad Raja is the Porlatiri Svarupam, that of the Chirakkal Raja, Kolattiri or Kola Svarupam,

that of Kottayam or Cotiote the Puranattukara or Purattara Svarupam, that of the Kurumbranad the Kurumbarattiri or Kurumbiyattiri Svarupam. The Walluvanad Raja is the Arnggottu Svarupam, the Cochin Raja is the Perimbadappu Svarupam, the Travancore Raja is the Trippa or Trippappu Svarupam.

SVARUPAKKUR.

From *Svarupam* (q.v.) and Dravidian *Kuru* (= part, share).

Office, dignity, and Kuru, share, partition, allotment. It means the property attached to the official rank of a Raja.

SVARUPAM.

See *Svarupam*.

Head of a family. Ten necessary for a Kartavu or lordship of 3,000 men.

TALA UDAYA TAMBURAN.

Literally = the head-possessing lord.

The Kartavu or superior lord of a vassal.

TANDU.

(Sanskrit) = palanquin hanging on silk cords.

An open palanquin, which in the Malabar Province is also called Manchal, and which Englishmen call Manchil. The attainment of the rank of Valum-pudavum is indispensable to qualify any person, whether a common man or a Raja, to ride in a palanquin.

TARA.

(Dravidian) = foundation, mound, ground, village, quarter. Similar to Tamil and Malayalam *teru*, Telugu *teruvu*, Canarese and Tulu *teravu*.

A village. The same as Desam in the Malabar Province.

Note.—See *Ur* and *Desam*. This and not the Desam was the true village of Malabar, that is, it was the *Nayar* village or unit of organization for civil purposes among the *Nayars*. *Conf.* p. 87 of the text.

TARAVADU.

From *Tara* (q.v.) and Dravidian *padu* (=falling, falling into one's power, place, situation, rank, authority).

A house or family.

Note.—Compare *pattam*. Dr. Gundert defines the term as a house chiefly of noblemen, ancestral residence of landowners, a family. The term was applied only to the families of authority in the *Nayar* village (Tara).

TARAVATTUKARAN OR PRAMANI.

From *Taravadu* (q.v.) and Sanskrit *Karan* (=doer, one who has to do with), and Sanskrit *Pramanam* (=measure, authority).

In every Desam four householders or Taravattukaran possess a certain hereditary sthanam or dignity which points them out as the proper persons to apply to whenever a marriage, a death, a religious ceremony or dispute takes place. They are sometimes called Pramani, or principal

inhabitants, and latterly, under the Company's Government, Mukhyastanmar. They did not possess the Koyma or controlling authority in the Desam, but were a kind of arbitrators. When a dispute could not be settled by their mediation it went to the Desavali.

Names of former heads of villages.

Note.—Mr. Grame, contrary to previous notes, here states correctly, if Tara be submitted for Desam, the position of the *Taravattukkarar*. The *Desavali* was usually one of the *Taravattukkarar* of his tara or village. See *Madhyastanmar* and *Mukhyastan*.

TARISU.

(Dravidian) = waste rice-land.

TINGALPPANAM.

From Dravidian *tingal* (=the moon) and Dravidian *panam* (=money).

General monthly levy on all classes of the inhabitants. One of the contributions levied in Malabar by the Rajas.

TIPPALI.

Is the same as Nali, a measure of which 4 go to a Idangali. It is supposed that in Malabar a man has enough to eat if he has $1\frac{1}{2}$ Tippalis of rice and $\frac{1}{2}$ Tippali of conjee a day, or 1 Idangali of paddy of 4 Calicut Nalis. There are many in a starving condition who get less, and many affluent who eat more.

TIRUVATIRA NYATTUTALA.

From *Tiruvatira* (=the sixth asterism, including Botelgenze) and Dravidian *Nyattutala* (=the time of a constellation).

Nyattutala is a period of fourteen days. It is in the fourteen days commencing with about the 7th of Mithunam (June) that there must be constant rain for the proper growth of the pepper; the failure of this season may cause a difference of produce of perhaps 25 per cent.

TIYAN.

Formerly written *Tivan*, that is islander (from Sanskrit *dvīpam*).

Toddy-drawer and cultivator of land. Upon asking a number of Brahmans and Nayars assembled at Calicut whether Tiyars were included among the Sudras of the Sastra they professed ignorance, and said they must refer to the Sastra. Their number, according to an account taken in 1807, was 128,045.

The Tiyān woman (Tiyatti) wears no cholee, or any cloth thrown over her shoulders and neck. Her body down to the waist is entirely exposed.

Notes.—1. See *Iluvan*, *Shanar*.

2. This caste now numbers 527,928 (Census, 1871).

TOBACCO.

Average annual consumption 1,500 candies of 640 lb., or $1\frac{3}{4}$ per head in the whole population.

TODUTPANAYAM.

From Dravidian *Toduka* (= to touch, feel, come into contact with) and *Panayam* (q.v.).

A deed in use.

Notes.—1. The land is here pledged as security for the repayment with interest of certain sums advanced, but the lender has no right to interfere in the management of the property. In some cases it is stipulated that on failure on the part of the borrower to pay the interest, the lender shall be placed in possession of the land. Where such stipulation exists the lender can sustain an action for possession. In other cases he must sue for the recovery of the principal and interest of the loan, the land being liable in the event of the money not being paid.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

2. Another term for the same deed is *Chundippanayam* (Dravidian *Chunduka* = to point at).

TUSIKKANAM.

From corruption of Sanskrit *Suchi* (= a needle, iron style) and *Kaṇam* (q.v.).

Is the fee to the writer of a new mortgage-deed. This and the Oppu may amount to 7 per cent, sometimes more, sometimes less.

ULA-PARAMBU.

Ula for *ulavu* (Dravidian) = tillage, and *Parambu* (q.v.).

Ploughable or arable highland by which the hill rice cultivation, or Modan paramba, is distinguished from the plantations, which are more properly called paramba.

Note.—Applied to land made over temporarily for use.

UNDARUTI.

From Dravidian *Unnuka* (= to eat) and Dravidian *aruti* (end); literally, therefore, it means having eaten and ended, that is, the property is enjoyed until the money advanced has been fully recovered with interest.

Undaruti means a settlement ¹ (of the debt) by the enjoyment of the profits by the usufruct. It is a species of mortgage which seems to answer to the Vivum Vadium, where the mortgagee holds the estate till the rents and profits repay the sum borrowed; with this exception, that the pattam or rent is previously determined, and it is therefore known beforehand in how many years the debt will be liquidated, and the mortgagee is under no necessity of rendering to the proprietor an account of the produce of the estate.

In this deed the pattam being first determined and specified, whether in rice or garden lands or in grain or money, a provision ² is made out of it to the mortgagee for the interest of the debt at the rate agreed upon, and a further provision for such a share of the pattam as shall, within a certain time, repay the principal. If the mortgagee relinquishes the land before the expiration of the time and claims the debt, the mortgagor

¹ *Undaruti* is, I conceive, a lease. The full rent for the term of the lease is paid in advance. In fixing the rent, of course the tenant will take care to see that only the *present worth* is offered and paid. An Undaruti lessee is never entitled, as a matter of right, to cancel the lease. In any case he would get back no interest for the reason just advanced.

² Not that I know of.

may take credit for the amount which the mortgagee has received, during the period he has been in possession, out of the fund allotted towards the discharge (not of the interest, but) of the principal, and from the remainder he is entitled to deduct 23 per cent for Sakshi and Suchi. The mortgagee having undertaken the responsibility of the management, this deduction is considered a just fine for his breach of engagement.

Example.

	PANAMS.
The amount of the debt is	100
The annual pattam is	10
The interest to be received by the mortgagee at 5 per cent is	5
The share of the pattam to be received by the mortgagee towards the discharge of the principal is per annum	5
Which will thus be paid in 20 years.	
The mortgagee has enjoyed possession, say, 8 years, when he wishes to throw up; he has therefore received	40
Which, being deducted from the original sum, leaves	60
A deduction of 23 per cent from the latter sum on account of Sakshi and Suchi amounts to	13-4/5
Leaving the balance to be paid to the mortgagee	46-1/5

It has been¹ said that the mortgagee does not receive the Kolulabham or cultivator's profit, but according to my inquiries he is entitled to it.

The interest under the Undaruti deed is greater than that under the principal deeds of mortgage which have their rise from the Kana Jamma Maryada. It is generally 10 per cent.

Though it affords the means of early liquidating the debt, it is considered in a less friendly light by the mortgagee in general than the Panaya Pattola deed. It is true he recovers his money, but what he receives annually is probably expended annually, and at the end of the specified period he does not become the laird of the land. It is a more mercantile speculation which does not add to his dignity. The old proprietor, on the contrary, prefers this kind of tenure; for though he suffers deprivation for a period, he is ultimately restored to his station of proprietor of the soil.

Notes.—1. The foot-notes to Mr. Græme's text are by an experienced Native Revenue official.

2. The tenant is much in the same position as a Kanam mortgagee having possession and recovering the interest of his money from the rent produce of the land. Instead, however, of making over the surplus produce to the landlord, he places it to his credit in account, to be applied to the reduction of the principal. As soon as the principal is in this manner repaid, the mortgagee must restore the land to the proprietor.—(Proceedings of the Court of Sadr Adalat, No. 18, dated 5th August 1856.)

3. *Undaruti* is a species of mortgage, the nature of which is to absorb the principal amount in the profits of the mortgaged property till it is reduced to nothing.—N.D.C., 25 (1874).

¹ Major Walker's treatise on Mortgages.

UR or KARA.

Ur (Dravidian) = village, hamlet. *Kara* (Dravidian) = shore, bank, hamlet.

A collection of houses in different directions, a number of which constitute a *Desam*. Houses are generally built round a tract of paddy land, and, according to their bearings, are named *Vadaku kara* (a collection to the north), *Tekku kara*, and so forth. The *Urus* or *Karas* have no separate boundaries and no distinct names, but are comprehended in the *Desam*.

Notes.—1. See *Tara* and *Desam*.

2. These were probably congories of houses inhabited by husbandmen, cultivators, subordinate to the *Desavali* in military, and to the *Taravattu Kammavar* in civil matters.

URALAN.

From *Ur* (q.v.) and Dravidian *al* (= person, able person). Their office *Uranma* or *Urayma*.

May be considered the patron or founder of a pagoda, whether established in the time of Parasurama or in more recent times by Brahmans or Rajas.

Notes.—1. When the pagoda is itself the property of the family, by the custom of Malabar the lands attached thereto are alienable as any other private possession.—M.S.C., 64 (1861). A sale of *Urayma* right is invalid.—N.D.C., 34 (1874). Lands attached to a pagoda cannot be alienated by the whole body of *Uralar*.—N.D.C., 102 (1843). *Uralar* cannot sell their rights. 7 M.H.C.R., 210; 1, L.L.R., Madras I, 235.

2. See *Desam*.

VAKACHCHAL.

From Dravidian *vakayuka* (= to divide).

The share of 2 in 10 in the pattam, in kind, which the Rajas used to receive in the northern districts, before Hyder's conquest, from all but the pagoda lands, after which, in 953, the Huzzur Nikuti or the basis of the present assessment was established. The *Vakachchal* is said to have been introduced first in 907., when the Ikkery or Bednore Government first invaded Malabar.

VAKACHCHA(L)KKARAN.

From *Vakachchal* (q.v.) and Sanskrit *Karan* (= doer, one who has to do with).

The collector of the share (of the pattam). He held the situation under the Rajas formerly nearly corresponding to the *Pravartti* of the present day.

Note.—See *Pravritikkaran* and *Varam*.

VAKKU.

(Malayalam) = hemp. From *Vala* (Dravidian) = net, hence *Valkkuka* or *Vakkuka* = to catch fish and *vakku*, the material used for lines.

Hemp. It is sown in paramba land, but it is supposed to thrive best in the land called *Palliyal*, which has a sufficient command of water without being too low. The cultivation of it has extended of late years

in consequence of the encouragement given to it by the canvas manufactory at Beypoor, but in the Kilakkampuram and Vadakkampuram and Polnad Districts there is an ancient prohibition against its culture, as there is against that of ginger and against the use of buffaloes for ploughing, said to have been issued by a Raja of these districts, from whom the Zamorin Raja usurped them, and who has since become the Kadattanad Raja.

VALLI and VITTU.

Valli from *val* (Dravidian) = strong, means proper subsistence given in kind to slaves or laborers. *Vittu* (Dravidian) = seed.

Is the charges of cultivation, and with *Vittu* or the seed is called *Vittuvalli*. As the hire of labor applies only to slaves, Kuli or Cooly is the term when free men are employed. *Vittu-valli* comprehends the expense of ploughing, of digging, of sowing, of manuring, of weeding, and of threshing. (On the Eastern Coast the paddy is trod by bullocks, in Malabar by men.) The *Valli* is reckoned to amount to a third of the gross produce (deducting always 10 per cent. for reaping), but where the produce falls short of seven-fold the *Valli* exceeds this proportion. It must be paid, it is supposed, out of the *Kolulabham* or the cultivator's profit.

Mr. Rickards, in his proposed settlement for Malabar, recommends the quantity of seed sown and an equal quantity for charges to be deducted on account of *Vittu-valli* from the gross produce, and the different shares to be determined on the remainder. The proportion to the gross produce varies according to the quality of the soil and its estimated produce. (See the account given by the Janmis to Mr. Rickards in 1778). The lowest sort of land in this statement is supposed to produce three-fold only, which is $33\frac{3}{10}$ per cent., the highest thirty-fold, which is only $3\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. of the gross produce for *Vittu-valli*.

Note. -See *Kolulabham*, etc.

VALUM-PUDAVUM.

Val (Dravidian) = sword. *Pudavu* (Dravidian) = double cloth.

Is a certain rank conferred upon Rajas and *Naduvalis*, the external ceremony of which is conferring a sword and some cloth. To a Raja the ceremony is performed by a Namburipad Brahman, and to a *Naduvali* by a Raja. Money is given on these occasions by the person upon whom the honor is conferred.

VALUMEL KODI.

Literally = colored tip of the tail.

A buffalo having a white tip to the tail, belonging to individuals, became the property of *Desavalis* in former times as one of their privileges.

VANOKKI.

Perhaps from *Vanam* (Dravidian) = sky, and *nokkunn* (Dravidian) = to look, observe, meaning crops dependent on the sky, rain-fed.

Same as *Punam* and *Modan*.

VARGE.

A word used in the early records of Malabar. From the Portuguese word *Varja*, and means field or meadow.

VASTU and VASTU-MUTAL.

Vastu (Sanskrit) = substance, matter, thing, property, weighty action, provender. *Mutal* (Dravidian) = beginning, blossom, principal or capital, stock in trade, property, money.

Means generally the landed property of an individual; to include the personal property it is necessary to say Vastu-mutal.

VELLAKKEDU.

From Dravidian *vellam* (= water) and Dravidian *kedu* (= destruction, loss, damage).

Loss by flood. In fixing the pattam for the Kudiyan remission is allowed on this account.

VEYILKKEDU.

From Dravidian *veyil* (= sunshine) and Dravidian *kedu* (= destruction, loss, damage).

Injury by heat or drought. In fixing the pattam in Malabar permanent allowance appears to have been made on this account.

VILACHCHAL MENI-PATTAM.

Vilachchal, from Dravidian *vila* (= vegetation, crop), means produce of corn, ripe crop. *Meni* (Dravidian) = body, shape, sample, average. *Pattam* (q.v.).

Is the pattam deducible from taking, according to Mr. Rickards' proposed settlement, two-thirds of the Vilachchal or gross produce of the Janmi Pymaish account of 981, after deducting a quantity equal to the quantity of seed sown, and one-third for the cultivator's share. In the Malabar Province, with the exception of Wynad, it amounts to standard paras 6,210,562 and 5 Idangalis. It is to be distinguished from the Verumpattam of the same account, which is the quantity stated by the Janmis to be actually receivable by them from their tenants. It amounts to standard paras 5,910,375 and 3 Idangalis. The Vilachchal-meni-pattam with respect to gardens is two-thirds of the gross produce according to Mr. Rickards' proposed settlement.

Note.—See *Pattam* and *Kolulabham*.

VILUMPADI.

From Dravidian *viluka* (= to fall) and Dravidian *padi* = measure, at the rate of, according to).

Is a mode of agreement in practice between the Janmi and Kudiyan in Kilakkampuram and Vadakkampuram of the Calicut Taluk.

Suppose that in the Sirkar accounts	
the land is entered as requiring to be	
sown upon it	20 paras.
The original assessment of Arshad Bog	
at 3 gold fanams per para make ..	60 gold fanams.
To which being added 1 in 10 the	
increase by the Rajas	6 do.
	—
Total ..	66 do.

Then suppose that the total pattam is	100 paras.
That the interest upon 400 gold fanams lent by Kudiyan to the Janmi be deducted	 20 do.
There remain	.. 80 do.
Which, at the rate of agreement between them, is	 80 fanams.
From this deduct the assessment	.. 66 do.
There remains to be paid by the Kudiyan	 14
But it is agreed that the Kudiyan shall pay on the number of paras fixed as interest the same proportion of assessment as the Janmi pays upon the whole land; this upon 20 paras makes	 13½ gold fanams.
Which being added makes as the amount which the Kanakkaran is to give to the Janmi	 27½ do.

It has above been explained to mean the proportion of the public assessment which a Kanakkaram agrees to pay out of his share of the produce in common with the Janmi. Refers also to a mode of levying the assessment in Walluvanad, etc., taluks on Modan and hill produce. For instance, the permanent jamma under these heads being in any village considered to be 100 fanams, an annual inspection of the produce takes place, and 2 in 10 being assumed as the Sirkar share, this share is valued at a higher or lower rate on the different lands as may be necessary to bring the jamma exactly to 100 fanams. As a farther illustration, the Sirkar share of the produce might, in one year, be 100 paras; one fanam would accordingly be fixed as the rate for 10 Idangalis. In another year the Sirkar share of the produce might be only 80 paras; the rate would then be a fanam for every 8 Idangalis. In both cases the total amount would be equal. Vilumpadi means generally proportion, ratio, rate.

VIRIPPU.

Dravidian = bedding, crop cut in August and September.

The name of a rice which has only one crop in the year, and that crop is only cut in Kanni (September and October).

VITTUPADU.

From Dravidian *vittu* (= seed) and Dravidian *padu* (= falling, falling into power of, rank, nature, measure of space and time).

Answers to Verripadoo in Tamil and Beenjivuree in Hindustani. It means seed-land; that is, the quantity of seed which any land requires to sow it for a single crop. That is, suppose a land takes 10 paras to sow it or one crop and that it yields three crops. It would altogether require 30 paras for the different crops, but it would be called only a 10-para Vittupadu.

A specific superficial extent in cawnies or acres is not to be ascertained merely by the quantity of seed required to sow any land, because bad soil requires a larger, and good soil a smaller, quantity to sow it in the same extent of land.

Note.—See *One Para Seed Land*.

VYALAVATTAM.

From *vyalam* (Sanskrit) = the planet Jupiter, and *vattam* (Dravidian) = a circle ; means the cycle of Jupiter, about 12 years.

A cycle of 12 years, to which all transactions in Malabar had reference previous to the establishment of the present Malabar era,—renewal of leases, bonds, and rent of gardens. Each year of the cycle was named alternately from the 12 signs of the Zodiac, and as months were distinguished in the same way, the name of the month and the name of the year might often be the same in a deed.

Note.—The word *andu*, in the Jews' Deed (No. 1) and in the old *Kanam* Deed (No. 4) printed in Appendix XII, signified this cycle of Jupiter, or a cycle of 60 years.

VYAVAHARAMALA.

From Sanskrit *vyavaharam* (= dealings, usage, practice of Courts, law-suit) and Sanskrit *mala* (= garland, wreath, necklace).

A book containing the law of division of produce between the cultivator and proprietor, without allusion to any assessment which did not at that time exist.

Note.—As matter of fact, the *Vyavaharamala* is more taken up with judicial matters than with matters agricultural.

APPENDIX XIV.

A.—ANJENGO FACTORY AND RESIDENCY.

List of Chiefs and Residents.

Factory established in	..	..	..	..	..	1684
John Brabon, Chief about	..	..	..	..	..	1710
Alexander Orme, do.	..	..	..	..	..	1723
Hezekiah King, do.	..	..	..	..	..	1729
William Wake, do.	..	..	..	..	..	1735
The factory records extant commence from	1st August	..	..	..	..	1744

—	Date of assuming charge.	Date of retirement.	Remarks.
<i>Chiefs.</i>			
R. Bouchier	.. .. .	1st February 1750 ..	Was Chief on 1st August 1744.
T. Byfold ..	2nd February 1750.	5th March 1751.	
T. Hodges ..	5th March 1751 ..	7th April 1752.	
W. Hornby, acting.	8th April 1752 ..	14th May 1752.	
G. Scott ..	15th May 1752 ..	27th March 1757.	
I. Spencer ..	28th March 1757 ..	12th September 1758.	
C. Crommelin ..	13th September 1758.	20th April 1759.	
I. Whitohill ..	21st April 1759 ..	8th September 1769.	Died at Anjengo.
W. Taylor, ..	8th September 1769.	9th December 1769.	
acting.			
P. E. Wrench ..	10th December 1769.	16th February 1774.	
S. Ewart, acting.	17th February 1774 ..	23rd March 1774.	
N. Slackhouse ..	24th March 1774 ..	12th February 1776 ..	The Chiefship was now reduced to a Residency.
<i>Residents.</i>			
G. Bigger, acting.	13th February 1776 ..	31st December 1776.	
J. Torlope ..	1777 ..	8th December 1780.	Diary missing.
J. Morley ..	9th December 1780.	10th December 1781.	
J. Hutchinson, acting.	11th December 1781.	22nd March 1782 ..	Mr. Hutchinson was appointed Cochin Commissioner, but in five months he returned to Anjengo and died there.
J. Hutchinson, confirmed.	23rd March 1782 ..	24th February 1796.	

A.—ANJONGO FACTORY AND RESIDENCY—*cont.**List of Chiefs and Residents—cont.*

—	Date of assuming charge.	Date of retirement.	Remarks.
<i>Residents—cont.</i>			
I. T. Dyne, acting.	25th February 1796 ..	17th July 1796.	
J. Hutchinson.	18th July 1796 ..	11th October 1797.	
I. T. Dyne, acting.	12th October 1797 ..	22nd February 1798.	
G. Parry ..	23rd February 1798 ..	3rd September 1803.	
A. W. Handley.	4th September 1803.	1st July 1808 ..	Died at Anjongo.
I. T. Dyne, acting.	1st July 1808 ..	27th October 1808.	
I. Smee ..	28th October 1808 ..	27th December 1809.	
R. Coward ..	28th December 1809.	10th December 1810.	Factory abolished and Anjongo transferred to the Political Resident, Travancore.

B.—TELLICHERRY FACTORY AND RESIDENCY.

List of Chiefs and Residents.

—	Date of assuming charge.	Date of retirement.	Remarks.
<i>Chiefs.</i>			
Robert Adams.	....	10th March 1728 ..	Chief.
John Braddyll.	10th March 1728 ..	17th December 1732.	
Stephen Law.	17th December 1732.	27th February 1739.	
William Wako.	27th February 1739 ..	8th November 1742.	
William Jaynson.	8th November 1742.	8th February 1743 ..	Provisional.
John Geekie.	8th February 1743 ..	20th January 1746.	
George Dudley	20th January 1746 ..	13th May 1747.	
William West.	13th May 1747 ..	20th May 1748 ..	Provisional.
Robert Rawdon.	20th May 1748 ..	31st October 1748 ..	Died.
Thomas Byfeld.	31st October 1748 ..	17th January 1750.	
Thomas Derrill.	17th January 1750 ..	3rd January 1754 ..	Suspended.
John Sowell and Thomas Hodges.	3rd January 1754 ..	13th March 1754 ..	Su pravisors.
Thomas Hodges.	15th March 1754 ..	13th February 1762 ..	Chief.
William Hornby.	13th February 1762 ..	30th April 1764.	

B.—TELLICHERRY FACTORY AND RESIDENCY—*cont.**List of Chiefs and Residents—cont.*

—	Date of assuming charge.	Date of retirement.	Remarks.
<i>Chiefs—cont.</i>			
Thomas By-fold.	30th April 1764 ..	28th September 1765.	Died.
Harry Huet ..	28th September 1765.	13th November 1765.	
James Ryley.	13th November 1765.	13th January 1767.	
William Hornby.	13th January 1767 ..	10th December 1768.	
Daniel Draper.	10th December 1768.	10th January 1770.	
Rawson Hart Boddam.	10th January 1770 ..	4th March 1776 ..	Chiefship reduced to Residency.
<i>Residents.</i>			
William Ashburner.	4th March 1776 ..	7th March 1777.	
Richard Church.	7th March 1777 ..	22nd January 1781.	
Samuel Stedman and Michael Firth.	} Factors in charge	to May 1781.	
William Freeman.			21st May 1781 ..	18th January 1784 ..	Chiefship restored.
<i>Chiefs.</i>			
Richard Church.	18th January 1784 ..	14th February 1785	
J. Beaumont.	14th February 1785 ..	5th June 1786.	
William Pago and George Paterson.	} Factors in charge	to 24th November 1786.	
William Lewis.			24th November 1786.	24th December 1789.
Robert Taylor.	24th December 1789.	27th July 1794 ..	Factory abolished.

C.—SUCCESSION OF COMMISSIONERS, SUPRAVISORS, PRINCIPAL COLLECTORS AND COLLECTORS IN THE
PROVINCE OF MALABAR.

Names.	Designation.	From	To	Period.	Remarks.
W. G. Farmer, Esq. . . Major Alexander Dow . .	Commissioners for inspecting the countries ceded by Tippu Sultan.	18th March 1792 . .	11th September 1792.	Y. M. D.	
W. G. Farmer, Esq. . . William Page, Esq. . . Major Alexander Dow . . W. G. Farmer, Esq. . . J. Duncan, Esq. . . W. Page, Esq. . . Charles Boddam, Esq. . . Major Alexander Dow . . W. G. Farmer, Esq. . .	Do.	12th September 1792.	17th December 1792.		
Do.	Do.	18th December 1792.	11th October 1793.		
James Stevens, Esq. . . A. W. Handley, Esq. . . T. Wilkinson, Esq. . . Lieut.-Colonel A. Dow . . A. W. Handley, Esq. . . Robert Rickards, Esq. . . T. Wilkinson, Esq. . . Lieut.-Colonel A. Dow . . Robert Rickards, Esq. . . James Rivett, Esq. . . T. Wilkinson, Esq. . . Lieut.-Colonel A. Dow . . Robert Rickards, Esq. . . J. Rivett, Esq. . . Richard Torin, Esq. . . Lieut.-Colonel A. Dow . . Robert Rickards, Esq. . .	Supravisor of the Province of Malabar.	18th March 1793 . .	25th February 1794.		
Do.	Do.	25th February 1794 . .	24th December 1794.		
Ag.	Do.	24th December 1794.	17th May 1796.		
Commissioners for executing the office of Supravisor, and Chief Magistrate of the Pro- vince of Malabar.		18th May 1796 . .	2nd August 1796.		
Do.	Do.	3rd August 1796 . .	24th February 1797.		
Do.	Do.	25th February 1797 . .	14th April 1797.		
Do.	Do.	15th April 1797 . .	25th April 1797.		

C.—SUCCESSION OF COMMISSIONERS, SUPRAVISORS, PRINCIPAL COLLECTORS AND COLLECTORS IN THE
PROVINCE OF MALABAR—*cont.*

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Names.	Designation.	From	To	Period.	Remarks.
John Spencer, Esq. ..	Commissioners for executing the office of Supravisor and Chief Magistrate of the Pro- vince of Malabar.	26th April 1797 ..	19th September 1797.	Y. M. D.	
Robert Torin, Esq. ..					
Lieut.-Colonel A. Dow ..					
Robert Rickards, Esq. ..					
John Spencer, Esq. ..	Do.	20th September 1797.	30th October 1797.		
Major-General Hartley ..					
Richard Torin, Esq. ..	Do.	1st November 1797 ..	13th May 1798.		
Robert Rickards, Esq. ..					
John Spencer, Esq. ..	Do.	14th May 1798 ..	December 1799.		
Major-General J. Hartley ..					
Joshua Uthoff, Esq. ..	Do.	January 1800 ..	22nd February 1800.		
J. Smee, Esq. ..					
John Spencer, Esq. ..	Do.	22nd February 1800.	9th March 1800.		
J. Smee, Esq. ..					
Lieutenant Joshua Watson ..	Do.	10th March 1800 ..	30th September 1801.		
J. Spencer, Esq. ..					
J. Smee, Esq. ..	Principal Collector	October 1801 ..	March 1803 ..	2 7 0	
Major A. Walker ..		March 1803 ..	Do. 1804 ..	1 0 0	
Major Macleod ..		Do. 1804 ..	December 1816 ..	12 10 0	
Robert Rickards, Esq. ..		December 1816 ..	January 1826 ..	9 2 0	
Thomas Warden, Esq. ..		January 1826 ..	February 1831 ..	5 1 0	
James Vaughan, Esq. ..		February 1831 ..	August 1832 ..	1 6 0	
William Sheffield, Esq. ..		August 1832 ..	February 1839 ..	6 7 0	
A. F. Huddleston, Esq. ..		February 1839 ..	October 1839 ..	0 9 0	
F. F. Clemenston, Esq. ..		November 1839 ..	February 1840 ..	0 3 0	
W. E. Underwood, Esq. ..	Ag. Do. ..				
E. P. Thompson, Esq. ..	Ag. Do. ..				

H. V. Conolly, Esq. ..	Collector ..	February 1840 ..	September 1855 ..	15 7 0	Assassinated 11th Sep- tember 1855, 8-30 p.m.
T. Clarke, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	September 1855 ..	October 1856 ..	1 0 0	
W. Robinson, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	October 1856 ..	May 1858 ..	1 8 0	
P. Grant, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	June 1858 ..	April 1862 ..	3 11 0	
G. A. Ballard, Esq. ..	Collector ..	May 1862 ..	25th March 1869 ..	6 9 25	Appointed Resident, Travancore and Cochin.
E. C. G. Thomas, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	March 1869 ..	27th August 1869 ..	0 6 3	
A. McC. Webster, Esq. ..	Collector ..	27th August 1869 ..	1st April 1870 ..	0 7 4	
A. MacGregor, Esq. ..	Do. ..	8th April 1870 ..	20th March 1876 ..	5 11 12	Appointed Resident, Travancore and Cochin.
W. Logan, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	6th June 1875 ..	20th March 1876 ..	0 9 15	
Do. ..	Collector ..	21st March 1876 ..	6th February 1878 ..	1 7 16	
D. Buick, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	7th February 1878 ..	8th May 1878 ..	6 3 1	
W. Logan, Esq. ..	Collector ..	9th May 1878 ..	21st April 1879 ..	1 1 12	
C. W. W. Martin, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	22nd April 1879 ..	4th May 1879 ..	0 0 13	
G. MacWatters, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	11th June 1879 ..	22nd November 1880 ..	1 5 0	
W. Logan, Esq. ..	Collector ..	23rd November 1880 ..	3rd February 1881 ..	0 2 11	Appointed Commis- sioner, Mala- bar Land Tenures.
G. MacWatters, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	4th February 1881 ..	19th April 1882 ..	1 2 15	
C. L. B. Cumming, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	20th April 1882 ..	23rd June 1882 ..	0 2 3	
W. Logan, Esq. ..	Collector ..	24th June 1882 ..	11th November 1882 ..	0 4 17	
L. R. Burrows, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	12th November 1882 ..	18th January 1883 ..	0 2 6	
W. Logan, Esq. ..	Collector ..	23rd January 1883 ..	27th April 1883 ..	0 3 4	Appointed Acting Re- sident, Tra- vancore and Cochin.
C. A. Galton, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	28th April 1883 ..	12th October 1884 ..	1 5 14	
V. A. Brodie, Esq. ..	Ag. do. ..	13th October 1884 ..	21st November 1884 ..	0 1 9	
W. Logan, Esq. ..	Collector ..	22nd November 1884 ..	....	..	

APPENDIX XV.

Proclamation.

THE Government of Fort St. George having received information through various channels that great inequalities exist in the present revenue jama-bundy of the province of Malabar, transmitted orders some time back to the Principal Collector to frame by survey and assessment a new jama-bundy upon improved principles founded on a liberal consideration of the relative rights of the Sirkar, of the proprietor and cultivator. Those orders the Principal Collector has now determined to carry into immediate and due execution.

It is well known to be considered a just system of assessment for the Government to derive its land revenue from the *pattam* (or net rent) payable by the cultivator's tenant to his proprietor.

To establish a fixed rule by which the *pattam* shall be calculated and ascertained, it must be in the recollection of every one that the principal Malabar Rajas, Head Nambutiris and Mukhyasthans in each district were some months ago assembled by summons at Calicut, and, after the most patient inquiry into the mode by which the *pattam* was usually rated, it was found that a variety of systems prevailed, which might chiefly be ascribed to the existing inequalities in the revenue in the different districts in the province.

In order to rectify such errors and establish a permanent revenue by which one ryot shall neither be more heavily nor more favorably assessed than another, it became obviously convincing and desirable to all parties that one uniform system should obtain in estimating the *pattam* on which the Sirkar revenue was to be fixed.

Having fully and deliberately discussed the many points connected with so material a question and pretty accurately ascertained the customs which in former times regulated the *pattam* on lands and gardens generally throughout the province the aforesaid Rajas, Head Nambutiris and Mukhyasthans at length unanimously concurred in certain fixed principles whereby to determine the Sirkar revenue, which they recorded and authenticated by their several signatures.

Those being the very principles which the Right Honorable the Governor in Council had formally and finally confirmed and ordered to be adopted in framing the new assessment of Malabar, they are now hereunder written and hereby published for the information of all its inhabitants.

First.—On wet or rice grounds after deducting from the gross produce the seed and exactly the same quantity for expenses of cultivation and then allotting one-third of what remains as *koku-labham* (or plough profit) to the *kudiyan*, the residue or *pattam* is to be divided in the proportion of six-tenths to the Sirkar and four-tenths to the *janmakkar* ;

Secondly.—On *parambu* or orchard lands one-third of coconut, supary, and jack-tree produce being deemed sufficient for the *kudiyan*, the remainder or *pattam* is to be equally divided between the Sirkar and *janmakkar* ; and

Thirdly.—On dry grain lands (which are very scantily cultivated in Malabar) the Sirkar's share is to be half of the *janmakkar's varam* on what is actually cultivated during the year.

The assessment on the pepper produce will be fixed upon hereafter.

The new paymash on the preceding principles has in the first instance been entrusted to the execution of the several Subordinate Collectors, to whom the necessary orders have been issued.

As the present mode of assessment has been acknowledged to be fair and moderate, it is expected that the *janmakkars* will render a true and faithful account of the *pattam* of their estates at the cutcherries of the Subordinate Collectors, who on their parts will take care that every assistance shall be given by the local revenue servants in each district as the *janmakkars* belonging to it might want to obtain information from their tenants relative to the existing state of their landed property. A form will be likewise given to the several *janmakkars* by order of the Sub-Collectors, agreeably to which the required accounts are to be drawn out.

After these accounts are all delivered in, a rigid scrutiny will be made and the fullest means devised to ascertain their accuracy. The true result will then be submitted for the approbation of the Board of Revenue and Government, under whose sanction the Principal Collector will visit each district for the purpose of granting sealed and signed *pattas*, or assess notes to the several *janmakkars* and other inhabitants, specifying the correct annual revenue they are to pay to the Company's Government.

The Principal Collector therefore confidently expects that, without making themselves liable to punishment by any act of palpable fraud or deception, the inhabitants will willingly and readily render exact accounts of their property, in order that all their apprehensions might be dissipated by the early establishment of an unalterable assessment.

CALICUT,
21st July 1805.

(Signed) T. WARDEN,
Principal Collector.

APPENDIX XVI.

Average annual price of Unhusked Rice (Paddy), 1,000 Macleod seers, from 1860 to 1880, calculated at the rate of 4½ seers of Rice to 10 of Paddy.

Years.	Chirakkal.	Kottayam.	Kurumbra-nad.	Wynad.	Calicut.	Ernad.	Walluva-nad.	Palghat.	Ponnani.	Cochin.	District generally.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1860	RS. A. P. 60 11 8	RS. A. P. 56 3 7	RS. A. P. 62 5 1	RS. A. P. 52 8 3	RS. A. P. 55 7 2	RS. A. P. 57 9 4	RS. A. P. 46 0 9	RS. A. P. 53 8 4	RS. A. P. 55 6 0	RS. A. P. 57 15 1	RS. A. P. 55 12 4
1861	56 2 10	48 3 9	62 5 1	55 4 7	51 10 10	57 9 4	52 0 3	53 8 4	4 4 1	57 5 7	54 5 6
1862	59 9 4	50 3 3	60 11 4	54 7 5	53 10 0	57 9 4	42 10 9	51 12 5	50 10 4	52 15 7	53 6 9
1863	60 3 7	55 12 6	56 5 11	67 8 2	58 14 5	55 12 11	36 5 11	42 0 7	57 4 8	59 11 8	55 0 0
1864	60 11 5	69 7 10	63 8 3	76 8 1	63 13 2	55 0 11	38 14 5	50 11 11	59 13 0	61 15 10	60 0 10
1865	60 8 5	67 12 3	66 15 1	91 13 3	65 11 11	58 2 10	39 11 0	52 4 3	61 0 7	66 2 1	63 0 2
1866	76 9 9	79 10 11	76 1 3	102 15 5	79 10 7	70 14 9	51 10 10	53 11 10	70 5 9	72 2 2	73 6 1
1867	59 3 4	58 14 4	61 12 3	85 4 6	63 0 4	49 9 5	38 0 2	46 10 5	52 8 3	55 13 0	57 3 8
1868	53 7 9	52 8 0	57 1 3	75 8 10	63 7 1	47 14 1	43 4 2	51 10 10	54 8 4	58 2 0	55 12 0
1869	59 5 2	58 11 9	63 12 4	64 7 6	62 1 6	54 5 10	57 5 4	51 8 7	54 15 0	55 2 10	58 3 5
1870	51 11 0	56 14 1	60 3 4	56 0 10	56 4 2	47 3 4	58 8 10	49 1 3	49 13 3	51 8 0	53 12 6
1871	46 7 7	45 4 6	48 15 1	51 12 2	43 5 0	38 15 5	45 2 5	38 6 6	41 4 0	50 5 10	45 4 8
1872	51 4 9	49 12 8	52 13 6	61 0 9	50 5 8	53 3 5	50 0 3	44 15 4	45 1 9	49 6 6	50 12 10
1873	51 6 10	53 15 0	51 13 4	70 11 5	48 4 10	47 14 4	51 5 5	45 14 10	46 7 4	49 14 10	51 12 5
1874	60 1 4	62 0 5	60 4 1	71 13 7	60 6 3	55 15 5	53 2 11	53 8 8	54 3 0	59 7 4	59 9 7
1875	53 8 7	57 0 11	54 8 9	66 12 1	55 5 1	56 15 6	58 0 6	50 13 6	50 8 6	54 12 0	56 2 2
1876	59 8 8	62 13 11	63 4 3	80 12 3	59 2 2	57 8 11	64 1 4	58 1 11	57 9 4	60 12 6	62 5 11
1877	75 9 0	79 6 9	77 10 5	112 6 0	73 12 0	78 9 4	75 4 3	84 7 10	72 0 1	77 13 8	80 11 2
1878	80 1 3	77 10 8	79 7 2	101 11 1	78 11 11	81 8 4	73 13 1	77 8 7	74 11 10	78 9 4	80 6 1
1879	76 12 10	70 3 10	70 9 4	83 0 1	68 9 3	72 14 1	67 0 1	65 13 11	64 4 3	69 7 11	70 13 10
1880	58 14 8	61 2 5	58 3 10	72 12 8	56 9 4	55 1 10	54 11 3	51 13 8	48 2 9	58 7 2	57 9 7
Total ..	1,274 15 9	1,273 13 4	1,308 10 11	1,555 11 1	1,268 2 8	1,210 6 8	1,102 10 11	1,128 1 6	1,172 14 10	1,259 4 11	1,255 7 6
Averages—											
Of the 21 years ..	60 11 5	60 10 7	62 5 1	74 1 3	66 6	57 10	52 8 2	53 11 6	55 13 8	59 15 6	59 12 7
Do. dear do. ..	71 12 0	70 0 7	68 9 5	89 15 11	67 14 10	72 6 8	62 15 11	67 15 3	64 10 2	69 9 1	70 1 9
Do. cheap do. ..	56 4 9	53 10 0	56 9 9	62 2 3	53 8 7	53 0 4	44 10 3	49 4 4	50 7 2	55 2 8	54 9 11
Mr. Graeme's com- mutation rates (as per column 15 of enclosures 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27 and 29 to his report of 14th January 1822).	Kaval. RS. A. P. 27 3 11 Chirakkal. RS. A. P. 31 0 0	Kotiate. RS. A. P. 30 15 11 Tellicherry. RS. A. P. 30 14 6	Kadatta- nad. RS. A. P. 32 0 1 Kurumbra- nad. RS. A. P. 25 4 2	Mr. Graeme's in- quiries did not extend to Wynad.	Calicut. RS. A. P. 22 10 6	Ernad. RS. A. P. 18 4 11 Chernad. RS. A. P. 18 10 6	Walluva- nad. RS. A. P. 14 12 5 Nedunganad. RS. A. P. 12 4 10	Palghat. RS. A. P. 17 5 5 Thennalapa- ram. RS. A. P. 16 11 0	Bettattnad. RS. A. P. 19 15 6 Chavak- kad. RS. A. P. 18 2 8	Mr. Graeme's in- quiries did not extend to Cochin.	.....

APPENDIX XVII.

Average monthly price of Unhusked Rice (Paddy), 1,000 Macleod seers, from 1860 to 1880, calculated at the rate of 4½ seers of Rice to 10 of Paddy.

Months.	Chirakkal.	Kottayam.	Kurumbra- nad.	Wynad.	Calicut.	Ernad.	Walluva- nad.	Palghat.	Ponnani.	Cochin.	District generally.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
January ..	RS. A. P. 58 9 2	RS. A. P. 57 15 0	RS. A. P. 59 0 8	RS. A. P. 68 10 9	RS. A. P. 57 0 9	RS. A. P. 56 7 0	RS. A. P. 51 10 6	RS. A. P. 50 6 6	RS. A. P. 53 11 11	RS. A. P. 57 7 1	RS. A. P. 57 1 6
February ..	58 11 8	57 13 4	59 15 7	66 9 4	56 15 7	54 13 1	51 13 2	53 13 10	54 7 7	57 6 5	57 3 10
March ..	60 11 4	58 2 5	62 0 3	67 1 1	59 7 4	57 5 3	52 10 8	55 0 9	55 9 9	58 5 1	58 10 2
April ..	61 11 9	60 1 11	62 0 6	69 7 8	60 12 4	57 2 5	52 11 2	56 3 4	57 5 6	57 10 5	59 8 4
May ..	61 14 8	61 9 9	62 3 6	71 5 4	61 2 0	58 0 3	52 14 6	56 14 1	57 4 5	61 6 11	60 7 7
June ..	65 0 8	62 5 11	63 7 6	73 13 2	62 13 0	60 15 11	57 15 4	58 3 0	58 14 0	62 5 1	62 12 7
July ..	69 14 10	62 12 11	65 0 2	79 9 1	65 13 0	66 2 4	57 0 9	57 4 0	59 10 10	63 4 5	63 12 0
August ..	63 4 4	63 3 8	66 0 5	80 11 10	64 0 10	64 8 9	56 15 6	59 1 3	60 8 2	65 2 5	64 5 9
September ..	60 1 10	61 15 11	64 6 9	79 7 6	60 11 7	56 6 10	53 8 8	50 4 6	52 10 3	61 13 10	60 4 0
October ..	60 3 10	62 8 8	61 11 11	79 4 7	59 9 0	50 13 1	44 13 0	47 3 3	52 13 4	59 5 2	57 13 5
November ..	57 14 9	60 8 8	61 0 9	77 10 7	58 8 8	52 14 0	46 10 3	48 13 6	52 2 5	57 13 9	57 6 9
December ..	59 5 10	53 13 7	60 13 4	73 4 0	57 12 8	56 1 8	51 6 2	51 5 1	54 1 9	57 7 1	58 0 9
Total ..	728 8 8	727 15 9	747 13 4	888 14 11	724 10 0	691 10 7	630 1 8	644 9 7	670 3 11	719 9 8	717 6 8
Averages—											
Of the 12 months.	60 11 5	60 10 7	62 5 1	74 1 3	66 6 3	57 10 3	52 8 2	53 11 6	55 13 8	59 15 6	59 12 7
Do. dear do.	62 9 3	62 6 10	64 11 9	78 12 1	62 8 9	62 6 10	54 13 3	56 10 5	58 11 9	62 12 11	62 5 2
Do. cheap do.	50 6 1	58 14 6	61 1 10	69 6 4	58 3 8	55 3 11	49 4 3	49 9 9	53 12 9	57 15 0	57 15 6
Mr. Graeme's commutation rates (as per column 15 of enclosures 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27 and 29 to his report of 14th January 1822).	Kavai. RS. A. P. 27 3 11 Chirakkal. RS. A. P. 31 0 0	Kottote. RS. A. P. 30 15 11 Tellicherry. RS. A. P. 30 14 6	Kadatta- nad. RS. A. P. 32 0 1 Kurumbra- nad. RS. A. P. 25 4 2	Mr. Graeme's in- quiries did not extend to Wynad.	Calicut. RS. A. P. 22 10 6	Ernad. RS. A. P. 18 4 11 Chernad. RS. A. P. 15 10 6	Walluva- nad. RS. A. P. 14 12 5 Nedunga- nad. RS. A. P. 12 4 10	Palghat. RS. A. P. 17 5 5 Temmala- puram. RS. A. P. 16 11 6	Bettattinad. RS. A. P. 19 15 6 Chayak- kad. RS. A. P. 14 2 8	Mr. Graeme's in- quiries did not extend to Cochin.	.....

PRICE OF UNHUSKED RICE (PADDY).

COCHIN

APPENDIX XVIII.

Statement showing the price of 1,000 Macleod seers of Gingelly-seed, 1861-81.

Years.	Chirakkal.	Kottayam.	Kurum- branad.	Wynad.	Calicut.	Ernad.	Walluvanad.	Pulghat.	Ponnani.	Cochin.
	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
1861	..	156 4 0	260 6 8	..	145 13 4	..	..	..	..	156 4 0
1862	..	161 7 4	260 6 8	..	161 7 4	..	..	..	..	161 7 4
1863	..	156 4 0	260 6 8	..	151 0 8	..	..	..	..	161 7 4
1864	..	177 1 4	260 6 8	..	171 14 0	..	..	..	..	177 1 4
1865	..	182 4 8	239 9 4	..	161 7 4	..	..	..	..	182 4 8
1866	..	218 12 0	239 9 4	..	213 8 8	..	..	..	..	229 2 8
1867	..	223 15 4	239 9 4	..	187 8 0	..	..	..	..	171 14 0
1868	..	161 7 4	239 9 4	..	..	..	..	..	..	145 13 4
1869	..	135 6 8	239 9 4	..	156 4 0	..	..	..	..	166 10 8
1870	..	197 14 8	239 9 4	151 0 8	171 14 0	..	..	..	..	161 7 4
1871	203 2 0	151 0 8	239 9 4	151 0 8	166 10 8	166 10 8	125 0 0	156 4 0	..	156 4 0
1872	187 8 0	145 13 4	239 9 4	130 3 4	..	166 10 8	125 0 0	156 4 0	177 1 4	145 13 4
1873	218 12 0	151 0 8	239 9 4	156 4 0	..	197 14 8	125 0 0	156 4 0	166 10 8	125 0 0
1874	197 14 8	166 10 8	239 9 4	156 4 0	..	197 14 8	125 0 0	156 4 0	156 4 0	125 0 0
1875	208 5 4	130 3 4	239 9 4	177 1 4	..	229 2 8	125 0 0	187 8 0	156 4 0	156 4 0
1876	234 6 0	177 1 4	239 9 4	177 1 4	..	229 2 8	125 0 0	187 8 0	156 4 0	156 4 0
1877	218 12 0	296 14 0	239 9 4	177 1 4	..	265 10 0	125 0 0	187 8 0	231 4 0	166 10 8
1878	218 12 0	239 9 4	239 9 4	156 4 0	..	265 10 0	125 0 0	187 8 0	239 9 4	231 4 0
1879	187 8 0	213 8 8	239 9 4	156 4 0	..	125 0 0	125 0 0	187 8 0	197 14 8	239 9 4
1880	161 7 4	166 10 8	239 9 4	125 0 0	..	..	125 0 0	187 8 0	182 4 8	177 1 4
1881	..	..	197 14 8	125 0 0	..	..	..	..	..	166 10 8
Total	2,036 7 4	3,609 6 0	5,072 14 8	1,838 8 8	1,687 8 0	2,041 10 8	1,312 8 0	1,718 12 0	1,838 8 8	3,453 2 0
Average	203 10 4	180 7 6	241 9 1	153 3 5	168 12 0	204 2 8	131 4 0	171 14 0	204 4 6	172 10 6

APPENDIX XIX.

Statement showing the price of Coconuts and Arecas for twenty years from 1862 to 1881.

Years.	Chirakkal.		Kottayam.		Kurumbranad.		Wynad.		Calicut.		Ernad.	
	Price of 1,000 green Coconuts.	Price of 1,000 green Arecanuts.	Price of 1,000 green Coconuts.	Price of 1,000 green Arecanuts.	Price of 1,000 green Coconuts.	Price of 1,000 green Arecanuts.	Price of 1,000 green Coconuts.	Price of 1,000 green Arecanuts.	Price of 1,000 green Coconuts.	Price of 1,000 green Arecanuts.	Price of 1,000 green Coconuts.	Price of 1,000 green Arecanuts.
	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
1862	23 0 0	1 6 8	26 0 0	0 13 4	25 0 0	0 8 0	53 13 4	1 8 0	19 0 0	1 8 0	25 0 0	1 6 0
1863	25 0 0	1 3 10	21 8 0	1 1 1	23 0 0	0 8 0	47 8 0	1 8 0	22 0 0	1 8 0	23 8 0	1 4 0
1864	22 1 4	1 6 6	22 0 0	1 1 2	30 0 0	0 9 7	46 10 8	1 10 0	21 0 0	2 0 0	20 0 0	1 4 0
1865	20 0 0	1 0 0	26 8 0	1 1 1	30 0 0	0 9 7	56 10 8	1 10 0	20 0 0	1 8 0	22 0 0	1 8 0
1866	22 0 0	1 6 5	39 8 0	1 14 2	45 0 0	0 9 7	56 10 8	1 10 0	24 0 0	2 4 0	32 0 0	3 0 0
1867	35 0 0	3 8 0	30 0 0	2 2 0	35 0 0	0 9 7	55 8 0	1 8 0	30 0 0	2 0 0	30 0 0	2 4 0
1868	30 0 0	2 0 0	24 8 0	1 3 0	30 0 0	0 9 7	45 6 8	1 8 0	30 0 0	2 0 0	28 0 0	1 12 0
1869	20 4 0	1 4 1	20 8 0	1 3 2	26 0 0	1 0 0	42 14 8	1 8 0	22 0 0	1 10 0	27 0 0	1 12 0
1870	20 4 0	1 4 1	33 8 0	1 8 6	30 0 0	0 8 0	49 2 10	2 15 8	21 0 0	1 12 0	25 0 0	1 12 0
1871	18 8 4	0 12 8	24 0 0	0 13 7	25 0 0	0 8 0	46 4 9	1 14 5	30 0 0	1 12 0	24 8 0	1 10 0
1872	19 0 0	0 11 2	16 0 0	0 13 0	30 0 0	0 8 0	35 8 7	1 12 10	19 0 0	1 4 0	24 0 0	1 8 0
1873	17 13 9	0 13 10	24 0 0	1 8 6	32 0 0	0 8 0	38 8 0	1 10 0	17 0 0	1 0 0	25 8 0	3 0 0
1874	23 10 6	0 8 0	23 8 0	2 0 0	32 0 0	0 8 0	40 0 0	1 15 0	19 0 0	1 0 0	30 0 0	4 0 0
1875	34 0 0	1 0 0	22 0 0	1 3 2	35 0 0	0 8 0	42 0 0	1 15 0	19 0 0	1 0 0	30 0 0	3 0 0
1876	23 8 0	0 12 10	23 0 0	2 8 9	30 0 0	0 8 0	44 2 5	1 15 0	22 0 0	1 8 0	29 0 0	2 8 0
1877	33 0 0	2 13 7	35 0 0	1 10 8	28 0 0	0 8 0	50 4 3	2 0 0	21 0 0	1 8 0	27 8 0	1 12 0
1878	33 4 0	2 0 0	32 0 0	1 9 7	26 0 0	0 8 0	52 11 0	1 8 0	33 0 0	1 8 0	25 0 0	1 8 0
1879	21 8 0	0 9 10	20 0 0	1 0 0	23 0 0	0 8 0	41 12 1	1 8 0	27 0 0	1 8 0	24 0 0	1 8 0
1880	19 0 0	0 12 0	18 8 0	1 8 0	20 0 0	0 9 7	34 9 6	1 0 0	20 0 0	1 4 0	18 0 0	1 0 0
1881	18 0 0	0 12 0	..	..	18 0 0	0 9 7	37 8 0	1 6 0	17 0 0	1 4 0	..	..
Total	478 13 11	26 1 6	482 0 0	26 10 7	575 0 0	11 3 1	917 10 1	33 13 11	453 0 0	30 10 0	491 0 0	37 4 0
Average	23 15 1	1 4 10	25 5 11	1 6 5	28 12 0	0 8 11	45 14 1	1 11 1	22 10 5	1 8 6	25 13 6	1 15 4

PRICE OF COCONUTS AND ARECAS

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Statement showing the price of Coconuts and Arecas for twenty years from 1862 to 1881—cont.

Years.	Walluvanad.		Palghat.		Ponnani.		Cochin.		Chavakkad. *	
	Price of 1,000 green Coconuts.	Price of 1,000 green Areanuts.	Price of 1,000 green Coconuts.	Price of 1,000 green Areanuts.	Price of 1,000 green Coconuts.	Price of 1,000 green Areanuts.	Price of 1,000 green Coconuts.	Price of 1,000 green Areanuts.	Price of 1,000 green Coconuts.	Price of 1,000 green Areanuts.
	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
1862	32 8 0	1 12 0	30 0 0	0 14 0	28 0 0	} information not available.	26 5 4	1 11 0	28 4 0	0 14 0
1863	30 0 0	1 0 0	30 0 0	0 14 0	25 0 0		24 2 8	1 5 4	28 12 0	1 4 9
1864	12 8 0	0 6 5	30 0 0	0 14 0	25 0 0		20 13 4	1 7 2	30 0 0	1 14 4
1865	30 0 0	1 4 0	30 0 0	0 14 0	25 0 0		23 10 8	2 6 4	40 0 0	2 1 7
1866	50 0 0	2 8 0	35 0 0	0 14 0	25 0 0		34 2 4	3 12 0	41 0 0	4 14 5
1867	37 0 0	1 15 0	35 0 0	0 15 0	25 0 0		31 15 9	2 12 2	29 4 0	2 4 9
1868	30 0 0	1 12 0	35 0 0	0 15 0	28 4 0		28 6 9	1 2 2	30 0 0	1 14 5
1869	25 0 0	1 8 0	35 0 0	0 15 0	26 5 0		27 1 6	1 11 9	38 0 0	1 8 0
1870	25 0 0	1 8 0	35 0 0	0 15 0	26 6 0		25 3 7	2 13 2	38 8 0	1 11 2
1871	25 0 0	1 8 0	30 0 0	0 15 0	22 0 0		25 13 4	1 9 8	35 0 0	2 12 9
1872	20 0 0	1 0 0	30 0 0	0 14 0	16 11 8	3 3 0	25 0 0	1 6 6	23 0 0	1 3 2
1873	20 0 0	1 0 0	30 0 0	0 14 0	20 15 0	3 12 0	26 0 0	4 0 0	25 0 0	1 0 0
1874	30 0 0	1 0 0	30 0 0	0 14 0	22 9 8	4 0 0	31 8 0	6 0 0	27 0 0	1 4 9
1875	35 0 0	1 0 0	30 0 0	0 14 0	22 12 8	3 4 7	31 0 0	2 8 0	32 0 0	2 14 4
1876	35 0 0	1 0 0	30 0 0	0 14 0	22 13 8	3 0 0	29 0 0	2 12 0	31 12 0	1 14 4
1877	30 0 0	1 8 0	30 0 0	0 14 0	29 10 0	3 8 0	28 0 0	1 8 0	33 4 0	1 8 0
1878	27 8 0	1 0 0	30 0 0	0 14 0	32 4 4	3 0 0	26 0 0	1 8 0	36 2 0	1 9 7
1879	27 8 0	1 0 0	30 0 0	0 14 0	23 12 4	1 8 0	25 0 0	1 8 0	31 8 0	1 0 9
1880	25 0 0	1 0 0	30 0 0	0 14 0	18 15 4	1 0 0	25 0 0	2 0 0	22 2 0	1 3 2
1881	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19 4 0	1 6 4
Total ..	547 0 0	24 9 5	595 0 0	16 15 0	466 7 8	26 8 7	514 10 3	43 13 9	647 12 0	36 15 4
Average ..	28 12 8	1 4 8	31 5 1	0 14 3	24 8 10	2 15 2	27 1 5	2 4 11	32 6 2	1 13 1

* Chavakkad is separately shown as a place noted for coconut produce.

APPENDIX XX.

List of the Malikhana Recipients of Malabar and of the Amounts of their Malikhanas

Family Names and Titles.	Malikhana per annum.	Total amount of Malikhana received by each Family.
<i>The Calicut or Nediyrappa Family.</i>	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
Manavikrama Samutiri Maharaja Bahadur (The Zamorin).	69,663 4 0	
Do. Eralpad Raja	15,000 0 0	
Do. Munnalpad Raja	7,000 0 0	
Do. Edattralpad Raja	5,000 0 0	
Do. Neduttralpad Raja	4,500 0 0	
Ambadi Kovilagam Tamburatti	4,000 0 0	
Putiya Kovilagam Valiya Tamburatti	9,000 0 0	
Padinyara Kovilagam Valiya Tamburatti	9,000 0 0	
Kilakka Kovilagam Valiya Tamburatti	9,000 0 0	
Total ..		1,32,163 4 0
<i>The Chirakkal or Kolattiri Family.</i>		
Raja Raja Varmma Raja	12,475 0 2	
Tevanankott Kovilagam Udhaya Varmma Raja.	1,593 12 0	
Tevanankott Kovilagam Kunyi Amma Rani.	1,400 0 0	
Kavinisseri Kovilagam Ravi Varmma Raja.	2,993 12 0	
Padinyara Kovilagam Kunyandi Amma Rani	1,496 14 0	
Do. Do.	1,496 14 0	
Chenga Kovilagam Ravi Varmma Raja ..	170 13 3	
Udhayamangalam Mittale Kovilagam Kerala Varmma Raja.	500 0 0	
Total ..		22,127 1 5
<i>Kadattanad Porllatiri Family.</i>		
Porllatiri Mana Varmma Valiya Raja ..	13,801 0 0	
Do. Sankara Varmma Ilaya Raja ..	4,000 0 0	
Do. Valiya Rani	600 0 0	
Ayancheri Kovilagam Valiya Rani ..	4,020 0 0	
Edavalatta Kovilagam Valiya Rani ..	4,020 0 0	
Total ..		26,441 0 0
<i>Kurumbranad Kurumbiyatiri Family.</i>		
Ramamangalatta Kovilagam Vira Varmma Raja.	4,000 0 0	
Mutirakkal Kovilagam Valiya Tamburatti	420 0 0	
Do. Cheriya Tamburatti ..	180 0 0	
Mallisseri Kovilagam Tamburatti ..	480 0 0	
Do. Vira Varmma Raja ..	600 0 0	
Kolappatta Kovilagam Valiya Tamburatti..	144 0 0	
Total ..		5,824 0 0

*List of Malikhana Recipients of Malabar and of the
Amounts of their Malikhanas—cont.*

Family Names and Titles.	Malikhana per annum.	Total amount of Malikhana received by each Family.
<i>Kottayam Family.</i>	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
Tekka Kovilagam Kerala Varmma Raja ..	1,250 0 0	
Do. Amma Rani ..	500 0 0	
Padinyara Kovilagam Lakshmi Rani ..	1,750 0 0	
Kilakka Kovilagam Sankara Varmma Raja ..	1,650 0 0	
Do. Kerala Varmma Raja ..	750 0 0	
Total ..		5,900 0 0
<i>Beypore Family.</i>		
Kerala Varmma Valiya Raja ..	1,725 14 4	
Rama Varmma Ilaya Raja ..	276 11 5	
Viran onna Raja Raja Varmma Munnaim Raja.	223 1 2	
Goda Varmma Nalam Raja ..	151 10 3	
Valiya Tamburatti ..	85 7 11	
Manayatt Kovilagam Tamburatti ..	142 13 0	
Nediyal Kovilagam Tamburatti ..	142 13 0	
Panungatt Kovilagam Tamburatti ..	142 13 0	
Putiya Kovilagam Tamburatti ..	142 13 0	
Total ..		3,034 1 1
<i>Parappanad Family.</i>		
Valu Putiya Kovilagam Raja Raja Varmma Raja.	3,085 11 6	
Do. Kunyakkutti Tamburatti.	1,028 9 2	
Total ..		4,114 4 8
<i>Valluvanad Family.</i>		
Vallabha Raja ..	16,415 1 7	16,415 1 7
<i>Palakkad Family.</i>		
Sekhari Varmma Valiya Raja ..	13,898 4 6	
Do. Ilaya Raja ..	2,857 3 3	
Do. Valiya Rani ..	137 2 3	
Naduvisedam Kunchu Achchan ..	517 13 9	
Ilaya Achchan Edattil Kombi Achchan roudam Dharomma Achchan.	517 13 9	
Kilakka Konikkal Edattil Kombi Achchan ..	170 13 9	
Total ..		18,099 3 3
<i>Kavalappara Nayar Family.</i>		
Valiya Nayar ..	4,567 10 3	4,567 10 3
<i>Payyormala Nayar Family.</i>		
Avinyatt Nayar ..	4,058 4 2	
Kuttali Nayar ..	1,766 12 10	
Total ..		5,825 1 0
<i>Pulavayi Nayar Family.</i>		
Manniledattil Nayar ..	1,610 9 2	1,610 9 2

*List of Malikhana Recipients of Malabar and of the
Amounts of their Malikhanas—cont.*

Family Names and Titles.	Malikhana per annum.	Total amount of Malikhana received by each Family.
<i>Palakkad Nayar Families.</i>		
	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
Kongattil Valiya Nayar	1,044 13 1	
Edattara Valiya Nayar	1,031 6 4	
Mannur Valiya Nayar	976 12 8	
Total ..		3,053 0 1
<i>Iruvalinad Nambyar Families.</i>		
Kilakkedatta Kunhi Sankaran Nambyar ..	1,191 9 6	
Mittangott Kunnummal Narayani Amma ..	595 12 9	
Kampratta Kunhi Krishnan Nambyar ..	791 9 6	
Kampratta Kunyi Parvati Valiya Amma ..	400 0 0	
Chandrota Kunyi Komappan Nambyar ..	315 0 0	
Do. Madhavi Amma and Kunyi Chantu Nambyar.	280 12 9	
Narangoli Kunyi Sankaran Nambyar ..	835 15 0	
Do Ramatta Tavalu Kunyappa Nam- byar.	278 10 4	
Do. Puttalatta Tavalu Kunyappa Nambyar.	278 10 4	
Do. Mallisseri Tavalu Kunyi Lakshmi Amma.	278 10 4	
Kariyatt Valoli Edattil Kunyi Krishnan Valiya Nambyar.	724 10 0	
Do. do. Tachehormman Govindhan Nam- byar.	362 5 0	
Do. do. Kunnummal Nara- yana Nambyar.	362 5 0	
Total ..		6,695 14 6
<i>Kurungott Tadam and Poyyappram Nayar Families.</i>		
Kurungott Tadattil Putiya Vittil Rayiru Nayar.	350 3 2	
Do. do. Kunyi Chattu Na- yar.	150 0 0	
Do. Trikkeikkal Cheriya Kunyi Raman Nayar.	75 13 4	
Do. Putiya Vittil Uppatti Amma and Kunyi Chattu Nayar and Kunyi Madhavi Amma and Kunyi Raman Nayar.	244 7 4	
Kurungott Tadattil Koderi Madhattil Kunyi Krishnan Nayar.	116 7 4	
Do. Tala Kurungott Kunyi Parvvati Amma, Kunyi Lakshmi Amma.	107 2 4	
Do. Vishnumangalam Kunyi Parvvati Amma and Kunyi Madhavi Kettillamma and Kunyi Parvvati Amma.	178 1 8	
Poyyappatta Ramar Nayar	155 9 7	
Do. Devaki Amma and Kunyi Amma.	50 0 0	
Total ..		1,427 12 9
Grand Total for the District ..	....	2,57,297 15 9

APPENDIX XXI.

CHIRAKKAL TALUK.

By Chappu Menon, B.A.

Position, Boundaries, Area.—This taluk formerly comprised the taluks of Kavayi and Chirakkal. It is the most northerly taluk of the district. Boundaries: *North*—South Canara; *East*—Coorg; *South*—Kottayam taluk; *West*—the Arabian Sea. Its area is not accurately known, there having been no regular survey of it by the professional department. For the census of 1881 the area was taken to be 648 square miles. About 150 square miles may be said to be under cultivation.

Physical Aspect.—The terraced character of the laterite formation is nowhere more conspicuous than in the Chirakkal taluk, and more particularly in that portion of it lying to the north of the Valarpattanam river. These laterite terraces are, as a rule, unproductive, but where they break off in abrupt cliffs the soil is extensively cultivated with coconut and jack and pepper. The flats also lying between the laterite terraces are thickly peopled and every inch of available ground is occupied. Along the coast, the beach, except at Mount Deli and again to the south of Cannanore, is low and sandy. Inland, the outlying spurs of the Ghat mountains are covered with scrub jungle, and even the Ghats themselves are in great part also covered with scrub, the heavy forest having disappeared before the axes and fires of the thriftless *punam* cultivators.

Population and Houses.—The population, according to the census of 1881, was 272,669 as against 257,377 in 1871, showing an increase of 15,292 or 5.9 per cent. on the number returned in the latter year. The Hindu population numbered 207,909, and there were 60,154 Muhammadans, 4,507 Christians, and 99 persons belonging to other classes. The males were to the females as 132,715 to 139,954, and the density of population was 421 per square mile. The total number of houses in the taluk was 54,005, of which 44,250 were occupied and the rest unoccupied.

Subdivisions of Taluk for Administrative Purposes.—The taluk is subdivided, for purposes of revenue administration, into 43 amsams or villages, each of which is as usual placed under an adhikari (village head) aided by menon (accountant) and a petty staff of peons. Groups of amsams are assigned to officers, designated Deputy Tahsildars, and these latter exercise criminal jurisdiction likewise over the area under their control. There are two Deputy Tahsildars, located one at Taliparamba and the other at Cannanore whose territorial jurisdictions extend over 10 and 9 amsams respectively; and the Tahsildar, who has general revenue charge of all the amsams and special magisterial charge of 24 of them, has his head-quarters at Cannanore. The Tahsildar and Revenue and Magisterial establishments generally work under the Sub-Collector.

Public Establishments.—In addition to the village and taluk establishments above specified, there are two District Munsifs' Courts, situated

at Taliparamba and Chova,¹ usually designated the District Munsifs' Courts of Kavayi and Cannanore respectively, and there are also four sub-registry offices, located at Palayangadi, Taliparamba, Cannanore and Anjarakandi.

The details of the several public establishments in the taluk are given below :—

- ²1. Brigadier-General commanding the Western District, comprising Malabar and Canara, with the offices of the Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quarter-master Generals' and Medical Departments, Cannanore.
2. Cantonment Magistrate and his establishment, Cannanore.
3. Civil Surgeon, Cannanore, and Medical subordinates, Cannanore.
4. Superintendent, Central Jail, and his establishments, Cannanore.
5. Chaplain, Cannanore, and church servants, Cannanore.
6. District Munsifs at Taliparamba and Cannanore.
7. Tahsildar, two Deputy Tahsildars, Taluk Sheristadar, Revenue Inspectors and other subordinate revenue staff.
8. Sea Customs Superintendent and Port Conservator, Cannanore, and his subordinates.
9. Two Inspectors of Police, one at Taliparamba, and the other at Cannanore, with station-house officers and men.
10. D.P.W. Supervisor, Cannanore sub-division, and his subordinates.
11. Sub-Registrars of Assurances at Palayangadi, Taliparamba, Cannanore and Anjarakandi.
12. Officers of the Postal and Telegraph departments.
13. Sub-Inspector and other subordinates of the Salt and Abkari department.
14. Local Fund Overseer and his subordinates.
15. Municipal establishment, Cannanore.
16. Inspecting Schoolmasters and teachers.
17. Vaccinators.

Towns.—Cannanore (lat. 11° 51' 20" N., long. 75° 21' 45" E.), which is the head-quarters of the taluk, is a straggling town situated on the sea coast. It consists of two detached portions, locally known as the old town, or Cannanore proper, and the cantonment. Between the two, and commanding the old town, lies Fort St. Angelo, an old-fashioned fort built of laterite and standing on a rocky promontory surrounded on three sides by the sea. The fort is held by the British troops located in the cantonment. It has a dry ditch on the landward side and flanking bastions. The greater part of the outworks was demolished some years ago. The fort has a flag-staff with a mast-light for the use of mariners. Adjoining the fort is the brigade parade ground, which is very extensive, and has on its outskirts the barracks of the European regiment, the Anglican, German, and Roman Catholic churches, the European cemeteries, the powder magazines, the Commissariat office, and the little village of Barnacherry. This esplanade is used for parade and other military purposes. At a short distance north from the brigade parade ground lies another esplanade used by the Native Infantry regiment. On its outskirts lie the camp bazaar, the depository of the

¹ Since transferred to Cannanore.

² The head-quarters and a portion of the British Infantry regiment stationed at Cannanore were transferred from Cannanore to Wellington and Malabar annexed to the newly constituted "Southern District" (G.O. No. 7124, dated 15th November 1886, Military, Board's Proceedings, No. 62, dated 18th January 1887,) since this article was sent to press.

arms of the native regiment and their lines, and a bazaar known as "Thekki" bazaar, used by the native troops. The public buildings at Cannanore present no marked features. They consist of Commissariat offices, Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General's offices, the Tahsildar's and Sub-Registrar's offices, civil and military dispensaries, postal and telegraph offices, and the Government school. The chief places of resort for travellers are the Esplanade Hotel, the travellers' bungalow, and the mussafarkhana, the latter two belonging to the Cannanore Municipality.

Cotton fabrics of different descriptions are manufactured at Cannanore, chiefly by the mercantile branch of the German Mission. About 3 miles north of the fort is the Central Jail, at a place called Utayan Kunnu; and the court-house of the District Munsif, Cannanore, is located at Chova,¹ a suburban place about 3 miles to the south-east of the fort. The Central Jail is built on the system of blocks of cells radiating from a central watch tower. There is an extensive garden attached to it, in which is situated the Superintendent's house. The jail can accommodate 829 prisoners.

The Municipal Act (X of 1865) was introduced into Cannanore by the notification of Government, dated 24th June 1867, but its operation was suspended over the area included in what are called "kirar limits," owing to the protest made by Sultan Ali Raja of Cannanore. His objection was, however, overruled by the Madras Government,² and the area temporarily excluded was brought within the operation of the municipal enactment in June 1873. The municipality now comprises portions of Pulati and Elayavur amsams, and has an area of about 4 square miles. Its population, according to the census of 1881, was 26,386, of whom Hindus numbered 10,656, Muhammadans 11,617, Christians 4,087, and other classes 26. The males were to the females as 13,046 to 13,340. The number of houses within the municipality was 5,981, of which 1,943 were returned as "unoccupied" at the recent census. The income of the municipality from all sources of revenue amounts to about Rs. 19,000 on an average. The following table shows how the funds are raised and spent :—

CANNANORE MUNICIPALITY.

Receipts.

1884-85.

	RS.
Opening balance	1,202
Rates on houses and lands	8,391
Taxes on arts	2,788
Taxes on vehicles and animals	1,414
Registration of carts	536
Tolls	3,100
Licenses	115
Assignments by Government	799
Fees and fines	631
Endowments, &c.	71
Miscellaneous	740
Total receipts	19,787

¹ Since transferred to Cannanore.

² G.O., dated 21st June 1873, No. 264, Political,

Charges.		1884-85.
Grant I.		RS.
New works—Sanitary and miscellaneous repairs	..	..
Communications	.. .. .	781
Buildings	.. .. .	88
Sanitary and miscellaneous	.. .. .	222
Establishment	.. .. .	180
Tools and plant	.. .. .	..
Grant II.		
Municipal schools	.. .. .	..
Results grants	.. .. .	2,502
Schools on the combined system	.. .. .	314
Inspection (contribution)	.. .. .	100
Miscellaneous	.. .. .	..
Grant III.		
Hospitals and dispensaries	.. .. .	3,285
Medical college	.. .. .	100
Sanitary inspection	.. .. .	102
Vaccination	.. .. .	317
Registration of births and deaths	.. .. .	142
Conservancy	.. .. .	6,570
Grant IV.		
Lighting	.. .. .	832
Choultries	.. .. .	..
Avenues and watering roads	.. .. .	20
Miscellaneous	.. .. .	819
Grant V.		
Supervision and management	.. .. .	2,209
Refunds	.. .. .	272
Balances	.. .. .	932
Total Charges		19,787

Villages or Important Places.—*Payyannur*, which is the northernmost amsam of the taluk, contains, *inter alia*, the desams of Kavayi and Payyanur, both of which are of some importance. The former is situated on an island and contains the bungalow of that name which stands at the frontier of the district. There is a large mosque, and an old redoubt built many years ago, probably by the French. Payyannur lies two miles to the south-east of Kavayi and possesses an ancient temple dedicated to god Subramaniya. The image is said to have been consecrated by Parasu Rama. The *mandapam* is elaborately sculptured and the temple is surrounded by a strong wall. The place is celebrated as having been the seat of the "Payyannur Gramakkars" whom Parasu Rama is said to have specially favoured, and whose descendants still follow the marumakkatayam law of inheritance, unlike the other Brahmans of the district. There is still extant a poem entitled the Payyannur Pattola, described by Doctor Gundert as "certainly the oldest specimen of Malayalam composition which I have seen," and of which he gave a very interesting account in a paper contributed to the Madras Journal of Literature and Science (No. XIII-II, pp. 14-17). "The language," continues Doctor Gundert, "is rich and bold, evidently of a time when the infusions from Sanskrit had not reduced the energy of the tongue, by cramping it with hosts of unmeaning particles." "The legend of Payyannur, N. Lat. 12° 5' near Kavai."—*Nilakesi*, a woman of good family, an inhabitant of a place called

Sivaperur (Trichur?), a town famous for female beauty, could not obtain a son though married to several men. She resolves, therefore, to do penance by wandering about as a beggar, and comes to the famous emporium, Cachilpatnam (near Mt. Deli), where the chief of the place, a merchant named Nambu Chetti, or Chombu Chetti enters into conversation with her, advises her to perform certain vows, and then takes her to his palace as his lawful wife. A son is born and receives the name of Nambusari Aren, and a feast of rejoicing is celebrated on the 41st day on the plain of Payyannur. At the time Nilakesi's brothers happened to go up the coast in a ship. They hear the music and disembark to see the play, but as they climb up a wall of the temple some spectators expostulate with them. They call themselves Culavanier (merchants), who cannot be expected to know the customs of the place, and appeal to the chief. He comes, but applies his rod to the head of one, a scuffle ensues and the strangers are killed.

"Nilakesi, when acquainted with the murder of her brothers, leaves the palace and her son, and again wanders forth begging. The son grows up and is instructed by his father in all the arts of trade and ship-building (given in interesting detail, full of obsolete words). The ship being at length launched and manned with *Vappurawas* (?) *Pandias*, *Chonakas*, *Cholias*, and also with one *Yavanaka*, the merchants start fearlessly on a voyage, first to Pumptatna round Mt. Eli, then passing the *mala* (—Dives) into the *Tanipunularu* (river) to the town of *Puvenkapatna*, proceed further on to the Caveri, from whence they sail into another sea and to other shores till they reach the *Gold mountains* (Ponmala), where they exchange all their cargo for gold, return and land their goods in *Cachilpatnam*, store them in a new magazine, and dismiss the mariners with their shares. After this, when the father and son are amusing themselves with playing chess, a female devotee is announced who is not satisfied with alms, but wants to see the young merchant. Then follows a long and mysterious conversation. She invites him urgently to be present at a night feast of a woman at Payyannur. He promises, but cannot afterwards persuade his father to give him leave, who fears a plot and danger, but the son persisting in importuning him, and at last, prostrating himself, he consents.

"I swear by thee, O Father! I must go.' Father: 'I have opposed thee to the utmost, but now I must not prevent thy going—thou goest far away like dying men. *Strong guards* (or *companions*) are now required—take the *children* of the *Govatala chetti* of *Anjuvannam* and of the *Manigramam* people, who, together with ourselves, are the 4 (classes of) colonists in the 4 towns.'

"They took of the 4 classes of colonists, the *sons* (or *servants*) of the *town lord* in that country, 14 companions, a noble household, not to be outwitted (or defeated) by any in this country (and, says the son), 'though I should be dragged by the foot I shall return (to-morrow) to Cachilpatnam, nor shall this eye sleep (to-night).'

"Upon this, the father advises them to take some merchandise along with them in the ship as for a fair, and the poem, evidently a fragment, closes in the 104th sloka with an enumeration of wares, replete with obscure terms free from any anachronisms.

"I believe that the people of Anjuvannam and Manigramam here mentioned as belonging to yonder country can only mean Jews and Christians (or Manicheans), who, for commerce sake, settled also beyond

the Perumal's territories. It would be interesting to know who the 2 other classes are. In the meantime the existence of 4 trading communities in the old Kerala seems to be proved, and the *നാലുതരം* of the first Syrian document receives some elucidation from this incidental allusion." Gundert in M.J.L.S., XIII-II, 14-17.

Taliparamba, which is the seat of the local Deputy Tahsildar's and Sub-Registrar's offices and of the Court of the District Munsif of Kavayi, has an area of 5,938 acres and a population of 8,363 souls. It has a bungalow and a mussafarkhana close to the Deputy Tahsildar's office, and is celebrated for two of the most ancient and important temples in North Malabar, known as Taliparamba and Trichchamparam temples. The former is dedicated to *Siva*, and is a magnificent structure covered with brass plates and surrounded by a high laterite wall. On the bank of a tank attached to the temple is a building on which is a granite slab bearing an inscription; and another, dated K.A. 954 (A.D. 1778), is to be seen at the foot of a banyan tree in front of the temple. The former is to the effect that the bathing house was finished in Kollam Andu 700 (A.D. 1524). The temple has many sculptures and some fine *gopurams* (towers) which were, however, destroyed by Tippu. It is said to be of very great antiquity, to which the architecture in parts bears witness. There is a large and important mosque here and an old mud fort. On the south side of the road leading to Kuppam is a sculptured figure of a village goddess. Four rock-cut sepulchres were excavated some time ago near the travellers' bungalow, one of which had a circle of massive laterite blocks ranged round it. These caves consist of a small chamber with a domed roof and entrance. In the centre of the dome is a hole to the upper air closed with a slab. The celebrated temple at Trichchamparam is dedicated to Krishna, and there is another at Kanji-rangott dedicated to Siva. In the former an annual utsavam *പ്രസാദം* or festival, commencing on the 22nd Kumbham and ending on the 6th Minam, is performed, and on the last-named day a large concourse of people from all parts of the district, estimated from 15,000 to 30,000, are said to assemble. The Trichchamparam is supposed to be a corruption of Sri Sambaram (*ശ്രീരാമം*) so called after the great rishi of that name who did penance there, propitiated the god, and in his honour consecrated the image.

Madayi or *Palayangadi*, about 14 miles north-west of Cannanore, is a Mappilla village of some importance situated on the right bank of a fine river and is a place of trade. Boats of a large size come up to it. Here is a small redoubt, also a bungalow for the reception of travellers, and in the middle of the village is a handsome mosque bearing an inscription in Arabic commemorating its building in Hijira 518 (A. D. 1124). There is another inscription stating that a tank was constructed by a Hindu. The grave of an Arab, who died several years ago, also exists. In the hamlet of Palayangadi is an old tank known by the name of the "Jewish tank" near which stands the old Eli palace of the Kolattiri Rajas. The tank was probably constructed by a colony of Jews or "Yavanas". There is also a Hindu temple close to the Madayi bungalow.

Ettikulam, a small village lying a mile to the south of Mount Deli or Eli mala, where the sea forms a small bay, is inhabited by Mappilla merchants who supply Cannanore and Tellichery with firewood. On a small hill stretching into the sea is a redoubt strongly built but overrun with shrubs. It was probably built by the Portuguese to protect

their trade on this coast, and it subsequently passed into French and then into English hands. There is an insignificant mosque almost on the summit of Mount. Deli frequented on certain days by numbers of Mappillas. It is infested with monkeys.

Irukku, a large Mappilla town with some mosques, and lying south-east $25\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Kavayi, is a place of note, being on the high road from the coast leading through the Pudiya Churam or Huggel pass towards Coorg and Mysore. It is on the right bank of the Valarpattanam (Beliapatam) river and can be reached by small river boats at high tides. During the rains a great deal of timber and bamboos in rafts are floated down to Valarpattanam and other places for sale and for the construction of small crafts.

Sirukkandhapuram, a Mappilla bazaar with a mosque, has a dense population in its vicinity. It is on the right bank of the northern branch of the Valarpattanam river, which is navigable as far as this for small boats. The bazaars or store-houses contain the produce of the hill cultivation which is here collected and sent down by water to the towns on the sea coast.

Valarpattanam (Beliapatam, called, it is said, after the Raja Valabham, who built it), situated 5 miles north north-west of Cannanore, is a small trading town composed of a street of shops and large houses. It is on the left bank of a magnificent river which discharges itself into the sea 4 miles to the south-west of it. The banks are fringed with coconut and other trees.

Chirakkal is famous as being the residence of the Raja of Chirakkal, who has a Kovilakam or palace at this place on the south side of a reservoir of fresh water of considerable dimensions, estimated to be 1,042 feet in length and 492 feet in breadth. Half a mile on the west of the high road, a street is formed by weavers and other castes, and on a height south-west of the palace are to be seen the remains of a redoubt.

Other places and religious institutions of minor importance are described in the following table:—

Name of amsam.	Name of religious or other institutions for which the place is celebrated.	Descriptive remarks.
Chulali ചുലാലി.	Vayital mala വയിതൽ മല.	A very high hill. Previous to the invasion of Tippu it appears that there was a wealthy tribe of Kshetriyas called Vayital Kov. vanmar (വയ്യാട്ടൻ) who owned temples and property in the amsams of Eramam, Chulali, Kuttur, Kuttiyori, etc., below the ghat. In course of time they found rivals in the influential Nambiyars of Chulali, who waged war against and exterminated them.

Name of amsam.	Name of religious or other institutions for which the place is celebrated.	Descriptive remarks.
Kanniliri .. കാഞ്ഞിരിച്ചെരി.	Payyavur temple .. പയ്യാവൂർ ക്ഷേത്രം.	Image of Siva in the hunting costume of Kirathan—Tiled building. Tradition says that Siva, in order to try the inflexibility of Arjuna's penance, attacked and threw him away, but that from where he fell he made the image of Siva and began to worship, which greatly pleased the latter deity.
Pattuvam .. പട്ടവം.	Pattuvatt temple .. പട്ടവത്ത ക്ഷേത്രം.	Image of Bhagavati—Tiled roof. Cases in which parties agreed to abide by oaths are sent here for the purpose of oaths being taken.
Kunhimangalam .. കുന്ദമംഗലം.	Ramanthali narayam Kannur temple. രാമന്തളി നരായണ കണ്ണൂർ ക്ഷേത്രം.	Image of Shasthav—Thatched building—Is an old temple on the western slope of Mount Deli and close to the sea. Contains Vatteluttu inscriptions which have not yet been deciphered. Is supposed to contain valuable medicinal plants.
Cherukunnu .. ചെറുകുന്ന്.	Cherukunnu temple .. ചെറുകുന്ന് ക്ഷേത്രം.	An important temple with tiled roof in North Malabar—Has an image of Bhagavati (Annapurneswari). Tradition says that the temple was constructed by Parasu Rama and that the deity came from the north near Benares. There are seven old temples here. On the west side of the hill on which stands the temple of Kunnur Matilakam is a rock-cut cave.
Moraya .. മൊറയ.	Katamperi temple .. കടമ്പേരി ക്ഷേത്രം.	Image of Chulali Bhagavati—Tiled. Contains some carved figures. Has a fine tank.
Kayaralam .. കയറാലം.	Volath temple .. വെളത്ത ക്ഷേത്രം.	Images of Vishnu, Ganapathi, and Siva. There are two srikovils of which one is tiled and the other thatched. There is an inscribed slab broken, in the temple, said to be in Devanagari character.
Kuttiyattur .. കുറ്റിയാറ്റൂർ.	Kuttiyattur temple .. കുറ്റിയാറ്റൂർ ക്ഷേത്രം.	Image of Siva. Srikovil is tiled and the rest thatched. In the gate of the temple is a stone bearing an inscription not as yet read—in characters stated to be unknown.
Maniyur .. മണിയൂർ.	1. Maniyur temple .. മണിയൂർ ക്ഷേത്രം.	Image of Subramaniyan. Srikovil tiled and the rest thatched. On the north side of the trench surrounding the temple is a stone having an inscription "in unknown characters" on its four sides.
	2. Kanhirattu Jamath mosque. കാഞ്ഞിരപ്പള്ളി ജമാഅത്ത് പള്ളി	Tiled—believed to be once a Hindu temple and converted into a mosque.

Name of amsam.	Name of religious or other institutions for which the place is celebrated.	Descriptive remarks.
Chirakkal ചിറക്കൽ.	Kalarivathukkal temple. കളരിവത്തുക്കൽ ക്ഷേത്രം.	Image of Bhagavathi—Tiled—supposed to be originally a <i>Kalari</i> (gymnasium) of Patuvilayi Nayar, but subsequently fell into the possession of Chirakkal Raja.
Alikot അഴീക്കോട്.	Perinthra kovil, Kottaram. പെരിന്തുകോവിൽ കൊട്ടാരം.	This is the residence of an agent of Taliparamba Devaswam and is noted for a peculiar custom locally observed. There is a big tract of field known as "Olikot vayal," the ownership of which is supposed to vest in <i>Perinthra Kovilappan</i> . There is no image of this god. At the time of sowing and harvesting the crop in that locality, the Devaswam agent goes in procession and sows or cuts with his own hand, and unless this is done, no one can carry on any operation. A fixed portion of the produce is also assigned to the Devaswam, and this assignment is known by the name of Kangani.
Etakad എടക്കാട്.	Oorpalechi temple .. ഓർപ്പാലച്ചി ക്ഷേത്രം.	Image of Siva in the hunting costume of Kirathan and of Vettakkorumakan. Srikovil and surrounding buildings have copper roof and the rest tiled. This is a very important temple.
Makreri മകരേരി.	Peralasseri temple .. പെരളശ്ശേരി ക്ഷേത്രം.	Image of Subramaniyan. Srikovil tiled and the rest thatched. Supposed to have great power of curing poison.

Anicuts.—Canals.—Neither dams nor canals of irrigation are to be met with. There is, however, one canal of communication usually known as the Sultan's Canal between the river of Palayangadi and a branch of another which runs north and joins the Kavayi immediately to the south of the town of that name. It is 3 miles in length, cut through low paddy ground. It was executed at the expense of the Bibi of Cannanore with the object, it would appear, of having a safe inland navigation from Nileshwaram in South Kanara to Kakkad, 2 miles to the north-east of Cannanore. It is now shallow and impassable during the dry season.

Minerals, Industries and Manufactures.—Laterite is met with in abundance. Some coarse cotton cloths are made at a few places in the interior by rude appliances. At Cannanore there is an excellent weaving establishment under the supervision of the German Mission. In the Central Jail, Cannanore, carpentry and other works are carried on.

Kunhimangalam is noted for its brass works, chiefly lamps.

Trigonometrical Station.—Mount Deli, in Kunhimangalam amsam, lies in latitude 21° 01' 37.04" and longitude 75° 14' 40.51" and belongs to Lambton's series.

ANJARAKANDI AMSAM.

By V. Chappu Menon, B.A.

Anjarakandi or *Ancharakandi* (literally 5½ sections or desams) is an interesting amsam belonging to the Chirakkal taluk, and situated about 8 miles north north-east of Tellicherry, and is administered in a peculiar manner. It has no paid adhikari or other village officers, and is held by the family of Mr. Murdoch Brown on a lease of 99 years granted by the Honorable Company on the 30th April 1817. The lease consequently falls in on the 29th April 1916. The circumstances which led to the grant of this lease were as follows.

In 1797 the Honorable East India Company opened out at this place, then known as Randattara, a plantation of about 1,000 acres for the cultivation of special products, such as coffee, pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg, cassia, cotton, sugarcane and sandalwood plants, and appointed Mr. Murdoch Brown, who had originated the scheme, to be the "overseer and manager" of the estate. Mr. Brown was a merchant at Mahe, who, on the fall of that Settlement in 1793, had entered the Company's service. The terms of agreement were that—

(1) The plantation was to be undertaken and carried on solely and entirely on behalf of the Honorable Company.

(2) Any special products suggested by the Company's agents were to be planted in the manner desired, full accounts of receipts and expenditure being furnished.

(3) If the scheme sketched out for the carrying on and management of the plantation were disapproved by the Court of Directors, then the concern was to be undertaken by Mr. Brown on his own account, the Company being reimbursed within three calendar months after such intention shall have been announced, the principal and interest of money expended on the plantation provided, however, that the possession of the ground occupied by the plantation be secured to him and to those concerned with him at a reasonable rent to be rated according to the custom of the country.

(4) In the event of the contingency referred to in clause (3) occurring, that is, if the plantation be carried on by Mr. Brown on his own private account, the whole produce of pepper, coffee and cotton, and all such articles as shall be produced thereon, shall be wholly and exclusively tendered in sale to the Honorable Company's agents, the Honorable Company paying for the same, viz., pepper at Rs. 50 per candy of 640 lb., coffee at Rs. 8 per bale of 20 lb. and other articles at such prices as Government may deem their qualities and species entitled to. This agreement was signed by Mr. Murdoch Brown on the 31st December 1797.

In 1799, the Court of Directors, who disapproved of the project, ordered the transfer of the plantation to Mr. Brown in accordance with the terms of his agreement; but there was some difficulty in arranging the transfer which was effected by the Principal Collector, Major William MacLeod, only in the year 1802. In 1803 the plantation was almost wholly destroyed by the Palassi (Pychy) rebels, and this again complicated matters. After some years of correspondence, it was settled in 1817

that a lease of the estate for 99 years should be granted to Mr. Brown, and this was accordingly done subject to the following terms :—

(1) Mr. Murdoch Brown binds himself, his heirs and assigns to the payment of an annual revenue amounting to Rs. 2,257-2-0 by such kists or instalments as the Collector might from time to time direct.

(2) When a new survey of the land revenue of Malabar shall take place, Mr. Brown or his representatives shall pay the new revenue on the estate at the same rates as the same species of land and productions of the district shall be assessed.

(3) It shall be lawful for Mr. Brown to purchase, with the consent of the inhabitants who occupy and pay revenue on the 918 acres of land included within the plantation estimated to comprise 2,000 acres of arable land, all or any part of the said 918 acres, the purchases being duly registered in the Collector's office or in the Zilla Court.

(4) It shall be lawful for the Honorable Company to prohibit Mr. Brown from purchasing occupied lands from the said inhabitants, but in that case he will be granted an equal extent of unoccupied land (not exceeding 918 acres) in the vicinity at the time of such prohibition being signified to him.

(5) At the expiration of the lease it shall remain, at the option of Government, to resume the lands thus leased on repaying to the lawful owner the sums paid to the natives for their jammam kudimanir rights and the products on them, when purchased.

(6) Whereas Mr. Brown did in 1802 offer and agree to pay for the purchase of the said plantation the amount expended on it until then by the Company with certain deductions agreed to by Government : and whereas the destruction of the buildings and nearly all the productive vines and coffee trees in 1803 by the rebels from Cotiote put it out of his power to fulfil his agreement and necessitated a reference to the Court of Directors for their final decision as to the amount of remission to be granted to him, it is further declared that Mr. Brown, who has already paid two instalments of Rs. 10,000 each, does bind himself, his heirs, executors and assigns to pay such further sum in final discharge of his debt as the Court of Directors may determine, deducting therefrom the value of the goods delivered to the Company's Commercial Resident in Mahe agreeably to the account furnished to the Principal Collector in 1802.

(7) Mr. Brown shall at all times conform to all lawful orders issued to him under the authority of Government or its officers.

Agreeably to the above provision, clause (2) a survey took place in 1820-25 by the Commissioner, Mr. Graeme, and the Collector, Mr. Vaughan, and this was followed in 1833 by another under the Collector, Mr. Clementson. The assessment for Fasli 1294 (1884-85) was as follows :—

	RS.	A.	P.
Wet	781	10	10
Dry	1	10	3
Bhagayet	1,374	9	7
Inam jodi	39	15	3
Total	2,197	13	11
Abkari revenue on Katti and Chatti	71	6	4
Local cess	292	9	6
Grand Total	2,561	13	9

The estate of Anjarakandi consists of five tarras or desams of—

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Muringeri, | 4. Anjarakandi, |
| 2. Mamba, | 5. Paleri, |
| 3. Kamayatt, | |

together with a strip of land situated on the opposite side of the Anjarakandi river in Kottayam taluk bounded by the dyke of ten feet in height constructed in the year 1800 for the defence of the plantation and containing about 40 acres of land. The total area of the amsam is 3,382 acres, or a little more than $5\frac{1}{4}$ square miles, and it has a population of 4,155 souls, of whom 2,064 are males and the rest females. The Hindus number 3,609, Muhammadans 518, and Christians 28. The number of houses occupied is 711 and unoccupied 93.

The collection of revenue is made by Mr. Brown, who also exercises petty judicial powers usually inherent in the village head. The late Mr. F. C. Brown was appointed by Government to be an Honorary Magistrate of the First Class, and the High Court was also moved to issue in his name a Commission of the Peace. (*Vide* G.O. No. 1315, dated 14th September 1865.)

Mr. Murdoch Brown, son of Mr. F. C. Brown, was appointed by Government, in 1869, to be an Honorary Magistrate in the Chirakkal taluk with the powers of a Subordinate Magistrate of the Second Class (G.O. No. 52, dated 12th January 1869). The only paid public establishment at Anjarakandi is that of the Sub-Registrar of Assurances at that station.

CANNANORE-KIRAR TERRITORY.

By V. Chappu Menon, B.A.

This is a tract of land about 2,364 acres in extent in Cannanore belonging to the Mappilla Raja of Cannanore and which is held by his family under an agreement entered into with the British Government, as already described in Vol. I.

The judicial administration of the Kirar territory is conducted by the officers of the British Government. The raja is merely permitted to collect rents on the lands comprised within the Kirar limits, and has no power to interfere with the collection of special rates chargeable under the municipal or fiscal law. His palace is situated in what is called the old town of Cannanore, and is known as the Arakkal palace. A lamp is kept burning throughout the day and night in one of the rooms in the palace, the belief being that if extinguished the prosperity of the house would be destroyed. The maladministration of the Laccadive Islands belonging to the raja led to endless outbreaks and defiance of authority on the part of the islanders, and the revenue due to him was threatened with extinction. The peishcush due to Government also fell into arrears, and the Government of India therefore assumed the management of the islands till such time as the arrears remained unpaid and a better system of administration has been introduced into them. A detailed account of the islands is given separately.

The temples and mosques within the Kirar territory are shown below :

Names.	Descriptive remarks.
1. Thayil temple തയിൽ ക്ഷേത്രം.	.. Image of Vishnu. Srikovil roofed with copper plate. The rest tiled.
2. Jamath mosque ജമാത്ത പള്ളി.	.. A very important mosque roofed with copper plates. There are several small mosques within the town.
3. Thayil church തയിൽ പള്ളി.	.. Roman Catholic chapel—Tiled building.
4. Khajana Kotta ചജാന കോട്ട.	.. } These are names of certain forts that existed within Kirar limits. All of these are now in ruins and have in some cases been converted into lands for cultivation.
Chutikotta ..	
പൂടി കോട്ട.	
Katalai Kotta കടലായി കോട്ട.	
Avera Kotta അവര കോട്ട.	

The peishcush due by Sultan Ali Raja of Cannanore, according to the engagement, dated 28th October 1796, is Rs. 15,000 per annum.

N.B.—The exact amount appearing in the Revenue accounts is Rs. 15,000-0-11, payable in three equal instalments—the first on the 15th of Dhanu (8th December), the second on the 15th of Medam (6th April), and the third at the end of Chingam (15th September).

An abatement of 1,500 star pagodas, equivalent to Rs. 5,250, was allowed by the Court of Directors in 1822 as compensation for the loss of the Amin Divi Islands attached to the South Canara district.

THE LACCADIVE ISLANDS.

By V. Chappu Menon, B.A.

Position and Extent.—The Laccadives (*Laksha Dwipa*—"The hundred thousand islands," also called the Divi or Amindivi Islands) consist of a group of islands off the Malabar Coast lying between 8° and 12° N. lat. and between 72° and 74° E. long. The northern portion of the group is attached to the Collectorate of South Canara, and the southern portion, which is otherwise known as the Cannanore Islands, is attached to the Malabar district. The approximate area, population, and other particulars regarding the latter group are given below :—

Islands.	Distance from Calicut.	Area in square miles.	Population.	Number of houses.	Dependent islets.
Agatti	MILES. 218	1½	1,375	302	(1) Parali, (2) Bangara, (3) Tinnakara. Kalpitty.
Kavaratti ..	105	1½	2,129	314	(1) Pitti, (2) Seuhelipar, consisting of Valiyakara and Cheriyaakara.

Islands.	Distance from Calicut.	Area in square miles.	Population.	Number of houses.	Dependent islets.
	MILES.				
Androth	139	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	2,884	407	Nil.
Kalpeni	149	1	1,222	213	(1) Choriya, (2) Thilakka, (3) Pitti.
Minicoy (<i>Menakayut</i>).	243	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	3,191	524	(1) Viringilli.
Total ..	..	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	10,801	1,760	

All the dependent islets are uninhabited, with the exception of Viringilli, which is used occasionally as a hospital for the small-pox patients of Minicoy.

Physical Aspects.—The topographical features of all the islands are very simple and almost identical. Each is contained within a coral reef stretching in a general direction from north to south and lies just within the eastern side of the reef, whilst on the western side a more or less extensive lagoon intervenes between the shore and the reef. Androth is, however, an exception to this rule, in that it has no lagoon worthy of the name and lies east and west instead of north and south. Outside the reef on one side the sea deepens abruptly beyond the reach of ordinary sounding tackle (on the east side, save in the case of Androth where it is on the south), and on the other the coral shoal slopes gradually away for some distance till a depth of about 20 fathoms is attained, when ordinary soundings again suddenly cease and reveal the existence of a stupendous submarine precipice. The water in the lagoon is generally so still that in the worst weather coir or coconut fibre may be soaked without danger of being washed away. The surface of the islands is almost flat, the small inequalities that exist being either of artificial origin as in Androth and Kalpeni, or in some few instances of the nature of sand dunes. The elevation is nowhere more than a few feet above the level of the sea. The crescent-shaped form of the body of the island is due to the more perfect development of the eastern and protected side of the coral formation. The same feature characterises all these shoals and leads to the theory¹ that they rose to the surface in the form of circular or oval shallow basins, and that, under the protection of the shoal, the eastern rim gradually developed itself towards the centre and formed an island. This theory is strengthened by the fact that on some of the islands this gradual increase towards the lagoon is still going on. The receding tide leaves the outer edge of the reef nearly dry, and the tide water passes out of the lagoon by two or three breaches in the outer rim, which are sufficiently large to admit the light native craft into the natural harbour formed by the lagoon and varying in depth from a few inches to several fathoms at low tide.

Soil and Products.—The soil is generally poor, consisting solely of white coral sand and extending for the most part to a depth of only a few feet, at which depth a sub-stratum of coral limestone is met with. In most of the islands also there are spots where the soil is almost entirely

¹ Note.—Mr. Darwin's theory that the coral insect by its ceaseless labours slowly formed the land as the island mountain tops as slowly sank in the ocean, is the one that best fits all the known facts. The coral insect, it seems, cannot work at greater depths than between 20 to 30 fathoms.—W.L.

composed of loose coral stones. The islands are covered with vegetation, the luxuriance of which under such unfavourable circumstances is apparently due to the favourable climatic influences of their insular situation and to the fact that the coral free stone substratum underlying the islands is porous. In all the islands fresh water is to be found at a depth varying from 5 to 8 feet, but it is affected by the tide, rises and falls several inches, and is not as a rule very wholesome. The chief products are coconuts, limes, which grow luxuriantly in favourable situations, bread-fruit, dry grains and vegetables—the latter two only to a very limited extent.

There are cattle and goats in some, and fowls in all, of the islands. Rats are unfortunately numerous, and prove very destructive to the coconut plantations. Turtles, both of the green and of the tortoise shell-bearing species, are common, particularly the former, and fish, in great variety and of most astonishingly bright colors, are abundant. The sea slug (*holothuria*), which passes its time in taking in and discharging large quantities of sand, is also plentiful. Shell fish too are abundant, particularly the cowry, and conch shells are not uncommon.

In birds, the islands are singularly defective. The golden plover, the whimbrel, and one or two varieties of cranes visit the islands during their migrations, and owls have been imported to slay the rats.

People.—The people belong, without exception, to the Muhammadan faith, but they are organised after the Hindu fashion into three simple classes or castes—

(1) *Karnavar* (*doers, agents*), consisting of the families of principal people who monopolise the boat-owning.

(2) *Malumis*, subdivided into—

(a) *Malumis* proper (pilots or sailors), and

(b) *Urukars* (boat people), employed formerly as common sailors, but now in various avocations, and

(3) *Melacheris* (climbers), who are the tree-climbers and toddy-drawers and universally dependants of the higher classes.

Notwithstanding their form of religion, monogamy is universal, and the women appear in public freely with their heads uncovered, and in Minicoy take the lead¹ in almost everything, except navigation. Their language is Malayalam, which is usually written in the Arabic character, except in Minicoy where *Mahl*² with a mixture of corrupt Malayalam is spoken. The inhabitants, more especially those of Minicoy, are bold seamen and expert boat-builders. The condition of the various classes and their ordinary avocations are described in the separate notices of the islands.

History of the islands.—The ancient history of the islands is involved in obscurity. Tradition says that the principal islands were settled about 1,000 years ago by people from the coast. The first occupation is attributed to an accident, but considerable voluntary immigration also appears to have taken place. The accident referred to was as follows :—

“ A tradition is preserved among them that their forefathers formed part of an expedition from Malayala, which set out for Mecca in search³ of their apostate King, Cheraman Perumal, and was wrecked on these

¹ *Conf.*, Vol. I, p. 287.

² *Conf.*, Appendix XI.

³ *Conf.*, Vol. I, p. 241.

islands. The inhabitants certainly remained Hindus long after their first settlement and were probably converted to Islam not more than 250 or 300 years' back. They retain some of the general distinctions of caste as well as the law of succession in the female line with certain local modifications. This law is still adhered to on the island of Amindivi, where distinctions of caste and a more numerous population have been obstacles to the gradual change by which the custom of regular parental descent is supplanting the local law of Malabar on the islands of Kadamat, Kiltan and Chotlat of the Canara portion of the group; in the southern islands, still under native management, the old custom is more rigidly observed."—(Robinson).

Some of the principal inhabitants claim descent from the Nayars and even the Nambutiris of Malabar. The Melacheris are apparently the descendants of Tiyyars and Mukkuvars (fishermen) of the coast. The early administration of the islands appears to have been of a purely patriarchal type, conducted by a Mundy, Mudutal or chief inhabitant, and the heads of the principal families. It continued till nearly the sixteenth century, and in no way differed from that prevailing on the mainland. Society was organised by castes having hereditary functions to perform in the body politic, and indeed the archaic form of organisation appears to have been better maintained in these isolated islands than on the mainland. The land in particular appears to have formed a portion of the common stock of the community—and, at the present time even, the idea of ownership *of the soil* has very imperfectly taken hold of the minds of these islanders. Minicoy, though the population is Mahl, is no exception to this rule, and so little has the idea of property *in the soil* taken root, that it is customary *even now* for a man to plant a coconut tree in his neighbour's backyard if his neighbour neglects this duty and if space is available. The trees growing on the soil are, however, strictly considered to be private property, and the islanders have marks which enable them to distinguish one man's trees from those of another. The islanders embraced Muhammadanism at some period subsequent to the thirteenth century, owing, as is supposed, to the preaching of Munba Mulyaka, an Arab teacher who first appeared in the island of Ameni. He met with opposition at the outset, which was, however, overcome by his demonstration of miracles and supernatural powers. Androth, which was the scene of his first success, contains his grave and shrine and has always been looked upon as a holy island. The islanders were probably always more or less dependent on the princes of the Kolattiri family and the admirals of their fleets, the progenitors of the Mappilla house² of Cannanore.

The Portuguese made a settlement on the island of Ameni, but were shortly afterwards (about A.D. 1545) exterminated by poison owing to the intrigues of the Kolattiri princes. About 1550, the Kolattiri Raja, who no doubt found the islands to be, after the advent of the Portuguese, an irksome possession, conferred them, it is said in Jagir, with the title of Ali Raja (Raja of the deep or sea), on the head of the Cannanore family, the stipulated peishchush being either 6,000 or 12,000 fanams. It is said that this tribute continued to be paid, but probably with more or less irregularity as the fortunes of the two houses waxed or waned, by the

¹ Note.—The islanders probably became Muhammadans at a somewhat earlier period than this. The change of faith was probably contemporaneous with the rise of the Mappilla house of Cannanore (*conf.*, Vol. I., p. 360 foot-note).

² *Conf.*, foot-note, Vol. I. p. 360.

house of Cannanore to the Kolattiri princes till the middle of the eighteenth century. The Bednur invasion and subsequently that of Hyder Ali led to the dismemberment of the Kolattiri kingdom and to the independence of the Cannanore house, who retained the exclusive possession of the islands as allies of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. The island of Minicoy appears to have been a more recent acquisition by the Cannanore family from the Sultan of the Maldives and the people probably never acknowledged fealty to the Kolattiri princes.

The islanders state that it was surrendered by them to the Cannanore house on condition of protection being afforded to them against the Kottakkal¹ Kunyali Marakkars, the famous Malayali pirates, who used to harry the island periodically.

In 1786 the inhabitants of the group attached to the South Canara district revolted, in consequence of the rigorous enforcement of the coir monopoly, and transferred their allegiance from the Cannanore house to Tippu Sultan. In 1799, when Canara fell to the East India Company, these islands, which had been attached by Tippu Sultan to his Kacheri of Mangalore, were not restored to the Bibi of Cannanore, but a remission of 1,500 pagodas, equivalent to Rs. 5,250, was conceded instead in 1822. The Cannanore islands became at the disposal of the Company by the storming of Cannanore towards the end of 1791, and were further ceded with Tippu's entire dependencies in Malabar by the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792. This southern or Malabar group of islands, along with Cannanore itself, are still held by the Cannanore family at a peishcush of Rs. 15,000 (less the remission above mentioned), alleged to be one-half of the profits derived from the trade with the islands and from the lands at Cannanore—a tribute which, though adopted only provisionally at the time of the first settlement, has remained unaltered to the present time. The Malabar islands have, in recent years, been twice sequestered for arrears of revenue, and at the present time are under the direct management of the Collector of Malabar.

Fiscal administration.—The sources of the revenue derived from the islands during their administration by the raja comprised—

(1) The monopolies of coir, coconuts, cowries, tortoise-shell, holothuria, and ambergris.

(2) Confiscations, escheats, naziranas, pilot customs, and fines for criminal offences and for evasions of fiscal restrictions.

Besides these, there were several other cesses levied by Mukhyastans, the Pandaram or fiscal agents of the raja and the kazi, in matters falling within their respective provinces. But these, which were for the most part discretionary and unauthorized, have been given up or discontinued. The only monopolies now recognised are those of coir, cowries, tortoise-shell, holothuria, and ambergris. The two last named have almost died out, and yield no revenue to the Pandaram exchequer.

Coir monopoly.—By far the most important item of revenue is the monopoly of island coir. The earliest form in which this assessment was collected was by the exaction of a tithe of the produce on exportation from the islands as well as by the collection of a tithe of rice brought in exchange. For two centuries this, with certain royalties, constituted the whole revenue of the group. In 1765 the right of purchase of coir by the Pandaram was first introduced, when the market value of that article was

¹ *Conf.*, Vol. I, p. 12 and p. 332 foot-note.

60 to 70 rupees per candy, and the price to be paid by the Pandaram was fixed at Rs. 30 per candy payable in rice at a fixed rate of Rs. 2½ per muda, supposed to contain 50 Calicut seers, whilst the average price of rice was Rs. 1-12-0 per muda. The tithe duty on coir was transferred to Cannanore and charged as an import duty; the tithe duty on rice imported into the islands was also retained. From these sources the profits were for a time enormous, and this system was pursued until 1826.

In 1827 the price of coir suddenly fell from Rs. 60 to Rs. 20 or less, but considering the profits derived from the coir monopoly for so many years previously, the Government held with regard to their Canara islands that they could not fairly call on the islanders to share in the loss by low prices, and no change whatever took place in the Government islands. In the Cannanore islands, on the other hand, the nominal price payable to the islanders was reduced from Rs. 30 to Rs. 22 subject to the same deductions as before (viz., 10 per cent. import duty on coir, 10 per cent. export duty on rice and 1 per cent. on account of sundry expenses), and to further aggravate the evil, the commutation price of Rs. 2½ per muda of rice was maintained, notwithstanding the fact that the market price at that time was only Rs. 1½.

In 1832 a further reduction was made in the rate of payment for coir which was fixed, irrespective of the market or any other money rates, at 5½ mudas of rice for a candy of coir subject to the usual deductions of 21 per cent. The price obtained by the islanders for their coir thus dwindled down to about Rs. 6-6-0 per candy. It was alleged by some of the islanders, who represented their grievances to Government, that, besides the starvation rate allowed to them on their coir, they were subjected to further and considerable hardships and losses, because—

- (a) Their coir was dried¹ again and beaten in bundles at Cannanore with a view to reduce its weight.
- (b) Deductions were made on account of old debts which were never proved to their satisfaction.
- (c) The raja's agents exacted presents.
- (d) There was considerable delay in settling the accounts and allowing the vessels to return to the islands.

All these charges were of course denied by the raja and his agents, but the fact remained that the islanders were driven into open defiance of his authority and refused to import any coir into Cannanore. These complaints, as well as the large arrears of peishcush left unpaid by the Cannanore house, induced Government to interfere in the interests alike of the raja and of the people, and the islands were on the last occasion attached and brought under Government management on the 3rd April 1875. The monopoly rates at which the islanders have been paid since 1st January 1878 for their coir are as follows:—

- (a) First sort coir per candy of 560 lb., Rs. 6 *plus* four sacks or eight mudas of rice, nominally equivalent to Rs. 22 in all, but actually rising or falling above or below that sum according as the price of a muda of rice rises above or falls below Rs. 2 per muda.

¹ The islanders, as recent experience shows, sometimes damp their coir to give it more weight. The temptation to do this must have been irresistible, when their produce was being paid for at a starvation rate.

(b) Second sort coir do., Rs. 4 *plus* 3½ sacks or 7 mudas of rice, nominally equivalent to Rs. 18 in all.

(c) Third sort coir do., Rs. 4 *plus* 2½ sacks of rice, nominally equivalent to Rs. 14 in all. Each sack contains 100 Calicut seers of 65 tolas of rice each. The rates are very nearly the same as those prevailing on the Canara islands.

This arrangement is advantageous to the islanders because it secures to them payment for their coir yarn in the article (rice) in which payments are made for its manufacture at the islands, and the money payment in addition enables the islanders to purchase other articles of consumption. The islanders are (as in justice they ought to be, so long as such a faulty revenue system remains in force) protected against a falling market for their produce and a rising market for rice; and as matter of fact, the price of rice having risen of recent years, the islanders have been receiving for their coir yarn better prices than they could have obtained in the open market.

The following statement shows the revenue from the coir monopoly during five years ending with fasli 1293. The figures represent actual sales, including in some cases the balance of coir yarn of previous year. For convenience, fractions of candies and rupees have been omitted.

Islands.	Fasli 1289 (1879-80).		Fasli 1290 (1880-81).		Fasli 1291 (1881-82).		Fasli 1292 (1882-83).		Fasli 1293 (1883-84).	
	Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.
	CANDS.	RS.	CANDS.	RS.	CANDS.	RS.	CANDS.	RS.	CANDS.	RS.
Agatti ..	294	9,396	290	8,790	454	13,339	268	7,804	269	11,257
Kavaratti.	439	13,084	391	11,890	579	16,907	431	12,851	443	18,567
Androth.	517	16,454	466	13,942	679	19,989	493	23,774	454	19,069
Kalpeni.	189	6,002	217	6,583	323	9,500	256	7,350	272	11,383
Minicoy.	11	390	10	481	4	120	24	669	22	924
Total ..	1,450	40,226	1,374	41,686	2,039	59,855	1,472	52,448	1,460	61,200

The revenue fluctuates with the season and with the varying conditions of the coir market, and cannot be relied on. Sometimes the monopoly results in losses to the island administration. The coir monopoly does not exist in the island of Minicoy. A sort of Karayma or fixed rent, at the rate of 15 palams or 5 lb. of coir on each tree confiscated and allowed to remain in the management of the family from whom the property was seized, is exacted in some of the islands. The Kavaratti islanders chiefly noticed this as one of their grievances.

Coconut monopoly.—In 1826 a coconut monopoly was established in the islands according to the same system as existed in regard to the coir. It has, however, since been abolished. During the continuance of the monopoly, people turned to the manufacture of jaggery which was free; but whereas in Agatti the toddy was not plentiful, they betook themselves to the manufacture of oil. Almost all the revenue derived from coconuts

is now obtained from Minicoy ; it amounted in fasli 1293 (1883-84) to Rs. 20,394. The produce, however, included a portion of the stock of the previous year and was unusually large.

Cowry monopoly.—It is not known at what period this monopoly was commenced. The fisheries were carefully preserved for the Pandaram and could not be undertaken without permission. This permission is, however, not required now except when people proceed to any part of the islands where there is danger of theft of Pandaram coconuts. When fished, the whole must be delivered under heavy penalties to the Pandaram. They were received originally by measure in exchange for rice, the earliest rate being two seers of rice for one seer of cowry. In 1826, when the price of coir fell, the cowry rate was reduced to one seer of rice for one seer of cowry. When this change tended to diminish the supply, the rice rate was raised from one to one and a half seers. The present price is 4 annas a seer of cowries, which weighs nearly two pounds. The monopoly is a failure. In fasli 1293 there were purchased 11 candelies, 10 maunds, 27 lb. of cowries at a cost of Rs. 871-5-1 and these realized on sale only Rs. 448-4-7.

Tortoise-shell.—Green turtles are found in considerable numbers on the shoals and in the lagoons of the islands, and are valuable for their blubber. The tortoise-shell yielding species is comparatively rare. Up to 1815 the rate was 10 to 15 seers of rice for each tortoise-shell according to its size, and this was raised afterwards to Rs. 6 per lb. with a view to hold out sufficient inducement to the people to prosecute the fishing. The present rate is Rs. 2 per lb. In fasli 1291, 11½ lb. were purchased from the islanders at a cost of Rs. 23, and realized on sale Rs. 57-8-0. As cowries and tortoise-shell are not important sources of income to the islanders, there were no serious complaints about the inadequacy of the remuneration paid to them by the raja.

Holothuria (Beche-de-mer of commerce).—The manufacture of *beche-de-mer* appears to be somewhat recent and to have given rise to some successful speculation. The Pandaram claimed it as a royalty and preserved all holothuria, either manufacturing the *beche-de-mer* on its own account or renting the fishing to coast merchants. Mr. Underwood, in 1882, found that "the trade in the *Atta* or sea-leach (*beche-de-mer*) has not quite died out. Men do not come over from the mainland as in former days and hire labour to catch them. Some of the more industrious islanders go and pull them off the rocks and out of the sand and cure them. They are sent to Mangalore in the odams and thence shipped to China."

Ambergris.—Very little of this article is found on the islands, but when found it is considered to be a royalty.

Morinda Citron and Lime Monopoly.—The *Morinda* citron of Androth and the lime of Kavaratti were formerly articles of monopoly. The former used to be monopolised at one-fourth of its value and the latter gathered by the Pandaram agents, a good portion being taken as the Pandaram share and sent to Cannanore or made into pickles. The tax was abolished with the sanction of Government, conveyed in their order of 23rd February 1880.

Salt and Tobacco Monopoly.—On the introduction of salt and tobacco monopoly on the coast they were imitated in the Cannanore islands. The raja made considerable profit by this ; but of late it has fallen into disuse, and the people now supply themselves. The free supply of salt to the islanders was recognized by Government in February 1880.

Pilot Customs.—The people of the group are skilful pilots. They used to pilot crafts from the coast till they cleared the group of islands, and also to Arabia. A nazirana at the rate of Rs. 3-8-0 on a voyage of the former description and of Rs. 7 on the latter, was exacted. This has now been given up.

Other naziranas used to be exacted as follows :—

First.—Rs. 300 to 500 on succession of the heir to the office of kazi, which is hereditary.

Secondly.—Rs. 100 to 300 on occasions of titles or dignities being conferred on principal personages. These titles had local privileges attached to them and implied power to levy certain contributions, such as pick of fish, etc.

Thirdly.—Rs. 4 to 11 on occasions of interviews or audiences of the raja.

Fourthly.—Payments for permission to wear ornaments. Formerly toddy-drawers, too, had to pay cesses under the name of naziranas towards the support of the public servants, although the trade in jaggery manufactured by them was free. All these have since been given up.

Bread-fruit trees have been assessed with the sanction of Government, conveyed in February 1880.

Waste land.—The raja claims all waste lands as Pandaram or crown property. The claim has been acquiesced in to a large extent by the people. The ideas of the islanders in regard to property *in the soil* have been only slowly developing in recent years. Originally, the land was the common stock of the community and the administration is now engaged in dividing it among the people. The waste lands claimed by the raja are given on application to any one who will undertake under a cowle¹ or written agreement to cultivate them within a certain time, and all improvements made become the sole property of the cultivator. When the land has been all thus settled, it will probably become possible to abolish the trade monopolies with their irksome restrictions, and to throw the island trade open.

¹ The form of cowle at present in use is as follows :—

Agreement between———on behalf of the Collector of Malabar and———
of———

I,———, hereby lease to you———and I———hereby take on lease from you———the Pandaram land described at the foot of this document on the following terms :—

1. Whereas there are now standing on the said land the following trees :—

Coconuts.			Bread-fruit.	Limes.
Tei	..	..		
Kili	..	..		
Maram	..	..		
Phalam	..	..		
Aphalam	..	..		

I,———, agree to pay rent for the same as specified below, viz. :—

(a) In———of coir of the best sort made in the island and at this rate in each year till———.

General and Judicial Administration.—Very little is known about the ancient administration of the islands. The administrative machinery of each island consisted of a karyakar (raja's agent), one accountant and three or four Nadapals (village runners), the latter number having been subsequently reduced to two. These officers were under the immediate orders of Cannanore, and were seldom controlled in their work by the personal visits of either the raja or his principal karayakars. They were entrusted with the administration of petty police and civil justice, the maintenance and protection of the monopolies, the collection of revenue and the management of the Pandaram property.

The karyakars were aided in their work by mukhyastans or principal men who sat with them in committee in the adjudication of all matters. The mukhyastans were invested with certain dignities and privileges and had their office hereditary in their families. Their presence was necessary to constitute the kacheri for the transaction of business and they exerted considerable influence over the islanders. This form of patriarchal administration was suited to the rude state of society on the islands, but corruption and its concomitant baneful influences were rampant, and goaded the islanders into open rebellion and resistance of the Cannanore authority.

(b) In _____ of coir of the sort above said and at this rate in each year till _____.

(c) In _____ of coir and at this rate in each year until the under-mentioned paimash is made.

2. I, _____, further agree that within three years from the date of this lease the said land shall be cleared, and shall thenceforwards be kept clear, of jungle and planted up with cocoanuts, in such a manner that there may be at no time less than one plant for every _____ perukams, exclusive of the land occupied by buildings.

3. Paimashos shall hereafter be made at such intervals as may be fixed with the sanction in writing of the Collector of Malabar, acting under the general or special orders of the Government of Madras, and at each paimash the rent to be thenceforwards paid by me shall be calculated at the rate of _____ on each tree found to be in bearing at the said paimash.

4. I further undertake that I will not erect any mosque or bury any human body in the said land.

5. I, _____, under the authority vested in me by Government through the Collector of Malabar undertake that no rent shall be demanded from you, your heirs, representatives or assigns on account of any trees hereafter planted by you or them on the said land until the expiration of _____ years from the date of this lease.

6. I, _____, further undertake that (subject to your punctually paying the stipulated rent, and otherwise complying with the terms of this agreement) you, your heirs, representatives or assigns shall not be ousted until the expiration of forty years from the date of this lease, nor after the termination of the lease, until you are paid the compensation provided for in the next succeeding paragraph. But with the sanction in writing of the Collector acting under the general or special orders of the Government of Madras, this contract may for any special reason be terminated after one year's notice in writing has been given to you. In this case you will be entitled to compensation as provided in paragraph 7 together with a further sum amounting in all to 15 per cent. of such compensation.

7. I further undertake that if you, your heirs, representatives or assigns are ejected on the expiration of your lease, or for non-payment of rent or for any other sufficient reason, you or they shall be paid compensation for all valuable trees of whatever description you or they have planted during the lease at rates to be fixed with the sanction in writing of the Collector of Malabar, acting under the general or special orders of the Government of Madras, or by a person appointed by him as arbitrator.

All cesses, customs and contributions due to the Pandaram and local servants, judicial fines and penalties for breaches of fiscal rules, etc., were secured by attachment and confiscation of the defaulter's property and where they could not be fully recovered they were carried into the accounts as debts against the family and realized whenever opportunity offered. Evasions of payments were also punished by fines and imprisonment. There were no prescribed rules of procedure in regard to trials or judicial proceedings and matters of importance were referred to Cannanore for orders. It was supposed that records had been kept of all such proceedings, but they were stated to be not forthcoming when demanded of the Raja by the Collector.

There was no distinction between criminal offences and those constituted by commercial and fiscal arrangements, and the same summary proceedings were resorted to in all matters.

It has been affirmed that offences of a heinous nature happily never occurred on the islands, and it is possible that this might have been the case. Some years ago the murder of a child alleged to have been committed with a view to obtain her jewels was stated to have occurred in the island of Kavaratti, and it was believed that the perpetrator's house was "plundered" by the inhabitants in an organized body,¹ the jewels and a boat were sold and the proceeds given to the victim's family. A plantation of 8 or 10 trees was also carried to the Pandaram account.

8. You, your heirs, representatives and assigns are at liberty to dig wells and tanks, to erect buildings (other than mosques) and to dwell on the land.

9. On you, your heirs, representatives or assigns being ejected you shall be at liberty to remove the said buildings, and shall be allowed one month so to do; subject to a lien thereon for any rent which may be due.

10. You shall not be entitled to receive any sum as compensation save and except in the manner provided in paragraphs 6 and 7.

11. Until the next paimash, the rent shown in paragraph 1 (a) and (b) as payable by you in coin shall at your option be payable in money at the rate of _____ per _____

12. You _____ shall be at liberty to relinquish the land after giving a year's notice in writing to the Collector of Malabar, but in this case you will not be entitled to any compensation for improvements.

13. If you, your heirs, representatives or assigns lease the land or any portion of it to a sub-tenant, the sub-lease shall be in writing and registered, and such sub-tenant shall not during the remainder of the currency of this lease, be ousted from possession of the land, except with the sanction in writing of the Collector of Malabar acting under the general or special orders of the Government of Madras, and then, only on compensation being paid to the sub-tenant at full market rates for all improvements made by him.

14. In the event of the rent being allowed by you to fall into arrears, it will be collected by the attachment and sale of your movable property.

Name of Island.	No. of plot on Survey Map.	Measurement in 6 feet Koles.		Area.	Boundaries.			
		N. & S.	E. & W.		N.	E.	S.	W.

¹ The *Kuttam* (see Glossary) was no doubt a rough but most effective instrument of justice in such cases. The community simply rose and plundered (as in this instance) the guilty individual and his family, reducing them to boggary.

It is curious that this form of rough and ready justice was most frequently employed for the punishment of the offence of sorcery. In the adjudication of petty civil disputes oath, arbitration and ordeal were freely employed, and oaths in the name of the raja and on the Koran were considered peculiarly solemn. The kazi also exercised jurisdiction over matters falling within his province.

The islands form one of the scheduled districts and no written law has yet been extended to them. Nor is there, so long as the islands remain under the direct administration of Government officers, much necessity for the introduction of written laws, which in the case of such archaic forms of society only lead to the breaking up of the bonds on which society rests, and to the consequent multiplication of chicanery, fraud, and other too numerous evils. When society has become more complex, written laws must of course follow; but meanwhile the enlightened despotism of the officers of Government, founded on justice and good conscience, is a form of administration which the islanders thoroughly appreciate and which they have as yet shown no wish to have changed.

Since the last sequestration of the islands, in April 1875, for arrears of peishcush due by Sultan Ali Raja of Cannanore, the administration of the islands has been improved in several ways. The islands have been periodically visited by Covenanted European officers and a small staff of clerks, and the grievances of the people have been fairly and equitably dealt with both on the spot as well as on the mainland. One amin with a gumasta (clerk) to assist him, and paid fairly well, has been appointed for each island, and has been authorized to try petty civil and criminal cases of a nature which do not involve any intricate or nice questions beyond the keen and intelligence of this class of officers. Their powers extend to a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding 15 days and of fine not exceeding Rs. 15, and the trial is conducted with the aid of two or more assessors selected in turn from the list of chief men in each island. A number of volumes of the Registration Department usually in use on the coast have been sent to the islands, and the amins have been directed to copy into them wills and other documents relating to divorce and other important transactions in the island. The present establishments on the islands are as follows :—

Islands.	Amins.		Gumastas.		School-masters.		Poons.		Total.	
	No.	Salary.	No.	Salary.	No.	Salary.	No.	Salary.	No.	Salary.
		RS.		RS.		RS.		RS.		RS.
Agatti ..	1	20	1*	15	..	..	2	8	4	43
Kavaratti ..	1	20	1*	12	..	..	2	8	4	40
Androth ..	1	20	1	7	1	15	2	8	5	50
Kalponi ..	1	20	1*	10	..	..	2	8	4	38
Minicoy ..	1	25	1	15	..	..	3	13½	5	53½
Total ..	5	105	5	59	1	15	11	45½	22	224½

* Does also the duty of schoolmaster.

The islands were attached on the first occasion for arrears of peishcush due to Government under orders issued on the 7th September 1854, but from circumstances beyond control there was some delay in carrying them into effect. The islands of Androth, Kalpeni, Kavaratti and Agatti were taken charge of on the 9th November 1854, and the island of Minicoy on the 22nd March 1855, but there was resistance in the last-named island owing to the intrigues of the house of Cannanore, and this was not finally overcome till after the visit of Mr. Thomas in the early part of 1858. The islands were released from attachment on liquidation of arrears in 1861. The attachment on the second or last occasion took place on the 3rd April 1875.

The names of officers who have from time to time visited some or all of the islands are as follows :—

Name of officer.	Designation.	Date of visit.	Remarks.
Lieutenant Bentley.	....	1795 ..	To institute enquiries as to the condition and resources of the islands.
Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Robinson.	Head Assistant Collector.	1847 ..	To afford relief to the islanders who were in distressed circumstances after the great storm of April 1847.
Mr. E. C. G. Thomas.	Special Assistant Collector.	1856 ..	To inspect and report on the islands after their sequestration by Government for arrears of peishcush.
	Do.	1858 ..	To investigate the cause of the mutinous spirit exhibited by the people of Minicoy and to bring them to a sense of allegiance to Government.
Mr. W. Logan ..	Sub-Collector ..	1869 ..	To report on the condition of the islands, their administration and remedial measures for establishing order and good Government.
Mr. J. B. Spedding.	Do. ..	February 1873.	To ascertain whether the arrangements suggested in Mr. Logan's report had been carried out by the raja and his agents.
Mr. H. M. Winterbotham.	Special Assistant Collector.	February and March 1876.	To dispose of island matters on the spot and to submit proposals for the administration of the islands.
	Do.	December 1877 and January and February 1878.	Do.

Name of officer.	Designation.	Date of visit.	Remarks.
Mr. V. A. Brodie.	Special Assistant Collector.	January to March 1880.	For disposal of ordinary island matters.
Mr. W. G. Underwood.	Do.	November 1881 to February 1882.	
Mr. A. C. Tate ..	Do.	January to March 1884.	
Mr. G. W. Dance.	Head Assistant Collector.	December 1884.	To appoint a competent amin at Minicoy.
	Do.	January 1885.	For the disposal of ordinary island matters.
Mr. W. Logan ..	Collector ..	January 1887.	Do.
Mr. G. W. Dance.	Head Assistant Collector.		

AGATTI ISLAND.

Position and Extent.—The island of Agatti, situated in Lat. $10^{\circ} 51' 30''$ N. and Long. $72^{\circ} 28'$ E. and lying about 35 miles north-west of Kavaratti, is the most westerly of the Laccadive group. In formation it somewhat resembles Kalpeni. Like that island, it lies north-east and south-west, and has on its western side a fine lagoon. The coral shoal upon which it stands is between 6 and 7 miles in length and from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 miles in breadth. On the east, the reef is situated close to the beach and beyond it the water deepens rapidly; whilst on the west, the reef trends outwards so as to enclose the lagoon, which at its broadest point is more than two miles wide, and in this direction beyond the reef the slope of the coral shoal is very gradual. Besides the main island, the reef also encloses the small uninhabited island of Kalpitti situated to the south of Agatti proper and separated from it by a narrow and shallow channel. The main island is long and narrow, being nearly 5 miles in length, whilst its greatest breadth is under 1,000 yards. The southern portion consists of a long narrow strip averaging for more than 2 miles of its length little over 100 yards in width. The total area of the two islands is 716 acres or nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ square miles, Agatti comprising an extent of $688\frac{1}{2}$ acres and Kalpitti $27\frac{1}{2}$ acres. At a distance of about 5 miles to the north lie the uninhabited islands of—

1. Bangara (115 acres),
2. Tinnakara ($76\frac{3}{4}$ acres),
3. Parali (10 acres),

but these, though situated upon what is no doubt an extension of the Agatti coral shoal, are enclosed by a separate range of reefs and the channel between is deep.

There are two entrances into the lagoon navigable by the island vessels, viz., one situated close in shore at the north-western extremity of the island, and the other on the west side of the lagoon. The former is the passage ordinarily used by the island vessels, but the latter is the largest. At high water, there is in this passage about 7 feet of water and inside the lagoon a depth of several fathoms is obtained. As the lagoon is fairly free from coral rocks its navigation is easy.

Soil and Products.—The soil is comparatively sterile. About two-thirds of the island are under cocoanut cultivation and the rest is waste, but there are no large jungles. The lands claimed by the Pandaram are of small extent and as the cultivation is very imperfect and the quality of the soil poor, only a small revenue is obtained from them in this island. Some attempts have been made to form a *tollam* (artificial low land) for the cultivation of cereals, but the extent is trifling and the quality very poor. The only grain raised is a sort of vetch (*payar*), but the quantity is small. The islanders also cultivate sweet potatoes and plantains to a small extent, and there are a few bread-fruit trees, lime trees, one areca palm and betel vines. A plant called Ittala grows in Bangara, from the root of which a sort of tapioca is obtained and used as diet for invalids. The fauna and flora of Agatti are the same as in the case of Kalpeni and Androth, save that in this island and in Kavaratti there are no crows.

Animals.—The islanders possess 110 cattle and 46 goats and the usual domestic fowls. One islander introduced a pair of rabbits from the coast a few years ago and they seem to thrive well. The sea products are the same as those of Kalpeni. Fish of many kinds is abundant and the inhabitants are very expert fishermen.

People, their Customs and Occupation.—This island is a melacheri or low caste island, but the division of the people into castes according to occupations that exist in the other islands is also found here, viz. :—

- (a) Karnavars (principal inhabitants),
- (b) Urukars or sailors, and
- (c) Melacheris or tree-climbers.

In disposition the inhabitants are the most enterprising and energetic, and are also very hospitable and cheerful. Both in person and in their habits they are very cleanly. The language differs slightly from that of the other northern islands and bears a closer resemblance to Tamil in interrogative suffixes. Thus they use “a” for “o” as the interrogative affix, e.g., “orangiya,” did you sleep? Of the men belonging to the two lower classes only about half permanently reside in the island. The others go and settle on the coast, either in Malabar or Canara, as topee-makers (cap-makers), and as the price obtained for a topee varies from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15, this is a pretty profitable employment. As this occupation deprives the karnavar (or headmen) to a large extent of the personal services of their dependents, it is not very popular amongst them. Besides topee-making those who settle on the coast are in the habit of chanting the koran at private houses, for which they get their food and a small present.

Population, Sanitary Condition and Medical Aspects.—The population of the island, according to the census of 1881, was 1,375, of whom 672 were males and the rest females. In 1848 the population numbered 1,545.

The houses are built much in the same style as those of Androth, but they differ in two important respects. First, there is no central hall off which all the rooms open, and, secondly, the back verandah is within and not outside the outer wall of the building. As in Androth, the walls are built of quarried slabs of coral free stone, but these are not kept in position by posts. As they whitewash the outer walls of their houses, they have a cleaner and brighter appearance than in any of the other islands. The doors and barred windows also are usually painted black or green, and in respect of ventilation they are superior, as they are built with eaves, and the rooms have barred windows. The people also pay more attention to conservancy than those of the other islands, and all house-refuse is collected in one spot and either used for manuring the cocoanut trees or burnt from time to time.

No epidemic has visited the island of late years, and the only prevailing complaints are eye-diseases and skin-diseases.

Education.—Secular education is more neglected here by the people than in Androth.

Out of 30 boys, with whom a school was established in 1878, only 11 appeared for examination in 1880. There are four mosque schools, at which about 60 boys and girls of the better classes are taught the Koran.

Religion and Mosques.—The people are, as in other islands, exclusively Muhammadan. The number of mosques in 1880 was 27, of which 19 had cemeteries attached to them. The number of mosques in 1848 was 35.

Manufactures and Trade.—The manufactures and trade of this island are the same as in other islands and call for no special notice. The number of boats owned in 1876 was 121, of which 18 were large and the rest small. The total number prior to 1847 was 68.

Survey and Cowles.—The survey of the island has been completed and a portion of the Pandaram lands has been granted on cowle or lease.

Subdivisions of the Island.—The island is divided into three cheries or subdivisions, viz., 1. Edacheri, 2. Vadakancheri and 3. Tekkancheri.

General remarks.—In June 1880, a British steamer, named the "Mahableswhar," was wrecked on the reefs of this group of islands.

KAVARATTI ISLAND.

Position and Extent.—This island is situated in Lat. $10^{\circ} 34'$ N. and Long. $72^{\circ} 57'$ E., and so is distant about 74 miles from Kalpeni and 35 from Agatti. The coral shoal is the least extensive of any. The length of the island from north-east to south-west is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles and its greatest breadth about three-quarters of a mile. The area is $865\frac{1}{2}$ acres or about $1\frac{1}{3}$ square miles. As usual the island is situated just within the reef on the east, whilst on the west there is a lagoon which at its widest part is about half a mile broad. At the southern end it would appear that there was formerly a separate island, but it is now connected with the main island by a narrow strip of land about 50 yards wide. The islets attached to Kavaratti are—

1. Pitti.
2. Souheli or Seuhelipar composed of $\begin{cases} (a) & \text{Valiyakara.} \\ (b) & \text{Cheriyakara.} \end{cases}$

The former, a mere sandbank on a coral limestone foundation, lies about 15 miles to the north-west of Kavaratti and is frequently visited by the people of that island and by those of Agatti and Ameni for fishing purposes. A pile of stones with a stout post in the centre has recently been put up as a landmark to attract the attention of mariners. The tides here run strong and there is often great difficulty in landing owing to the surf.

About 37 or 40 miles to the south-west of Kavaratti lies the coral shoal of Seuheli or Seuhelipar. It is composed of Valiyakara (big shore) at the northern extremity of the lagoon and of Cheriyakara (little shore) at its southern extremity. These two islets were formerly the common property of the Kavaratti islanders, but were many years ago confiscated by the Pandaram. As in Bangaram and Tinnakara the coral substratum is imperfect in both islets so that no fresh water is procurable; but for the same reason the soil is exceptionally damp and fertile.

Valiyakara is completely overrun with jungle, throughout which scattered cocoanut trees occur. Unlike the jungle in the other islands it contains no screw-pine whatever. In the centre there are large trees of various kinds, the most common being a species of banyan (*Ficus Indica*). At the eastern and western extremities, the jungle becomes smaller and is composed of a species of shrub resembling the *Rhododendron* called Kanni by the islanders. On the north the shore is composed of coral rock and the vegetation overhangs the water. On the other shores the beach is sandy.

Cheriyakara lies east and west and has an extreme length of three-quarters of a mile. Its breadth at the widest point does not exceed a quarter of a mile. The area is $81\frac{3}{4}$ acres. The beach is generally sandy and the lagoon in its immediate neighbourhood is very shallow, especially on the south and east where large sand flats are left dry at low tide. Unlike *Valiyakara* it contains no jungle worthy of the name. The island is covered with coarse long grass and a kind of small shrub. There is a well the water of which though brackish is occasionally used for cooking and drinking purposes. Near the centre and at about 100 yards from the eastern shore there is an extensive shallow pond and marsh of stagnant water surrounded by a dense fringe of small shrubs. It serves no useful purpose whatever and might be filled up.

Soil and Products.—The soil of Kavaratti is poor and is unsuited for the cultivation of cereals or vegetables. Beans, plantains and brinjals and a few areca palms, tamarind trees and betel vines are, however, grown; but the extent of cultivation is very limited and is hardly worth the name. The people depend almost entirely upon their cocoanut cultivation which covers nearly the entire island. A leaf disease formerly affected many cocoanut trees. There are a considerable number of bread-fruit and lime trees; the timber of the former is used for ship-building and by the toddy-drawers for making wooden vessels to hold toddy.

Animals.—The number of cattle and goats in 1880 was 137 and 193 respectively. The chief sea-products, besides fish, are cowries, tortoise and turtle. The latter is captured chiefly for its oil. The lagoon adjacent to Seuheli affords excellent fishing. People, who visit Seuheli for fishing purposes, are allowed to pluck the cocoanuts required for their use free of payment. This privilege has existed for a long time.

People, their Customs and Occupation.—The same division of the inhabitants into classes or castes exists here as in Androth, but all castes claim to be jaumis. A few who immigrated from other islands at the time of the great storm in 1847 are dependents of the Koyas; some of the lower classes are topee-makers like those of Agatti. Melacheris are called Thandels at Kavaratti. The people are as a rule quarrelsome and litigious; the Malumis are more numerous and influential than the same class on other islands.

Population, Sanitary Condition and Medical Aspects.—The population of the island, according to the census of 1881, was 2,129, of whom 1,030 were males and the rest females. The number in 1848 was 2,060. The houses along the west coast of Kavaratti are built in a row and in close proximity to each other. On the east and south coasts they are scattered here and there and are built in the same fashion as those of Androth. The health of the island has of late been good. In 1039 M.E. (1863-64 A.D.) about 700 people are supposed to have died of cholera.

Education.—A Malayalam school started at Kavaratti was closed for want of pupils. The number shown in the census report of 1881 as “instructed” and under “instruction” is 513.

Religion and Mosques.—The inhabitants are exclusively Muham-madans. The number of mosques in 1848 was 51. At Seuheli there is a mosque of rude construction and the tomb of a pious Tangal held in much veneration by the islanders. Many miracles are ascribed to him, and it is especially common to invoke his aid in storms or when distressed by adverse winds. The islanders say that when in a storm they make a vow to visit the shrine of this saint the sea at once goes down and the winds become favourable.

Manufactures and Trade.—The manufactures of this island consist mainly of coir-yarn. The number of boats owned by the islanders in 1876 were 30 large and 126 small vessels.

Pandaram Lands and Income therefrom.—In this island as elsewhere the body of the island is the common property of the people. Over a part, however, the Pandaram asserts exclusive claims on the ground that it was formerly waste land and therefore the property of the raja. The claims were resisted by the people and gave rise to great discontentment and opposition on their part.

The Pandaram income is derived—

1st. From the trees on the Pandaram Pak (forbidden ground) to the south of the island which comprises about one-fourth of the total area. It is cut off from the body of the people's plantation by an old wall probably thrown up while it was really waste, and as such no entry could be made on this land without a pass from the raja's agent.

2nd. From the trees on padipadi (half and half) lands, the produce of which is equally divided between the Pandaram and the tenants.

3rd. From Nattagatta Karayma, a fixed rent on escheated trees in various parts of the island.

4th. From Chuttu Karayma, a fixed rent arbitrarily assessed on all trees growing with 40 kole (kole = 30 inches) of the seashore.

All these lands have been granted to tenants on cowle with the exception of Chuttu Karayma lands, the rents of which were relinquished in favour of the occupants of the adjacent holdings. The tax on lime trees was remitted, and the bread-fruit trees were brought under assessment.

Subdivisions of the Island.—The inhabited portion of the island is divided into four cheris, viz. :—

1. Melacheri or Mecheri on the north-west coast.
2. Tekkecheri on the east coast.
3. Porakecheri to the south.
4. Pallicheri on the south-west shore.

Porakecheri is separated from Mecheri and Pallicheri by a small valley which was apparently excavated formerly for grain cultivation.

ANDROTH ISLAND.

Position and Extent.—This island, which is the largest of the northern group of the Cannanore Islands, is situated in Lat. $10^{\circ} 48' N.$ and Long. $73^{\circ} 57' E.$ It is about 139 miles from Calicut and differs in its formation from all the other islands of the group in that it lies east and west and has hardly any lagoon. The coral shoal upon which it is situated is of considerable extent, but the coral crops up to the surface only in the immediate neighbourhood of the land, the reef being hardly anywhere above sixty yards from the beach, and on the east the beach and reef are coincident. The greatest length of the island from south-east to north-west is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and the greatest breadth, which is at about the centre of the island, is $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The area is $1,067\frac{2}{3}$ acres or about $1\frac{2}{3}$ square miles. The coast line is scarcely at all indented, so that the island forms a regular oval figure. The surface is generally a level plain, elevated but a few feet above the sea, but here and there it is varied by mounds formed mostly of the heaped-up material excavated in forming the "Tottam" or arable land. The highest mound is probably not 40 feet above the sea and the average elevation not more than 7 or 8 feet.

Soil, Products.—The soil is comparatively superior to that of other islands save perhaps parts of Kalpeni. It is richest in the centre and west parts and poorest on the south-east, where it is largely mixed with coral stones varying in size from small pebbles to considerable boulders. The Pandaram or crown lands comprise about one-fourth of the area of the island, and are scattered throughout the holdings of the islanders. They have been acquired by escheat or confiscation and contained, according to Sir William Robinson's report, about 20,000 coconut trees prior to the great storm of 1847. The chief Pandaram possessions are the East and West Valiya Pandarams which are comparatively in a neglected condition. The holdings of the islanders are well stocked with coconut trees. The chief produce of the island is coconuts; but dry grains, such as raggi, varagu and millet, yams, sweet potatoes, bread-fruit trees, plantains, limes, areca palms and betel vines are also grown to a limited extent.

Animals.—The number of cattle and goats is larger in this island than in any other and amounted in 1880 to 208 cattle and 418 goats. The only other domestic animals are fowls and cats. There are several species of rats which commit great injury to coconut plantation. The crow is the only wild bird that breeds on the island, but it is visited by various kinds of sea birds and also by migratory birds, such as the golden plover, the smaller curlew and the cuckoo. As there is no lagoon, the turtle and tortoise are very scarce, and from the absence of extensive shallow coral banks, the same is the case with cowries and other shells. Fish also are not plentiful, but there is a small species of octopus, called by the islanders *appallu*, which when roasted is esteemed a great delicacy.

People, their Customs and Occupation.—The people of the island fall under three main classes, viz.—

(1) Karnavar (*doers, agents*), subdivided into Karnavar proper and Thanakapiranthu Kudiyan.

(2) Malumis (*pilots and sailors*), subdivided into (a) Malumis proper, (b) Urukars.

(3) Melacheris (*tree-climbers*).

The first class of Karnavars is composed of the rich odam (vessel) owners and Panchayatkaras (arbitrators). The male members of this class are also distinguished by the title of Koya—a religious dignity. The island Karnavars, Amin and Kazi, all belong to this class. The Thanakapiranthu Kudiyan are less wealthy and cultivators. The second class or the Malumis are, as the name implies, sailors. They are generally Patta Kudiyan, i.e., partly independent and partly dependent on the higher classes. The only difference between the Malumis proper and the Urukars appears to be in the names. The third class, Melacheris, are servants and toddy-drawers (the name signifies one who works aloft).

These are generally Adima Kudiyan or serfs of the Karnavars, but they are at liberty to change their employers. Inter-marriage between the two classes of Karnavars is free and unrestrained, and lately it appears that the *jusconnubium* (right of intermarriage with Karnavars) has been accorded to the second class, but it is still withheld from the third class or Melacheris, intermarriage with whom is punished by the exclusion of the offender from his or her caste. The marriage is, however, deemed a valid one.

The islanders compare favourably in physique with the people of the coast and in their customs and habits closely resemble the Mappillas of North Malabar. The men of the upper classes wear jackets and head gear, but the Melacheris or lowest classes wear neither the one nor the other. Contrary to what is the usage on the mainland, the women do not cover their heads and are not kept in seclusion. The women are generally very untidy and dirty.

The people are, as a rule, quiet in their disposition, but the complexities of the Muhammadan rules of inheritance and marriage and the existence, side by side, of the Makkatayam and Marumakkatayam rules give rise to frequent litigation. The men are comparatively indolent, but the women are engaged from morning till dark in cooking, pounding rice, beating, unravelling and twisting coir-fibre, carrying loads, boiling toddy in order to make jaggery, etc.

It is somewhat difficult to define what is the occupation of the Karnavar class, as they rarely do anything save bullying their dependents or quarrelling among themselves; occasionally they do a little cultivation and fishing, and those who have odams (vessels) superintend the repairs and accompany the odam on the voyage to the coast where they do all the buying and selling, only rendering an account upon the return of the odam to the island.

The dependents of the Karnavar caste serve for nothing in their master's odam (boat), or, when he has none, in the odam in which he sails or sends his goods. The Kudiyan must also ship the produce of his trees, etc., in the master's odam, or through him in the odam in which

the master ships his own goods, and 20 per cent of the goods he so exports is appropriated by the master as freight. The *tottam* or arable land is sometimes cultivated by the master, but most is given over to Kudiyans (dependents) on the share-and-share-alike system.

The income of the Karnavar class, who are all landholders and many of them odam-owners, is thus derived from the following sources :—

- (1) From the produce of parambas retained in their own hands.
- (2) From the export and sale of the goods worked up by the females of the family.
- (3) From the freight paid them by their Kudiyans on the goods they export. Where the Karnavan is also the odam-owner he gets the whole 20 per cent ; when he is not, he usually gets freight for his own goods and those of his Kudiyans at the rate of 10 per cent in the odam of another and the other 10 per cent of the exports of his Kudiyans is alone appropriated by him.
- (4) From the rent (half the produce) of their arable lands.
- (5) Kudiyans are also bound to give the Karnavan a share of the fish they catch when fishing in his boat and to make presents on the occasion of weddings and other festivities in the Karnavan's family.
- (6) Some of this class also make tours on the mainland giving themselves out to be priests and often return to the island with large sums collected from the faithful of the places they visit.

The second class or Mahumis are sailors and are engaged in exporting the produce of the island to the mainland in the Karnavar's odams ; some of them also possess fishing boats and small odams of their own, in which they make voyages to the coast, and this has excited the jealousy of the Karnavar class, who look upon them as interlopers and rebels. There is thus ill-feeling between the two classes.

The Melacheris or the third class are the hardest working population of the island. They alone climb trees and so pluck the nuts and draw toddy from the trees in the possession of the higher classes. For plucking nuts, a small percentage is given them as hire, and the toddy which is drawn twice a day is given every other day to the Karnavan, *i.e.*, half goes to the Melacheri and half to the Karnavan. Besides their profession of toddy-drawing, they have to do odam service for their lords and they also work in the *tottam* and go fishing. A few coast people who have settled in the island are silversmiths and jewellers.

Population, Sanitary Condition and Medical Aspects.—The population of the island previous to the great storm of 1847 was 2,576 ; in 1876 it was 2,629. According to the census of 1881 it numbered 2,884 souls, of whom 1,412 were males and 1,472 were females. A large number of people perished during the storm of 1847, and it is believed that the number that remained in the island, omitting those who emigrated to the other islands, did not exceed 900. The island has now thoroughly recovered itself from the disastrous effects of 1847.

The sanitary condition of the island, although more satisfactory than that of the rest is, as might be expected very backward. There is no conservancy, and house-refuse is allowed to accumulate in the house-yards until it becomes objectionable, when it is collected and occasionally burnt. Rarely it is placed as manure in the pits in which young coconut-plants are planted. Water-supply is good, there being as a rule a well attached

to each house. The wells consist of a pit about 5 feet square and about 5 feet deep with steps leading down one side to a similar pit at the bottom cut through the coral substratum. From these wells, which are never dried up, excellent water is obtained. Some of the mosques and better sort of houses have also small tanks similarly constructed attached to them. These are used for bathing purposes only, but the sea is the chief resort for this purpose. There are no wells for purely cultivation purposes.

The houses are built with thin slabs quarried from the coral freestone substratum, the size of the blocks averaging about 5 to 6 feet in length, 2 feet in width and 4 inches in thickness. These are placed lengthwise on their edges and the walls so formed are plastered to give them stability. The houses are ill-ventilated and are in some cases so dark that a stranger requires to be shown about with torch or other light. The higher and lower classes are opposed to vaccination, but several children have been operated on, and a beginning has been made. There are two native physicians in the island. They purchase the necessary medicines from native physicians on the coast. There is hardly any medicinal plant to be found there. The most prevalent diseases are fever, rheumatism, consumption, dysentery, itch and ophthalmia.

Education.—The upper classes do not seem to be wanting in intelligence, but they are very indifferent to education, whilst the lower classes from the state of the subjection in which they are held are rude and ignorant. Most of the members of both sexes belonging to the former class can read the Koran character, but the number that can read Malayalam is comparatively limited. The number shown in the census return of 1881 is 89. A school was started by Mr. Winterbotham in 1878 with a nominal roll of 36 boys, but this number had dwindled away to 14 in 1880. The plan of combining mosque schools and secular schools is being tried.

Religion and Mosques.—All the people of the island profess Muhammadanism. There were 30 mosques in 1880, of which 28 had graveyards attached.

Manufactures and Trade.—The only manufactures carried on in the island are the manufacture of coir-yarn and that of jaggery. Shark fins are cured for exportation in small quantities, but the curing of *holothuria* has been entirely given up. Jaggery is prepared from *meerah* (as the sweet toddy drawn from the coconut palm is called) by a process of evaporation. In order to prevent fermentation, in place of rubbing the collecting pots with *chunam* (lime water) as is done on the mainland, the Melacheris are in the habit of putting in them small coral limestone pebbles which answer the same purpose, and to this cause is attributed the peculiar sweet taste of the island toddy. When the *meerah* has become semi-fluid, which it does after about two hours boiling, various articles are usually mixed with it in order to flavour it, such as rice, ragi flour and the scrapings of tender coconuts, etc. It is then taken off the fire and allowed to cool, when it forms a solid but sticky mass. This the women mould into balls (*Pindika*) of from 1 lb. to 2 lb. in weight, which they wrap up in bread-fruit tree leaves, and in this form it is exported. At Calicut a price of about two annas per pound is obtained. Jaggery is used by Mappillas in the preparation of the Calicut "alva," a very popular sweetmeat amongst them. Ambergris, which was mentioned by Sir William Robinson as a product of Androth, was found by Mr. Brodie only in the possession of one islander.

The principal exports from the island are, as in all other islands, coir-yarn, coconuts, with and without husk, jaggery and pindika (a kind of sweetmeat) and a little vinegar, lime-pickle and shark fins. The imports are rice, salt, arecanuts, betel, curry-stuffs, cooking utensils, both earthen and metal, implements of husbandry, clothes and occasionally cattle and ornaments. Teak, mango-wood and bamboos are also imported and used in repairing the odams and small boats. As Androth is the nearest island to the coast, many odams from other islands call there for water, etc., both on their way to the mainland and when returning. The usual coast markets visited by the islanders are Calicut, where they sell their goods, and Mangalore where they usually purchase their supplies. Occasionally they also call at Tellicherry and Cannanore. The number of boats possessed by the islanders in 1880 as contrasted with the numbers in 1876 and 1848 is given below :—

Year.	Large coast-going vessels.	Small boats and fishing crafts.	Total.
1848	31	152	183
1876	32	130	162
1880	40	162	202

Survey and Cowles.—The demarcation and survey of the Pandaram lands in Androth have been completed and most of the lands granted on cowle.

Subdivisions of the Island.—The island is divided into four subdivisions or *cheris*, viz.—

(a) Edacheri,	(c) Kicheri, and
(b) Mecheri,	(d) Chomacheri.

The last *cheri* is situated upon the southern shore and separated from Edacheri by the *tollam* or garden. Formerly these *cheris* were political and revenue subdivisions, but now that all matters are decided by the Amin with the assistance of the Karnavars, regardless of the *cheri* to which the latter belong, and the Muppans and the Nadapals are abolished and the revenue administration directly committed to the Amin, these subdivisions have lost all importance. There are no islets attached to Androth for administrative purposes.

KALPENI ISLAND.

Position and Extent.—The island of Kalpeni lies about 44 miles due south from Androth in Lat. 10° 7' N. and Long. 73° 55' E., and is thus the most southerly of the northern group or Laccadives proper. The coral shoal upon which it stands is very extensive, being about 8 miles in length and 3½ to 4 in width. Besides the main island (Kalpeni proper), which alone is inhabited, there are two small rocky islands to the south-west, called respectively Thilakka and Pitti, separated from the mainland and each other by narrow channels and a long narrow island called Cheri-yam, about 1½ miles to the north of the main island. These four islands together form a figure resembling a bottle with an elongated neck (Cheri-yam and the north of Kalpeni) running from north by east to south by west. The extreme length from the north point of Cheri-yam to the south

point of Kalpeni is about 7 miles, and the greatest width about three-quarters of a mile. The total area of the group is 650 acres or just over

	ACRES.	1 square mile.
Kalpeni ..	494 $\frac{1}{2}$	On the east, the reef forms the
Cheriyam ..	129 $\frac{1}{2}$	shore line of Kalpeni and Cheriyam and on the
Thilakka ..	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	south lies but a short distance from the beach.
Pitti ..	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	On the west it trends outward so as to enclose a
Total ..	649 $\frac{3}{4}$	magnificent lagoon of still water over 7 miles in
	—	length and from 2 to 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles broad at its widest
		point. The entrance, distant some 4 miles from

the landing place, is good; but although the lagoon attains a depth of over three fathoms in many places its navigation is rendered very intricate and difficult by numerous coral rocks that rise in many instances to within a foot or so of the surface at low-water. As there are no waves, no breakers disclose their presence, but in daylight their situation is easily discernible. On the east the coral shoal slopes rapidly away. On the west beyond the reef, the slope is so gradual that the bottom can be seen for a considerable distance. The channels between the various islands are at low water very shallow, and the islanders can easily pass on foot from one to another, and it was from these shoals (particularly that between the main islands and Cheriyam) that cowries, of which this island used to export the largest quantity, were usually gathered.

The main island is about 3 miles long. For the first two miles of its length from the north it consists of a long strip increasing in width from about 50 yards at its northern extremity to about 400 yards at the termination of the big north Pandaram, after which it suddenly bulges out, attaining its greatest width in a few hundred yards. Only this southern portion is inhabited, as it is only here that good drinkable water is procurable. No drinkable water is found in the other small islands. All the uncultivated portion of the main island and the attached islets are covered with a dense jungle of screw pine, etc., in many parts of which scattered coconut trees occur. Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the topography of the island, the general level of which is very low, is the natural sea-bank of coral stones along the east and south-east shore. This bank is supposed to have been cast up by the sea at the time of the great storm in 1847. As it is about 12 feet high and 60 feet in width at the base, it forms a grand natural barrier against the recurrence of such a disaster. It is a peculiarity of this island that the coral substratum is wanting, or at least not so solidified into a layer of limestone rock as in the other islands.

Soil and Products.—The soil appears to be very good in the central and southern portions of the main island, but the smaller islands of the group are very rocky and though covered with luxuriant vegetation, the coconut trees growing in them are not very productive. Along the east shore of the main island also there is a long strip about 50 yards wide, so stony that its cultivation would be very difficult and probably unproductive. Besides land suited to the cultivation of the coconut palm, this island contains, like Androth, a considerable plot of low arable land adapted to the cultivation of a few coarse grains. In the tottam (as the arable ground is called) the same coarse grains are cultivated as in Androth, but the area devoted to the cultivation of plantains is more extensive than in the latter island. The plantains are very productive and are stated to require no watering. The bread-fruit also appears to grow more luxuriantly in this island than in any other, and whole groves of it occur everywhere

throughout the inhabited portion of the island. A few areca palms, one tamarind tree, lime bushes and betel vines are also cultivated. The wild almond tree and punnan (a tree used for masts), found occasionally in the jungle, furnish fairly good timber, but the islanders usually import what they require. On the whole, Kalpeni may be said to be one which nearly produces the food supply necessary for the support of its inhabitants, and this is clearly shown by the fact that they export a large quantity of the produce of the *tottam* (grain, plantains and sweet potatoes), fish, oil and dried fish to the other islands (mainly Kavaratti) getting in exchange coconuts, young plants, jaggery and coir.

The three islets mentioned above, as well as the greater portion of the main island, which together comprise about three-fourths of the entire extent, are claimed by the Pandaram. Cultivation is most backward in these parts. The inhabitants are extremely lazy and a considerable portion of the islands is, therefore, covered with jungle. The *tottam* alone is well cultivated.

Disaster of 1847.—On the 15th April 1847 a violent hurricane visited the island of Kalpeni and caused most woeful injury to life and property. It commenced at about 8 P.M. at the season of spring tides and passed on to Androth which it reached between 12 and 2 A.M. of the 16th. It then arrived at Kiltan, one of the islands attached to the South Canara district, and after that gradually subsided. The following extract taken from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 2nd August 1849, gives a clear idea of the dreadful catastrophe :—

“The sea rose and flooded the whole but across the narrower part of the mainland ; it seems to have had tremendous velocity. All the trees, with the very soil, and between 50 and 60 houses, were washed into the ocean with upwards of 200 persons, while along the whole length of the shore a flood of loose coral has been deposited over the island which will render a considerable tract quite unserviceable until it has decomposed and become soil. Across the broader parts of the island, the water was not so destructively rapid, but so complete was the inundation that the first impression of the islanders was that the whole shoal was sunk. The water filled the *tottam* with salt water, killing all vegetation and drowning many persons. It was, in consequence, last year quite waste. Over the eastern bank of the *tottam*, a flood of loose coral stones was poured, which has filled up and destroyed a part of this useful land. Many wells and tanks were filled with sand and stones, and fresh water in all of them was spoilt. The inundation was probably more destructive than the wind, and has shaken the confidence of the people in the stability of the islands greatly. The storm lasted for about an hour in all its violence.

“Then a sudden lull and the wind soon sprung up briskly from the westward and the flood subsided, leaving the islands in the most perfect state of desolation.

“Of the 348 houses standing before the storm, not one escaped. Many were so entirely washed away as scarcely to leave vestiges of their foundation. All were unroofed and otherwise damaged. All the mosques, 29 in number, were injured, and nearly the whole of them at the time of Mr. Robinson’s visit were lying in a state of ruin.

“The population of Kalpeni, prior to the hurricane, is reckoned at 1,642 souls. Of these, 246 were drowned or washed away during the storm, far the larger proportion being women and children. One hundred and twelve perished in the ensuing five months from famine or from

the diseases engendered by unwholesome and insufficient food, 376 escaped to the coast during the monsoon, thus leaving in the island 908, of whom nearly four-fifths are women and children.

"The plantations in the island have been entirely destroyed; out of upwards of 105,000 full-grown coconut trees, the number before the storm, 768 only are now standing; the total number of trees, young trees and plants which have survived, scarcely exceeds 10,000. This is only the main island Kalpeni; the state of the adjoining islets, Thilakka Pitti and Cheriya, is even more disastrous. The other trees—bread-fruit, banana and betel-nut—are likewise all lost. More than a third of the trees destroyed are Pandaram or the Beebe's property.

"The hurricane reached Androth between 12 and 2 A.M. of the 16th April, five or six hours later than at Kalpeni. The tide was then happily low, so that only a small part of the island was inundated, and the results of the visitation, though sufficiently deplorable, were less disastrous than those experienced in the latter islands."

Animals.—The domestic animals that existed in the island in 1880 consisted of 94 cattle and 64 goats and the usual fowls and cats. In sea products, Kalpeni is peculiarly rich. The ayacura (seer fish), tarandi (skate), shark, appal (Bombay duck), flying fish (paramin) of two sorts, sword-fish and many other large fish are caught in abundance. The turtle, killed for oil but not for eating, is very common, and the tortoise pretty frequent. As might be expected from the great extent of the coral shoals and of the lagoon, shell-fish of many kinds are most abundant. One or two sorts are occasionally gathered for food, but the cowries are what were chiefly gathered formerly for export and are much more abundant in this island than in any other.

People, their Customs and Occupation.—In physique, the inhabitants of Kalpeni appear decidedly inferior to those of the other islands. They are also the most ignorant and superstitious, the most bigoted and the dirtiest, both in person and habits. The men are the laziest, and it was with great difficulty that they were got to do some cooly work during the periodical visits of the officers to the island. Nearly all the work is done by the women, and, besides their usual work, the women of the Melacheri class have, on the return of the odams from the coast, to carry the bags of rice, etc., from the vessels to the houses of the consignees, receiving one seer per bag as cooly. The sailor class arrogate to themselves the reputation of being the best malumis (pilots), but this pretension is ridiculed by the other islanders. The generality of the people are poor, all the wealth and influence being confined to a few of the Karnavar class who keep the others well under subjection. The Karnavar class claim to have derived their descent from the Nambutiris or Brahmans of Malabar, and their houses are generally distinguished by the word *illam*—the appellation in Malabar peculiar to the houses of Nambutiris. The other islanders are considered to be of Sudra or Nayar extraction and the distinctions of caste still survive amongst them. Every one, male or female, over about 10 years of age, carries a pouch containing betel, tobacco, etc. The superstition of the islanders and their fear of ghosts is such that they hardly venture out of their homes after dark.

Population, Sanitary Condition and Medical Aspects.—The population of the island had been reduced by the storm of 1847 to about 450. In 1876, it numbered 1,029 and at the census of 1881 it amounted to 1,222,

of whom 604 were males and the rest females. The sanitary condition of the island is most defective. The bad smell emanating from the accumulation of refuse matter is so powerful that no stranger can pass through the house-yards of even the wealthiest without his olfactory nerves being grievously offended. The dwelling houses are constructed differently from those in other islands for want of building stones. To form the walls, two parallel rows of stakes are driven into the ground about 6 inches apart and the intervening space filled in with suitably sized stones obtained from the beach. When this space has been well and tightly filled up, the wall so formed is plastered on both sides, and when this plaster dries the stakes are removed. A second and thicker layer of plaster is then applied which completes the outside wall upon which the roof is placed. As in Kavarratti, all the houses are enclosed with fences and the entrances secured by tatty screens. In the yard of each, also, there is usually a small shed in which the women, who are more secluded in this island than in the others, work. Some houses have also two out-houses, used as kitchen and room for receiving visitors, attached to them. There is no native physician in the island, but the gumasta has the credit of being the best. He only uses castor oil and some made-up medicines he gets from the coast, and has never had any training.

Education.—A school was established in 1880 at the desire of the islanders. It is hoped that it may improve. The number of persons capable of reading, according to the census of 1881, is 221.

Religion and Mosques.—The people are exclusively Muhammadans. There are 16 mosques in all, of which 7 are supposed to belong to the Pandaram. The number of mosques in 1847, according to Sir William Robinson, was 29.

Manufactures and Trade.—The coir-yarn is the chief manufacture of the island. It is generally of an inferior quality. The number of boats belonging to the islanders in 1880 was 16 large vessels and 70 small boats. The corresponding numbers in 1876 were 15 and 68.

Survey and Cowles.—The survey and demarcation of the island have been completed. A portion of the Pandaram lands has also been granted on cowle.

Sub-divisions of the Island.—The island is divided into 4 sub-divisions or cheris, viz., (1) Vadakkancheri, (2) Tekancheri, (3) Kicheri, (4) Mecheri. The islets attached to it have already been mentioned above.

General Remarks.—There is not in this island the same amount of ill-feeling between the Karnavan and the Kudiyan as exists to a greater or less extent in the other islands. It appears that only 10 per cent of the Kudiyan's produce is deducted as freight. Probably this explains the absence of disputes between Karnavar and Kudiyan. Eight Ipecacuanha plants were planted by Mr. Tate during his visit in 1884.

A large English steamship, named the "Amelia," was wrecked upon the reef of Kalpeni in April 1880.

MINICOY ISLAND.

Position and Extent.—The island of Minicoy is situated in Lat. 8° 17' N. and Long. 73° 19' E. and is distant about 243 miles from Calicut. Though a dependency of the Cannanore family and so classed with the Laccadive group, it is situated about midway between the Laccadives

proper and the Maldives, and the inhabitants belong to the latter race and speak Mahl. Its extreme length from north-west to south-east is 6 miles, 1 furlong, 56 yards, and its greatest breadth 4 furlongs, 12 yards. The area is 1,120 acres or $1\frac{3}{4}$ square miles. The island is long and narrow and in shape somewhat resembles a crescent, the convex of which faces east, whilst on the west there is a magnificent lagoon. The northern portion of lagoon is deep and not very difficult to navigate. To the south of the main island, and separated from it by a channel about one-fourth of a mile wide, is a small island called Viringilli to which small-pox patients are transported to prevent the epidemic from spreading in the village.

Soil and Products.—Though the soil has every appearance of being fertile, yet the cultivation upon which the islanders almost entirely depend is that of the coconut palm, with which the whole island is more or less planted up. In the Pandaram plantations, there is a considerable amount of jungle interspersed with coconut trees. The wealthier islanders possess gardens which are secured against depredators by strong fences and locked gates. The late Amin, Ali Malikhan, made a garden in which plantains, pumpkins, brinjals, beans, chillies, cucumbers, limes and betel vines were found to thrive excellently. There is also one small mango tree. No grain is cultivated, save a few plots of cholum. The jungle contains many trees, of which the banian and wild almond are the chief. The jungle products are much the same as in other islands. The Ittala plant, already mentioned as found in Bangaram, is also very common. The only marine product which calls for remark¹ is the maas fish (Bonito), of which large quantities are annually cured and exported chiefly to Ceylon.

Animals.—The number of cattle and goats in the island is very small; there were only one of the former and ten of the latter in 1880. It is alleged that cattle cannot be bred in the island, as they are killed by mosquitoes and a kind of poisonous grass. The few to be found on the island are imported for slaughter at religious ceremonies.

People, their Customs and Occupation.—The inhabitants are divided into four classes, viz. :—

1. Malikhans, corresponding to the Karnavar of the other islands.
2. Malumis (pilots).
3. Takkaru (sailors and boatmen).
4. Melacheris, or kohlus as they are called (tree-climbers).

The boat-owners and holders of valuable property from the Pandaram upon a light quit-rent belong to the first class. The Malumis and Takkarus are sailors, and the Kohlus tree-climbers and servants. The late Amin, Ali Malikhan, was the most influential man in the island, and, besides maintaining strict order, used to insist on a certain amount of respect being paid to him by the other islanders. In the island, he and the gumasta alone wore jackets as a mark of distinction, all others being prohibited from doing so whilst in the island, though out of it, e.g., in Calicut, other Malikhans are in the habit of dressing somewhat gaudily. Amongst the women also sumptuary distinctions prevail, the lowest class being strictly prohibited from wearing silver or gold ornaments. In personal appearance and in their dress, manners and customs they differ

¹ Conf., Vol. I, footnote p. 286

considerably from the inhabitants of the other islands. They are much smaller in stature, darker, and have very round faces. In disposition they are quiet and obliging.

The customs of the islanders are in many respects remarkable and bear no trace of having been introduced from Cannanore. One which is without parallel amongst any society of Mussalmans is that the men are monogamous. The custom forbidding men to have more than one wife at a time is so strong that even the late Amin, influential as he was, dared not break through it when he wanted a second wife. Some of the men appear to be anxious that this custom should be abrogated by Government interference; but the women, in spite of the number of spinsters amongst them, will not hear of it. The women appear in public freely with their heads uncovered and take the lead in almost every thing except navigation. In fact they seem to have as much freedom as there is in European countries. Enquiry into their civil condition (*e.g.*, whether they are married or unmarried) is regarded as an unpardonable affront. Unmarried men may converse with maidens, and courtship is a recognised preliminary to marriage. The girl's consent is in all cases necessary, and the Kazi will not perform the ceremony unless he has sent two mukris to ascertain that she is willing. After marriage the wife remains in her mother's house, a very convenient custom where the men are mostly sailors absent from the island a great part of the year. Three or four couples find accommodation in the same chamber, each enveloped in long cloth mosquito curtains. If the daughters are numerous they leave the parental roof in order of seniority, and the houses erected for them become their property. The men have no right of ownership over houses. Every woman in the island is dressed in silk. Their gowns fit closely round the neck and reach to the ankles. The upper classes wear red silk and car-rings of peculiar fashion.

The Melacheri women are restricted to the use of a dark striped silk of a coarser quality. Every husband must allow his wife at least one candy of rice, two silk gowns and two under-cloths a year. He also presents her on marriage with a fine brass betel pouch (brought from Galle) and a silver ornament containing receptacles for lime and tobacco and instruments of strange forms intended for cleaning the ears and teeth. The husband retains the power of divorce, and it is not the custom of the island to pay dowry. Bathing tanks are set apart for the use of the women, and men are not allowed to intrude on that part of the island behind the village where the women congregate of a morning to prepare the coconut husks for the manufacture of coir.

Population, Sanitary Condition and Medical Aspects.—The population, according to the census of 1881, numbered 3,191, of whom 1,412 were males and the remaining, 1,779, were females. In 1867, three vessels were lost in a cyclone at Calcutta, and it is estimated that the number of men that perished then was 120. The sanitation of the island is excellent. The houses of the people are built close to each other in rows. The rows run parallel to each other from the beach inland or east and west and are eight in number, each of which has a distinct name. One long cross road and several smaller lanes intersect the village. The walls of the houses are of undressed stone and plastered as in Kalpeni, but the style of architecture is quite different. Each has a long verandah running throughout its whole length off which the various rooms open. In front is a small yard which is fenced or walled off from the street and the

entrance protected by a neat tatty screen. The houses of the wealthy have kitchens and store-houses attached to them, and also wells inside their yard. The poorer classes get their water from public wells in the streets or from the well of the nearest wealthy man. Some wells have also been sunk in the uninhabited parts of the island for public convenience, to each of which there belongs a long stick with a coconut shell cup at the end to draw water with. The wells are all square in shape and the sides built up and plastered; the water obtained from them is excellent. There are also six large built tanks with parapets and steps used for bathing purposes. The village is in good order as regards conservancy and the streets are daily swept.

The custom of the islanders in regard to sanitation and the interment of the dead is valuable and most beneficial. There are three separate burying grounds in remote parts of the island for persons who die of small-pox, cholera and leprosy. The precaution of separating lepers is maintained; on the appearance of the disease, the sufferer is called before the Kazi, and if the leprosy is pronounced to be contagious, he is expelled to the north of the island where a place is set apart for the purpose. A hut is built for him and he exists on supplies of food and water which his relatives bring at intervals and leave on the ground at a safe distance. There is a boundary line beyond which lepers are not permitted to proceed. The islanders have a horrible superstition that in the night time goblins may be seen clawing at the leprosy parts, and the leper habitation seems to be generally regarded with dread. The poor patients receive only occasional treatment during the visits of the European officers; small-pox patients are invariably transported to the island of Viringilli to prevent the disease spreading in the village, but if it becomes epidemic, those attacked are allowed to remain and be treated in their own houses. The health of the island is fairly good, but there is a very unwholesome practice among the people who, in order to protect themselves from mosquitoes, sleep on cots surrounded by thick linen curtains, thus inhaling accumulated foul air. In the evening swingcots are used to keep off the mosquitoes.

Education.—There are hardly more than three individuals in the island who can speak or read Malayalam. The language spoken is Mahl, and there is therefore great difficulty in communicating with the islanders. The majority of the upper classes and a few of the Melacheris have learnt the Koran character in the mosque schools, and many of the men of the upper classes have picked up a knowledge of Hindustani and Tamil in the course of their voyages to Ceylon and the Bay of Bengal.

Religion, Mosques and Cemeteries.—The inhabitants are exclusively Muhammadans. There are about 20 mosques and 26 cemeteries. The cemetery at Viringilli is used for small-pox patients who die there and for those who perish at sea, whatever be the cause of death. The reason given in the latter case is that the disease being unknown, it is safer to bury the bodies at a distance. There is also a small ground to the south on the main island in which are buried those who die on the maas-boats, as also Kohlus who, taking up a temporary residence in the big south Pandaram to draw toddy, die there. Near here is the grave of a holy man to whom prayers are offered to quell the raging of the sea. Deceased violent lunatics are buried to the north at a place called Runmagatta. The lepers have their own cemetery within the limits of their holding. In all cases the Mukri and sextons of the Jamath mosque go and perform the prescribed rites and give decent sepulture.

Manufactures and Trade.—The manufactures of Minicoy are the same as those of other islands. The coir is a little dark in color but much finer in quality than that produced in the other islands. This is due to the coconut husk being allowed to grow hard and woody before being soaked for fire.

The nuts are not gathered from trees but are allowed to ripen and fall on the ground. Maas-fish is cured and exported largely to Ceylon. In 1876 there were 8 large and 33 small vessels. The former increased to 9 in 1882. Of these, two go to the coast, the Maldives and Ceylon, and the others to the Bengal side. There are 11 maas-boats, to one of which every one in the island belongs. Men get a share of the fish in addition to their wages. The maas-boats are excellently built, with deep keels, fine lines, and a large allowance of beam. They carry a large square mat sail with a linen try-sail behind it. They are nicely finished off and painted and go very fast under sail. The islanders are skilful sailors.

The sides of the boats are of coconut and probably do not last long. The islanders have a very good assortment of ship-building tools and are very well skilled in their use. The Pandaram had three vessels, of which one, which could not be repaired except at an enormous cost, was sold by public auction at Beypore in 1883. The other two vessels are still in the island. The customary rates of payment to the crew of the Pandaram vessel are as follows :—

In the case of small vessels each sailor gets on the day of embarkation 50 coconuts, 4 lbs. of jaggery and 4 lbs. of rice. This is about the equivalent of Rs. 1-8-0. During the voyage he gets 1 lb. of rice and two coconuts a day. The tindal gets twice and the malumi four times the allowance of a sailor. When the larger vessel sails, each sailor receives 100 coconuts, 28 lbs. of jaggery and 22 lbs. of rice on embarking and rations as above.

Pandaram lands, their Tenure and General Remarks.—The land is the property of the community, and is managed by the *Pandaram*, i.e., the Government. Private property *in the soil* is unknown, but improvements, such as houses, coconut and other trees, etc., belong to the persons who make them. The Malikhans or chief men state that their forefathers voluntarily surrendered the island to the Cannanore Raja on his undertaking to protect them against pirates. Every tree in the inhabited part of the island has the mark of its owner cut upon it, so that disputes respecting the ownership of trees have been very rare.

The principal sources of revenue are—

- (1) Valiyapattam or pattam payable by certain Malikhans.
- (2) *Attiri-pattam* or sea-shore *pattam*.
- (3) *Pattam* on tottam or garden.
- (4) Poll-tax at the rate of 20 lbs. of coir per male and 5 lbs. per female. The families of Malikhans, one married female in each house, all unmarried adults and toddy-drawers are exempt from this tax.
- (5) Sugar-tax in the nature of a poll-tax on toddy-drawers.
- (6) Cowrie monopoly.
- (7) Produce of the Pandaram trees.
- (8) Tax (in rice) on large vessels trading with Bengal.
- (9) Tax (in maas-fish) on fishing boats.
- (10) Hire of Pandaram boat at 14 per cent on fish taken.

There is no coir monopoly in this island, and this fact explains chiefly the absence of disaffection towards the raja.

Divisions.—The island is demarcated into nine large blocks—

- (A) The great north Pandaram.
- (B) North Moiluth grant.
- (C) Leper settlement.
- (D) South Moiluth land.
- (E) Malikhan land.
- (F) Central Pandaram.
- (G) Attiri Pandaram (containing most of the village site).
- (H) Eastern block (containing rest of the village tottams and Pandaram plots).
- (I) Great southern Pandaram.

NOTE. The village (blocks G and H) is divided for purposes of administration into *attiris* (sea-shore or male assemblies) and *varangis* (female assemblies). Of the latter, there are ten, which lie in order from north to south, thus:—

1. Bodu, 2. Kudaho, 3. Punghilolu, 4. Aludi, 5. Setivalu, 6. Kandamatu, 7. Hanimagu, 8. Olikolu, 9. Dugu, 10. Kolu. The *attiris* correspond in name to the *varangis* except that No. 7 lies inland from No. 6, and the head-man of No. 6 having charge of the *attiri*, that is, sea-shore, is head-man of both Nos. 6 and 7. To each *varangi* there is a head-woman. The *Mulumis* (pilots) and *Malikhans* (chief men) castes are independent of these *attiri* and *varangi* organisations, which are formed exclusively of the two lower castes, viz., *Takkarus* (sailors) and *Melacheris* (tree-climbers), and which exist for the public services (male and female) of the community. Each *attiri* and *varangi* has a special place of meeting, and the sexes being told off to certain well-defined services, there is no clashing of authority. The head-men control all the men and youths of their *attiris*. The head-women exercise authority over all females and over boys until the latter are old enough to join in the services performed by the males of the *attiris*, that is, till they are about 7 years of age. The different castes are located in the village thus:—

Name of <i>Varangi</i> .	Households of				Total.
	<i>Melacheris</i> (tree-climbers).	<i>Takkarus</i> (sailors).	<i>Mulumis</i> (pilots).	<i>Malikhans</i> (chief men).	
1. Bodu ..	96	..	..	..	96
2. Kudaho ..	..	54	6	1	61
3. Punghilolu ..	..	60	..	3	63
4. Aludi ..	..	29	6	4	39
5. Setivalu ..	..	43	5	4	52
6. Kandamatu ..	..	15	2	2	19
7. Hanimagu ..	..	30	3	2	35
8. Olikolu ..	..	45	8	1	54
9. Dugu ..	47	10	4	..	61
10. Kolu ..	64	16	2	..	82
Total ..	207	302	36	17	562

Each *attiri* has a number of maas-fishing boats. The owner of the boat gets 14 per cent of the catch of fish, the rest is divided equitably among the *attiri*.

Lighthouse.—A fine lighthouse, constructed by the Trinity House Board, has been recently erected at the south end of the island in block I. The light was first exhibited on the 2nd February 1885.

KOTTAYAM TALUK.

By V. Chappu Menon, B.A.

Boundaries, Position and Area.—The Kottayam taluk, which comprises the old taluks of Kottayam and Tellicherry, is bounded on the north by Chirakkal, on the east by Coorg and Wynad, on the south by Wynad and Kurumbranad, and on the west by the sea. It lies immediately to the south of the Chirakkal taluk and resembles the latter in its general features.

Area.—462 square miles, of which 80 square miles may be said to be under cultivation.

Population.—The population, according to the census of 1871, was 143,761, which in 1881 rose to 165,775, showing an increase of about 15 per cent. The males were to the females as 81,345 to 84,430. The Hindus numbered 124,099, Muhammadans 39,825, Christians 1,842, and other classes 9. The population is most dense towards the coast.

The number of houses occupied in 1881 was 25,646 and of those unoccupied 6,200.

Sub-division of the Taluk for Administrative Purposes.—The taluk is divided into 28 amsams of which 16 are under the charge of the Tahsildar for magisterial purposes and the remaining 12 under the Deputy Tahsildar, Kuttuparamba. The taluk headquarters are at Tellicherry.

Public Establishments.—The various public establishments existing in the taluk are specified below :—

1. District Court, North Malabar, Tellicherry.
2. Sub-Collector and Joint Magistrate's Court, Tellicherry.
3. Civil Surgeon, Tellicherry.
4. Assistant Superintendent of Police, Tellicherry.
5. Sub-Court, North Malabar, Tellicherry.
6. District Munsif's Court, Tellicherry.
7. Tahsildar and his establishment, Tellicherry.
8. Deputy Tahsildar, Kuttuparamba.
9. Sea Customs Superintendent and Port Conservator, Tellicherry.
10. District Registrar, Tellicherry, and Sub-Registrars of Kuttuparamba and Panur.
11. Police Inspectors, Tellicherry and Kuttuparamba, with station-houses at Kallai, Chavasseri, Iritti, Kannavam, Kuttuparamba, Kasha, Nagaram and Panur.
12. Postal and Telegraph offices at Tellicherry.
13. Inspector of Salt and Abkari Revenue, North Malabar.
14. Teachers of the Brennen High School and other educational institutions.
15. Local Fund Supervisor, Tellicherry sub-division.
16. Deputy Inspector of Vaccination, North Malabar.
17. Municipal establishments.

Towns.—Tellicherry (Lat. 11° 44' 53" N., Long. 75° 31' 38" E.), which is the headquarters of the taluk, was constituted a municipal town under Act X of 1865 with effect from 1st November 1866 (*vide* notification of Government, dated 13th September 1866, and G.O., dated 13th September 1866, No. 925).

The boundaries of the town are—

North.—Eranjoli river as far as the old bridge on the Coorg road.

East and South.—The Eranjoli old road as far as the Tiruvangad kovil large tank, and the cross road thence to Kodapalli kumnu on the sea-shore.

West.—The sea.

The town extends from the Koduvalli bridge on the north to the small hill in the Mailanjanmam amsam on the south ; from the sea-shore on the west to the river on the east. The distance north to south is 3 miles and east to west $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles. The area is about 4 square miles and the population, according to the census of 1881, was 26,410, of whom 15,488 were Hindus, 9,149 were Muhammadans, 1,765 were Christians, and 8 belonged to other classes. The males were to the females as 12,939 to 13,471. The number of houses occupied was 3,426, and of those unoccupied 2,118.

The municipal town comprises at present the whole of the Tellicherry amsam and portions of Tiruvangad and Mailanjanmam amsams. In 1880 a portion of the Nittur amsam was added to the municipality, but was excluded in 1884 as it did not derive much benefit from the municipal administration. In March 1884, proposals for the incorporation of the remaining portions of the Tiruvangad and Mailanjanmam amsams were sanctioned by Government, but the order was subsequently cancelled on the representations of the inhabitants of the locality. The receipts and charges on account of the Tellicherry Municipality for the year 1884-85 are subjoined :—

TELLICHERRY MUNICIPALITY.

1884-85.

<i>Receipts.</i>						rs.
Opening balance	..	..	..	..	..	170
Rates on houses and lands	..	..	..	..	..	11,419
Taxes on arts	..	..	..	..	..	4,057
Taxes on vehicles and animals	..	..	..	..	..	793
Registration of carts	..	..	..	..	..	46
Tolls	..	..	..	..	..	2,183
Licences	..	..	..	..	..	100
Licence tax	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assignments by Government	..	..	..	..	..	200
Contribution from local funds	..	..	..	..	..	1,050
Fees and fines	..	..	..	..	..	190
Endowment, etc.	..	..	..	..	..	1,200
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	6,467
Advances recovered	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total						27,884

Charges.

Grant I.

New works—Communications	..	..	..	..	..	..
Buildings	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sanitary and miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	..
Repairs—communications	..	..	..	..	..	2,182
Buildings	..	..	..	..	..	123
Sanitary and miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	67
Establishment	..	..	..	..	..	608
Tools and plant	..	..	..	..	..	..

1884-85.

						RS.
Grant II.						
Municipal schools	..	..	..	..	..	6,163
Results grants	..	..	..	..	..	543
Schools on the combined system	..	..	..	..	..	448
Inspection	..	..	..	..	..	150
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grant III.						
Hospitals and dispensaries	..	..	..	..	..	4,437
Medical colleges	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sanitary inspection	..	..	..	..	..	..
Vaccination	..	..	..	..	..	584
Registration of births and deaths	..	..	..	..	..	344
Conservancy	..	..	..	..	..	5,585
Grant IV.						
Lighting	..	..	..	..	..	1,488
Choultries	..	..	..	..	..	123
Travellers' bungalow	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	576
Licence tax	..	..	..	..	..	..
Police	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grant V.						
Supervision and management	..	..	..	..	..	3,050
Advances recoverable	..	..	..	..	..	50
Refunds	..	..	..	..	..	152
Balances	..	..	..	..	..	1,211
Total						27,884

Tellicherry is a healthy and picturesque town, situated upon a group of wooded hills running down to the sea, and protected by a natural breakwater of rock. The citadel or fort, still in excellent preservation, stands to the north of the town and was used as a district jail till the latter was abolished on 1st June 1885. The buildings in the fort are now intended for public offices. The fort is built of laterite in the form of a square with flanking bastions on the south-east and north-west corners. The south-east bastion has also a cavalier bastion above it. On the north is another bastion situated on a cliff overhanging the sea, and separated from the main work by a space of about 150 yards. The immediate precincts of the fort were further protected by a strong wall of which portions still remain loopholed for musketry and with flanking towers at intervals. The native town lies to the south; the principal street runs parallel to the coast, and is a mile in length. A white dioptric light, exhibited from a small masonry tower on the fort wall, 70 feet above high water, marks the harbour.

The East India Company established a factory at *Tellicherry* in 1683 to secure the pepper and cardamom trade; and on several occasions, between 1708 and 1761, the Company obtained from the chiefs of the *Kolattiri* family and other local chiefs, not only grants of land in and near *Tellicherry*, but some important privileges, such as the right to collect customs, administer justice, etc., within the lands so granted.

Hyder's invasion of Malabar narrowed the Company's operations for a time, and in 1766 the factory was reduced to a residency. From 1779 to 1782 the town withstood a siege by Hyder's General, *Sirdar Khan*; on the arrival of relief from Bombay under Major *Abington*, the enemy

was severely handled in a sortie and the siege was raised. In the subsequent wars with Mysore, Tellicherry was the base of operations for the ascent of the ghats from the west coast. After the peace, the town became the seat of the Superintendent of North Malabar and of the Provincial Court of Circuit.

The various public offices existing in the taluk have been already noticed. The following edifices which exist in the town deserve mention. They are—

(1) The civil dispensary built partly with subscriptions raised by Dr. Ross, a former Civil Surgeon of the station, and partly with funds supplied by Government.

(2) A Protestant church (the foundation of which was laid by Lord Napier in 1869), raised with funds left by the late Master Attendant, Edward Brennen, Esq.

(3) A church of the German Mission.

(4) A Roman Catholic church over a century old.

(5) A large Mappilla mosque called Orta (in Portuguese, garden) Pally (ഓടക്കൽ പള്ളി) built by a very opulent Mappilla, Chovakkaran Mussa, the site being the Government garden, hence the name.

(6) Another mosque of some note, that of the Cutch Muhammadans, built by the late Ali Haji Sett, a rich merchant of this town, whose descendants are still trading here.

(7) A Hindu pagoda in Tiruvangad dedicated to Sri Rama, an incarnation of Vishnu, and commonly called "Brass Pagoda" owing to its being covered with brass sheeting instead of tiles, and of which the walls and gopurams are in a state of disrepair.

(8) A high school, also built with funds left by Mr. Brennen and known as the Brennen High school.

(9) Another school in charge of German Missionaries built with money provided by a Parsee by name Kasroo—a grandson of Darashoo Cursetjee, an old Parsee merchant of this place.

(10) A terrace made by the late Vice-President, Mr. Overbury, with municipal fund and which presents an agreeable appearance commanding an excellent view of the sea, and is now much resorted to by town people, especially in the evening. There are also a travellers' bungalow and two chattrams, one of which was built by the Municipality and the other by the Government. There is also another chattram, built and endowed by Moyan Kunhi Raman Nayar, who was once a ward under Government, and intended for Hindu travellers.

Of the private dwelling houses which are of some note, there are only two deserving mention here. One of these at Morakkunnu was built by Mr. James Stevens, and the other at Pallikkunnu by Mr. Thomas Harvey Baber, both first Judges of the late Western Provincial Court.

There are two large tanks within the town, the largest at Tiruvangad, measuring 250 feet by 340, belongs to the Tiruvangad temple, and the other measuring 150 feet by 150, near the High school, was sunk by the late Mr. Baber, and goes by his name.

There is no hotel here, but there is a club for Europeans situated close to the fort.

Other institutions of minor importance in the town are noted below :—

1. Lekshmi Narasimham temple (ലക്ഷ്മിനരസിംഹ ക്ഷേത്രം) roofed partly with copper and partly with tiles belonging to the Konkani Brahmmins.

2. Old Jamath mosque പഴയ ജമാഅത്ത് പള്ളി.

3. Mattamprath mosque മട്ടാമ്പ്രത്ത പള്ളി.

4. Lower bazaar mosque താഴെ അങ്ങാടി പള്ളി.

5. Trikkayil temple dedicated to Siva തൃക്കയിൽ ക്ഷേത്രം.

6. Ayyalath palli അയ്യലത്ത പള്ളി.

7. Seydarpalli സെയ്ദാർ പള്ളി.

Nos. 1 to 4 are in Tellicherry amsam, and Nos. 5 and 6 in Tiruvangal amsam, and No. 7 in Mailamjanmam amsam.

Kutali amsam—about 12 miles north north-west of Tellicherry, contains a bungalow known as Chalot Bungalow and a petty bazaar. It is on the high road from Cannanore to the Pudiachuram pass into Coorg.

Pattanur amsam—has nothing worthy of note, except perhaps a Vishnu temple called Nayikkali നായ്ക്കാലി.

Chavasseri amsam—about 4 miles north north-east of Palassi, has a Mappilla bazaar and a palace to the north of it. It contains the Kallur temple and Palot mosque, and also a small bungalow and chattram.

Veliyambra amsam—contains the village of Iritti, which has a bridge of that name in course of construction. It contains Kuyimbil (കയിമ്പിൽ) temple and Uliyil (ഉളിയീൽ) mosque.

Mulakunnu amsam—contains a fort called Harischandra Kotta on the Purali mala hill, near this is a rock-cut cell. There are two temples known as Mulakunnu (മുലകുന്ന്) and Tillangiri (തില്ലാങ്ങിരി) and a mosque called Palayil (പാലയിൽ).

Gannavam amsam—is a hilly tract containing an area of 41,440 acres, or about 65 square miles. It has a travellers' bungalow and a mussaferkhana and two religious institutions, one (Muntamparamba temple (മുണ്ടാമ്പരമ്പ ക്ഷേത്രം) belonging to the Hindus, and the other (Aralathipalli ആരളത്ത പള്ളി) belonging to the Mappillas. The Iritti bridge is on the boundary of Gannavam and Veliyambra amsams.

Manattana amsam—about 28 miles from Tellicherry and 8 from Kannothe, was once a military post. There is a redoubt on the summit of a low hill in good order but overrun with trees and shrubs. It is the largest and most hilly tract in the taluk, and has, according to the census of 1881, an area of 106,000 acres, or about 165 square miles, and a population of 4,365 souls. There is a temple of great celebrity called Tricharumanna at Kottiyur (തൃച്ചരുന്ന അമ്പലം) dedicated to Siva, and although situated in a wild woody tract, it has an annual festival in April-May attended by about 50,000 people. The nearest inhabited place to Kottiyur is Manattana, about 8 miles distant from it. The road from Manattana to Wynad passes through this village. At Nitumpoyil, there exists a chattram for the use of travellers. There is also a mosque called Kolayat (കൊളയാട്ട പള്ളി).

Kannavam amsam—is a large hilly tract about 14 miles north-east of Tellicherry, and was formerly a military post. Here is a small redoubt

on a hill in ruins. There is a good bungalow for travellers and a substantial stone bridge thrown over a small river by a battalion of pioneers employed in Wynad, in 1822-23. There is a celebrated pagoda known as Totikalam (തൊട്ടികളം) temple about one mile north-west of Kannothe, where, in the month of Vrischigam, Tiyyars bring tender coconuts as offerings to the deity. There are three rock-cut caves in Totikalam, said to be paved with bricks. There is also a mosque in the amsam known as the Kannothe mosque. At Kannothe there was a rich janmi known as Kannothe Nambiyar, who joined the rebellious Palassi (Pyche) Raja of Kottayam, and who disturbed the peace of the taluk for a series of years. He eventually fell into the hands of the authorities and was hanged on the hill near the bungalow, his estate being declared escheated to Government in 1805. The property known as Kannothe escheat is of large extent and lies in Kannothe and Manattana amsam. It has mostly been dealt with by the escheat department, and has a portion of it planted up with teak trees. The area of the tract is variously estimated. The Tahsildar of Kottayam once put the area at 375 square miles, but forty square miles is a very moderate estimate not taking into consideration the increased superficial area caused by the mountainous character of the locality. The forests are peopled by Kurichiyars—a class of jungle tribes who raise various products in them. The forest has been notified for reservation under the Madras Forest Act V of 1882.

Palassi amsam—was the seat of the Raja known in Malabar history as the Pychy (Palassi) Raja of Kottayam who carried on warfare against the East India Company for a long time, and who was finally killed in 1805, his whole estate being confiscated to Government. There is a small fort which is now in ruins. The two temples in this amsam are Perincheri (പെരിഞ്ചേരി) and Mattanur (മട്ടന്നൂർ). Mattanur is painfully interesting as being the scene of the terrible tragedy enacted there in 1852, wherein a whole family of Brahmans, consisting of 18 souls, were most cruelly butchered by Mappilla fanatics.

Kandamkundu amsam—is the seat of the Kuttuparamba Deputy Tahsildar's office, and contains also a Sub-Registrar's office, a Police station, a Mission school, public bungalow and an old fort now in ruins. There is also a large maidan in the possession of Government and a street inhabited by buffalo-herdsmen. It lies on the high road to the Periah pass. The Merumpoya bridge, over the river of that name, is situated in this amsam. There are also the (1) Nirveli (നിരവേലി), (2) Manantheri (മാനന്തേരി) and (3) Ramapuram (രാമപുരം) temples, and (4) Merumpoya (മേരൂമ്പുഴ) mosque and (5) Muriyat (മൂരിയാട്ട) mosque.

Patuvilai amsam—contains two Hindu temples known as Kallay (കല്ലായ്) and Patuvilai (പട്ടുവിലയ്) and two mosques called Kallai and Vengatti.

Dharmatam amsam.—Dharmatam (literally a place of charity) is a small island close to Tellicherry and contains a redoubt on the top of an elevated place and also an old rock-cut cave. There was here one of the earliest Muhammadan mosques now demolished. The place was ceded to the Honorable East India Company in 1734, was seized by Ravi Rarma, Raja of Chirakkal, in 1788, but was retaken in 1789. There are two Hindu temples called Melur (മേലൂർ ക്ഷേത്രം) and Andalur (അണ്ടലൂർ ക്ഷേത്രം), a Christian church and a Jamath mosque. There is also a Trigonometrical survey station here.

Pinarayi amsam—contains an old palace belonging to the Raja of Kottayam and the Paraprath (പാരപ്രത്ത്) mosque.

Mailanjanmam amsam—contains a mosque called Seydarpalli and two small rock-cut sepulchral caves like those at Taliparamba.

Katirur amsam—about 4 miles north-east of Tellicherry, was formerly the seat of the Tahsildar and subsequently of the District Munsif. It had a palace built by the Pychy (Palassi) Raja. There are (1) Katirur temple (കട്രിറുർ ക്ഷേത്രം) with a nice tank attached to it, (2) Chirumpa kavu temple (ചിരമ്പകാവ്), (3) Talath (താലത്ത്) mosque, (4) Telayilat (തലയിലാട്ട്) mosque, and (5) two rock-cut caves.

Kottayam—also called Kottayakam and Kottangadi, is a large village about 7 miles north-east of Tellicherry, and contains the palaces of the Kottayam Rajas and the houses of several wealthy Mappillas. It is celebrated for a fine temple known as Triyakikunnu (തൃക്കയിക്കുന്ന്) and a big tank close to it. The rebel Pychy (Palassi) Raja belonged to one of the branches of the Kottayam family. There are three mosques called (1) Kottayath Jamath mosque (കൊട്ടായത്ത് ജമാഅത്ത് പള്ളി), (2) Mutiyanga Jamath mosque (മുതിയാങ്ങ ജമാഅത്ത് പള്ളി), (3) Cheruvancheri mosque (ചെരുവഞ്ചേരി പള്ളി).

Panur amsam.—Panur, about 7 miles from Tellicherry, was formerly the seat of a District Munsif and has now a Police station and a Sub-Registrar's office. It is a populous Mappilla village and contains a bazaar. There are the ruins of an old fort and a rock-cut sepulchral grave, the latter in Kannampalli desam. The chief religious institutions are Kutteri temple (കുട്ടേരി അമ്പലം) and Panur mosque (പാറൂർ പള്ളി).

Pullur amsam—is a jungly tract and contains Pullanhott (പുല്ലാത്തോട്ട്) temple and Kallil (കല്ലിലവള്ളി) mosque; also two rock-cut caves in Kolavallur desam.

Triprangottur amsam—is a jungly tract and contains the Vishnu temple known as Kotantram velli temple (കൊടന്ത്രംവെള്ളി ക്ഷേത്രം) and the Katavattur mosque (കടവത്തൂർ പള്ളി). Both have thatched roofs.

Panniyannur amsam—contains the temples known as Kottarattil Ampalam (കൊട്ടാരത്തിൽ അമ്പലം) and Kilaketath Ampalam (കിഴക്കേടത്തമ്പലം).

Peringalam amsam—about 8 miles from Tellicherry, contains a rock-cut cave on the top of a hill. There are also a rock-cut cave with two pillars and four caves in the amsam. The Menapratt (മെനപ്രത്ത്) and Anniyarath (അണിയാരത്ത്) temples and Peringalathur (പെരിങ്ങാളത്തൂർ പള്ളി) mosque are the only religious institutions of note. At Kanakamala there is a small spring which is considered sacred, and in which people bathe on certain days in the year.

Olavilam amsam—contains Olavilath Thadathil (ഓളവിലത്ത് തടത്തിൽ) temple and Tottathil (തോട്ടത്തിൽ) mosque.

Kallayi amsam—contains two caves cut out of laterite, also Parimatam temple (പരിമടം) and Kallai mosque.

Karyad amsam—contains Pallikunil temple (പള്ളികുനീൽ അമ്പലം) dedicated to Vettakorumakan.

Mountains, Hills and Forests.—The line of ghats to the eastward, the crest of which forms the boundary dividing Kottayam from Coorg and Wynad, are lofty, some of the peaks being about 4,000 feet above the level of the sea. The valleys formed by the slopes are extensive and covered with dense forests. The Kanaka mala is a lofty ridge stretching

west from the ghats, the slopes from it approaching within 10 miles of the coast due east of Tellicherry. Purali (പുറലി) mala, situated centrically, is a long ridge about 6 miles in length east and west unconnected with the ghats. It is covered with wood and bamboos to the summit. In the north-east portion several table-lands covered with wood, apparently flat, rise abruptly from the cultivated valleys. The country, 8 miles in a parallel with the coast, is composed of open ridges between the cultivated valleys. A few of the eminences are wooded. There is very little flat land in the district beyond a belt along the coast about Tellicherry and the cultivated valleys. The whole of the eastern portion is one dense wood with a few cultivated spots to the foot of the ghats. In the small island of Dharmapatam the only flat ground is that under wet cultivation and marsh; the rest is undulating ground falling in cliffs towards the sea. Opposite to it is a rocky island called Grove Island with some wood surrounded by rocks. About half a mile to the west of Tellicherry is a ridge of rocks which affords some shelter for craft. The description of the Kannothe forest belonging to Government will be found in the Notice of the Wynad Forests.

Soil and Productions.—The soil in some parts towards the coast is brown and sandy; on the rising grounds in the interior it is rich and gravelly; the cultivated valleys a brown loam; towards the mountains and in the forests it is rich and black.

The productions are rice of different kinds, coconut, betel, areca-nut, cardamom, pepper in great quantities and dry grains of sorts. Kottayam is celebrated for its pepper crops.

Minerals.—Iron is to be found in some parts, but it is not worked.

Manufactures.—Cloths of an inferior sort are made in several amsams. In Nittur, a suburb of Tellicherry, weaving is carried on by the Basel Mission weaving establishment. Arrack, jaggery, oil from copra and other nuts are manufactured. Copper vessels are manufactured at Tellicherry and at Mattanur in Palassi amsam.

Fairs and Markets.—Fairs are held at almost all the temples where people resort for public festivals or worship. Kottiyur is one of the most important of the pagodas in this respect. A festival is held there in April-May every year which attracts thither great trade.

Bungalows and other Public Buildings.—There are three travellers' bungalows in the taluk at—

1. Kannothe in Kannavan amsam,
2. Gannothe in Gannavam amsam, and
3. Kuthuparamba.

Mussaferkhanas are provided at—

1. Nedumpoyil in Manattana amsam.
2. Chalot in Kudali amsam.
3. Chavasseri.
4. Iritti in Veliyampira amsam.
5. Gannothe in Gannavam amsam.

Trigonometrical Station.—At Dharmapattanam.

	—	°	'	"
Lat. N.	11	45	59.76	
Long. E.	75	30	09.82	

KURUMBRANAD TALUK.

By C. Kunhi Kannan.

Position, Boundaries, Soil and Area.—The Kurumbranad taluk is bounded on the *north* by the Kottayam taluk, on the *east* by the Wynad taluk, on the *south* by the Calicut taluk, and on the *west* by the Arabian Sea. The soil of the interior is generally red and much impregnated with laterite, which gradually assumes a rich loam in parts cultivated with paddy, whilst towards the coast it is brown loose earth.

The Kurumbranad taluk comprises the old taluks of Kadattanad and Kurumbranad.

The area of the taluk, according to the census returns of 1881, is 538 square miles. This is only an approximate calculation as accurate figures are not available, the district not having been surveyed. Of this extent about 175,613 acres or about 274 square miles, are under cultivation. The demand of land revenue for fasli 1295 (1885-86) was Rs. 2,13,565, giving an average of Rs. 1½ nearly per acre of cultivated area.

Population.—The population of the taluk, inclusive of floating population as ascertained by the census of 1881, was, 261,024, being 129,394 males and 131,630 females. The population returned by the census of 1871 was 244,166. The population of 1881 may be classified as follows:—

Hindus	..	..	..	..	..	196,383
Muhammadans	..	..	..	..	..	64,245
Christians	..	..	..	..	..	394
Others	..	..	..	..	..	2
Total						261,024

which give an average of 485 persons per square mile.

Education is backward in the taluk as will appear from the fact that under the head of “instruction” the census returned 7,944, “instructed” 20,206, and “illiterate including not stated” 232,874 persons.

There were 56,471 houses (48,440 occupied and 8,031 unoccupied) in 1881 against 45,597 houses in 1871. The average number of persons per occupied house in 1881 was 5.4.

Division of Taluk for Administrative Purposes.—The taluk comprises 57 amsams each with an adhikari on Rs. 5½, a menon on Rs. 6 and two peons on Rs. 3 each *per mensem*.

Prior to 1866 there were 63 amsams in the taluk, but in that year 6 amsams were transferred to the Calicut taluk. The names of these amsams will be found in the Note on the Calicut taluk.

The old Kadattanad taluk comprised 21 hobalis and the old Kurumbranad 10 hobalis. As already observed, these two taluks were amalgamated into the present Kurumbranad taluk.

Government Establishments of different kinds maintained in the taluk, and where located.—The taluk kacheri of Kurumbranad, including the Sub-jail and Police station, is at Badagara, where there is also a District Munsif's Court and a Sub-Registrar's office. The District Board maintain a middle school, a dispensary on a small scale, a travellers' bungalow and mussafer khana at Badagara.

There are two other District Munsifs' Courts in the taluk, one at Nadapuram in Kummangod amsam, 9 miles north-east of Badagara, and the other at Payanad in Quilandi, 14 miles south of Badagara. There is a Deputy Tahsildar's kacheri at Quilandi. There are Sub-Registrars at Nadapuram, Payoli, Quilandi, Naduvannur and Kuttiyadi. There are combined Post and Telegraph offices and Sea Customs offices at Badagara and Quilandi. There are Police stations at Chombal in Aliyur amsam, Nadapuram in Kummangod amsam, Badagara, Payoli in Iringatt amsam, Quilandi in Vijur amsam, Tiruvallur, Kuttiyadi, Perambra, Naduvannur and Iyad.

Short Descriptive Notices of Towns, etc.—There are no Municipal towns in Kurumbranad. Kadattanad is one of the ancient chieftainships (nads) into which Malabar was formerly divided. It stretches from the sea coast up the western declivity of the Western Ghats. The level tracts near the sea are very fertile. The eastern hilly parts are well wooded and contain indigenous cardamom plants. The petty State is said to have been founded in 1564 by a Nayar chief who inherited it in the male line from the Tekkelankur (southern regent) of the Kolattiri kingdom.

Badagara (Vadakkekkara = the north bank) is the chief town in the taluk. According to the census of 1871, there were 1,037 houses with a population of 7,718 souls in Badagara amsam. At the census of 1881, there were 1,643 houses and a population of 8,336 persons. Of these 3,849 are Mappillas. Badagara is situated on the sea coast at the northern extremity of the Elattur-Badagara backwater and on the trunk road from Calicut to Cannanore, 30 miles from the former and 12 miles south of Tellicherry. There is a fort at Badagara which originally belonged to the Kolattiri Rajas, and it is said to have been acquired by the Kadattanad Raja in 1564. On passing into the possession of the Mysoreans it was made the chief export customs station on the coast. In 1790 it was taken from Tipu by the English, and having been restored to the Kadattanad Raja, it was converted by him into a Brahman feeding-house, which was afterwards transferred to the Paravantala temple in Badagara amsam. The raja has since built a thatched house in the fort. The fort is 246 feet square with bastions at each corner, and immediately west of it is a tank 168 feet long and 144 feet broad.

Badagara is a straggling but busy Mappilla town with several irregular streets or lanes. On the beach there are several substantial store-houses. There is a Jamatt mosque here as well as minor mosques. The Jamatt mosque is 114 by 42 feet. In Paravantala desam in Badagara amsam is a well 66 feet in circumference and 42 feet deep. This well is said to have been jumped across by Tachcholi Odenan, the hero of a folk song noted in North Malabar.

In Badagara amsam, Paravantala desam, there is a temple dedicated to Subramanyan. It is 76 feet long and 56 feet broad. Attached to the temple is a tank 73 feet square. The temple, said to be an ancient institution, was renewed by the Kadattanad Raja about the year 1864. The roof of the shrine is covered with copper plates. The raja maintains a Brahman feeding-house here.

In Kuttipuram amsam, 10 miles to the north-east of Badagara, is the fortified palace of the Kadattanad Porlatiri Valiya Raja, and in Purameri amsam, 8 miles from Badagara, is the Porlatiri Naya Raja's house. The remaining two branches of the raja's family live in Ayancheri Kovilakam and Edavalatt Kovilakam in the same amsam.

Kottakkal, 3 miles south of Badagara, is a sea customs sub-port subordinate to Badagara. It was once a large town inhabited by Mappillas. There is a mosque of some note on the southern bank of the river at Kottakkal. Kottakkal was formerly the stronghold of a Mappilla pirate called Kunhali Marakkar, who committed depredations in the surrounding country which are described in a folk song. Hardly any vestige of the stronghold now remains.

The Sacrifice Rock is opposite the Kottakkal sub-port in Lat. $11^{\circ} 29' 45''$ N., Long. $75^{\circ} 31\frac{1}{2}'$ E., bears S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. from Tellicherry $5\frac{1}{4}$ leagues, and is distant $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the land opposite; it has a white aspect, 40 feet in height, and is discernible 3 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from a large ship, the deck being elevated 15 or 20 feet above water. It is called Velliyan-kallu or the white or silvery stone by the natives of Malabar. This rock or island is steep all round, having 12 and 13 fathoms close to it, 16 fathoms $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles outside, 10 fathoms within it, to 7 fathoms about midway between it and the mainland in a very good channel. Ships passing through the inside channel ought to give the point a berth of 3 miles by borrowing towards the rock; and in working should heave the lead quick, if they come under 6 fathoms standing in shore. Passing outside Sacrifice Rock in the night, ships should not come under 16 or 17 fathoms water.

Nadapuram is a rising Mappilla town in Kummangod amsam 9 miles from Badagara. The amsam has a population of 5,328 souls. The recent establishment of a Munsif's Court has increased the importance of this place. There is a Jamatt mosque here, which is 104 by 33 feet in size.

At Kuttiyadi, which was once a strong military post, 17 miles from Badagara, there is an old redoubt as well as a small Mappilla village. The Kuttiyadi Ghat begins here. There is a Sub-Registrar's office and a Police station here. There is also a Jamatt mosque, 53 by 27 feet.

The Kuttiyadi Pass, in the Western Ghats, leads from Kurumbranad taluk into Wynad. It is steep and only practicable for foot-passengers and beasts of burden. The Kuttiyadi river is navigable from Badagara up to 30 miles. Large quantities of timber are floated down the river to Elattur in Calicut, and to Badagara.

In Ponmeri amsam, 5 miles from Badagara, is a Siva temple which is $124\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 87 feet. It is sculptured. The roof of the shrine is covered with copper. There is a granite slab at the eastern entrance with an inscription in unknown characters. The temple is very old and was destroyed by Tippu's soldiers.

In Edachori amsam, 5 miles from Badagara, is Vengoli temple in which Ganapati is worshipped. It is 70 by $53\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The Kadattanad Raja maintains a Brahman feeding-house here. Not far from the temple to the north there is a Bhagavati temple called Kaliyampalli temple. It is 97 feet long and 86 feet broad. There is an inscription on a slab in unknown characters.

In Muttungal amsam, Vellikulangara desam, 4 miles north of Badagara, there is a Siva temple, 54 by 41 feet. Outside the temple, there is a slab with inscription in an unknown language. At Karshkad in this amsam, there is a Muhammadan mausoleum over the grave of one Siti Koya, who is alleged to have migrated to Malabar from Arabia.

about 200 years ago. The mausoleum is held in great veneration by Mappillas, who flock to it in large numbers from different parts and make offerings.

In Velam amsam, 12 miles south-east of Badagara, there is a reservoir of fresh water locally known as Tura, which is 1,080 feet long by 218 feet wide. There is a similar Tura in Kuttiyadi amsam, which is 684 feet by 72 feet with a depth averaging 22 feet. These are fabled to have been excavated by the Pandus in pre-historic period.

Chombala in Aliyur amsam is a Basel Evangelical station. The mission was started there in 1849, and the number of church members in the colony on the 1st January 1885 were 309. There is a girls' orphanage here, which was transferred from Cannanore in 1872. A branch weaving establishment has existed here since 1883. There are three schools for boys and girls with an average attendance of about 200 pupils. The Chombala Mission has an out-station at Badagara and Muvaratt. The station at Quilandi, opened in 1857, is subordinate to the mission at Calicut. The congregation at Quilandi numbers 68.

In Melati amsam, 10 miles from Quilandi, there is a Siva temple known as Kilur, which has its shrine roofed with copper. The temple is 93 by 70 feet. In the month of Vrischikam (November-December), a festival is celebrated here with great pomp. During the festival an important cattle market is held close to the temple over a large area. Divers other articles also find ready sale here on the occasion. More than 60,000 head of cattle are brought here from different parts of the district and Coimbatore, etc., and more than 10,000 people assemble during the festival.

Quilandi, the headquarters of the Deputy Tahsildar, is in Viyyur amsam. There are besides a District Munsif's Court, Sub-Registrar's office, Sea Customs office, a combined Post and Telegraph office, Police station, Subsidiary jail, travellers' bungalow and mussaferkhana at Quilandi. The population of the amsam in 1871 was 10,367 and in 1881, 10,259. In 1881 there were 2,095 houses against 1,757 in 1871. Of the former, 1,752 were occupied and the rest unoccupied.

Quilandi was a large flourishing port and town, of which many substantial buildings remain. It had also the advantage of being in the neighbourhood of the Kollam mud bank resembling those at Alleppey and Narakkal. Towards the close of the last century, the port was suddenly destroyed by a cyclone.

It was close to Quilandi (Capocate) that Vasco da Gama's fleet first cast anchor in 1498. Close to the seaport on the north is one of the nine original Muhammadan mosques established on the Malabar Coast by Malik Ibn Dinar. The mosque (recently renewed) is at Kollam, sometimes called northern or Pantalayini Kollam. This mosque appears to have been built in imitation of one at Mecca. The dome is covered with sheets of copper which Arab vessels passing down the coast never failed in former days to salute, and all Muhammadan seamen offered up prayers on coming abreast of it. Three festivals are annually celebrated in the mosque. In Kollam, there is a Jamatt mosque in which there are three granite slabs containing inscriptions.

In the town of Quilandi there is an old mosque 130 by 70 feet. It is very high, having three storeys. The Government have granted lands yielding annually Rs. 1,800 for the support of this mosque. A brief account of the circumstances of this endowment will not be uninteresting.

The mosque appears to have been founded in 1779 by Saiyid Abdulla Bin Saiyid Ahamad Hadi. In 1780 voluntary engagements were entered into by the Muhammadan and Hindu merchants of different villages in Tinnevely, by which they bound themselves to pay for the mosque a trifling fee upon each man's load or bullock load of merchandise which passed through their respective villages. A payment analogous to this was also in due course secured in Malabar in behalf of this mosque. The above collection was continued until 1803 when Regulation XII of that year put a stop to the practice.

In 1810, Saiyid Ali Hadi, the founder's son, brought to the notice of Government the difficulties experienced in regard to the up-keep of the mosque by the enforcement of Regulation XII. An enquiry was instituted into the matter in 1826 which eventually resulted in the grant of an allowance of Rs. 1,800 per annum, payable by monthly instalments, for the support of the mosque and establishment, and an additional payment down of Rs. 2,000 for repairing the mosque (G.O., dated 29th February 1828). The mosque was described by the Sub-Collector, Mr. Wheatley, to be a magnificent structure affording accommodation to travellers and to a largely attended school where instruction was imparted to Muhammadan youths. It was also stated that pilgrims to Mecca and visitors from Arabia were entertained here. The Government consequently directed the allowance to be continued as long as the institution was kept up on a proper footing and found to be beneficial to that portion of the public which had been accustomed to resort to it for lodging, entertainment or religious purposes.

In their despatch of 15th June 1831, the Court of Directors approved the grant and the proviso laid down for its continuance, and observed that what was intended was a degree of utility not altogether disproportionate to the allowance made. The Inam deed pertaining to this confirmed the grant to the present Inamdar for the purpose of the Inam as long as he continues to be loyal.

In 1841 Government withdrew from all connection with religious institutions, and in 1846 the Government accepted the Collector's proposal to make over to the Quilandi mosque as Sarvamanyam certain escheated farms in Ernad producing a net revenue of Rs. 1,800 per annum. In 1848, 199 pieces of paddy fields and nursery plots and 16 gardens measuring in all 306 cawnies, 828 koles, and assessed at Rupees 1,176-10-1 with proprietor's share of Rs. 623-5-11 aggregating Rs. 1,800 were made over to the Inamdar. These lands lie in the ansams of Manjeri, Karakunnu, and Trikalangod in Ernad taluk. The Inamdar now squeezes from his tenants more than Rs. 3,200 per annum.

A festival is annually performed in the month of *Ramullan* on Mayath Kunnu (grave-yard hill) in Kollam. There are several ancient tombs on the hill, some of them with inscriptions.

In Kollam desam is the Vishari Kavu temple, dedicated to Bhagavati and Siva. The roof of the Bhagavati shrine is covered with copper. The temple is 93 by 84 feet. The Dasra festival is celebrated here with pomp in Kanni (September-October), and in the month of Minam (March-April), a festival takes place for 8 days which attracts many pilgrims and calls into being in its neighbourhood at Kannadikkal a fair for diverse articles aggregating in value about Rs. 10,000.

The temple possesses inam lands in the amsams of Viyur, Mudadi, Tiruvangur, Arikkulam, Kilariyur and Melur, the revenue of which amounts to Rs. 343.

There is a tank 920 feet by 502 feet at Kollam.

There are inscriptions in illegible characters in the minor temples of Maralur, Pantalayini and Taliyil in Viyur.

In Edakkara amsam, 10 miles from Quilandi, there is a hill called Vallikkat-Mittal Kunnu crowned by a small shrine. There is a perennial flow of water from the top of the hill which is considered to be tirtham or holy water and to which a large number of pilgrims flock in the month of Tulam (October-November). In Velur desam, Manikottaparamba, there is a hat-stone 36 feet in circumference on an upright stone about 3 feet high and 4 feet thick. There was a similar circular stone in the same compound which has fallen from its prop.

In the neighbourhood of these hat-stones there is a stone-cut cave with a central column and raised platforms on sides similar to those found elsewhere in the district.

Naduvannur is an important village and was the headquarters of the old Kurumbranad taluk. It has a population of 3,386 souls, of whom 2,616 are Hindus and 770 Muhammadans. There is a Sub-Registrar's office here as well as a Police station. There is also a travellers' bungalow. A market is held every Saturday.

In Karayad amsam, Tiruvangur desam, 6 miles from Quilandi, there is a Siva temple called Tiruvangur perched on a rock-hill called Kappa mala. There are sculptures in the temple. It is 109 feet by 63 feet. The Sivaratri festival is celebrated here annually in the month of Kumbham (February-March). On the north and south of the temple as well as within the precincts of the temple, there are as many as nine *quasi* tanks varying from 6 to 60 feet in circumference, excavated on the top of the rocky hill which are never dried up. They are esteemed for ablutions. On a granite rock at the temple there is an inscription in unknown characters.

In Meppayur amsam, Eravattur desam, there are two ponds known as Narikkilapula and Tiyarapula. The former is 600 feet long and 90 feet broad and the latter is almost as broad. They are used for washing. A local legend imputes their excavation to the Pandavas.

In Pompiri desam of the same amsam is a garden called Kudakottiparamba, in which there is a hat-stone 30 feet in circumference supported by an upright column about 3 feet high and about 5 feet thick. The circular stone is a little damaged on one side. This is 9 miles north-east of Quilandi.

Payoli in Iringatt amsam is a rising town. The population of the amsam is 3,408, being 2,508 Hindus, 892 Muhammadans and 8 Christians. There is a Sub-Registrar's office at Payoli and a Police station as well as a travellers' bungalow on an eminence overlooking the river. A weekly market on every Monday is held here. There is a lock at Payoli on the canal which connects the Akalapula backwater with the Kuttiyadi river, and thus provides an uninterrupted line of inland navigation from Elattur in Calicut to Badagara. Fees are levied on boats passing the lock. Payoli is 10 miles from Badagara and 11 from Quilandi.

The rivers of the taluk are—

1. The Kottakkal or Kuttiyadi river.
2. The Mahe or Mondolo river.
3. The Naduvannur river.

A list of ferries in the taluk is subjoined :—

Second Class.

1. Murat kadavu.

Third Class.

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 2. Kanayankod kadavu. | 14. Kotta kadavu. |
| 3. Puramannadi kadavu. | 15. Chenthodi kadavu. |
| 4. Nirattukuli kadavu. | 16. Thorasheri kadavu. |
| 5. Chittani kadavu. | 17. Akalapula kadavu. |
| 6. Kuniyott kadavu. | 18. Nellyadi kadavu. |
| 7. Muttunkal kadavu. | 19. Naderi kadavu. |
| 8. Kayippratt kadavu. | 20. Annala kadavu. |
| 9. Puliapula kadavu. | 21. Ollur kadavu. |
| 10. Perincheri kadavu. | 22. Thoraya kadavu. |
| 11. Muniyan kadavu. | 23. Chattanatt kadavu. |
| 12. Pulakandi kadavu. | 24. Kuniyil kadavu. |
| 13. Idinja kadavu. | |

Fairs and Markets.—A weekly market is held at Badagara every Tuesday, at Nadapuram every Thursday, at Payoli every Monday, at Kokkallur, close to Iyad Police station, every Wednesday, at Naduvannur every Saturday.

Trigonometrical Survey Station.—There is a Trigonometrical survey station on Nadapuram hill in Kunnunmal amsam, 16 miles from Badagara, as well as one on Puramala hill in Mutadi amsam, 5 miles from Quilandi.

Dams and Anicuts.—There is a dam at Palayad for the exclusion of salt water from the paddy cultivation lying above the dam. There is also a dam at Kattampalli in Panangad amsam.

Ayyanikkad dam is an old one between Uliyeri and Arikkulam amsams. These dams are intended for the protection of cultivation and revenue.

Archæology.—Reference has already been made to the rock-cut cave and hat-stones in Edakkara amsam, and a hat-stone in Meppayur amsam.

In Muttadi amsam, Muchukunnu desam, in the valley of Valiyamala hill, there are two caves. One is large, being 66 feet long and 36 feet wide. At the western end of the cave is a circular pit $9\frac{1}{2}$ *koles* in circumference and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *koles* deep.

In Mullipad desam, Cheruvannur amsam, 9 miles south-east of Badagara, there is a small rock-cut cave not yet excavated.

On the eastern side of the temple in Kaliyamvelli, in Edacheri amsam, 6 miles north north-east of Badagara, there are some inscriptions.

On the eastern side of the temple in Vellikulangara in Muttungal amsam, 4 miles north of Badagara, there are some inscriptions. There is an old fort in Eramala amsam.

An old Siva temple in Iringannur, 8 miles north-east of Badagara, is fabled to have been founded by a rishi.

There is a small rock-cut cave in Kolukkallur desam of Karayad amsam, 18 miles south-east of Badagara. There is an inscription on a granite rock at the temple of Tiruvaigara.

Kavuntara, 12½ miles south-east of Badagara, 3 miles west of the bungalow at Naduvannur, there is a deserted ruined temple. Close to the temple in the yard of a house is a stone with an inscription said to be illegible, and there is another on one of the steps of the tank belonging to the temple.

Kilariyur is 15 miles south south-east of Badagara. There are two rock-cut caves here.

In the mosque at Kollam on the edge of the bath is a granite slab, broken, bearing an inscription in Vatteluttu characters. It is dated K.A. 684 (1508 A.D.).

Meppayur, 10 miles east south-east of Badagara. In the grove attached to the Elavattara temple of Durga are some "sculptured images." A channel on the south side of the Malamangalam temple is fabled to have been excavated by the Pandavas and is said to contain treasure. In Kayalat are to be seen a dolmen and two menhirs, and in Kilapaliyur are a dolmen and five menhirs. In Pampiri desam are two stone circles already referred to. Funeral urns of pottery have been found here.

Panangod, 18½ miles east south-east of Badagara. A ruined and deserted temple, on the eastern wall of the porch of which is an inscription in unknown characters. There is an old ruined fort here.

Ponmeri, 5 miles north-east of Badagara. In the Siva temple is an ancient inscription on a broken slab in unknown characters. The temple is very old. It was destroyed by Tippu's soldiers.

Viyyur, 10 miles south of Badagara. In the Maralur temple there is an inscription. There is another in the Pantalayini temple and one in the deserted temple of Talayil.

MAHE AND THE ADJOINING ALDEES.

The French settlement of Mahe is situated in Lat. 11° 41' 50" N., and Long. 75° 34' 25" E. to the south of the mouth of the river Mahe with a roomy harbour whose rocky bar admits vessels up to 70 tons. Vessels may anchor off Mahe in 5 fathoms, with the flag-staff east-north-east and 2 miles from shore.

Mahe consists of two portions, the one lying on the left bank of the river at its junction with the sea, the other lies inland on the opposite side of the river, and is a narrow strip of land touching at one point the small river which debouches at Tellicherry.

The population in 1871 was 8,492. The present population is 8,383, of whom 191 are Christians, 6,340 Hindus, and 1,852 Mappillas. The superficial area of Mahe proper restored to the French on the 23d February 1817 was 1,445 acres, being 1,329 acres of lands under cultivation

and 116 acres of public lands. It is about 4 miles to the south of Telli-cherry. The restitution of the outlying aldees (villages) of—

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| (1) Chalakkara, | (3) Chembra and |
| (2) Pallur, | (4) Pandakkal, |

or what is collectively called Nalutara, on 14th November 1853, enlarged the possession to 5 square miles in extent.

The desams constituting the settlement are—

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| (1) Valiyangadi. | (8) Mattannal. |
| (2) Parakkal. | (9) Odattinakam. |
| (3) Mundokkil. | (10) Valappinakam. |
| (4) Manchakkal. | (11) Chalakkara. |
| (5) Chudikkotta. | (12) Pallur. |
| (6) Valavil. | (13) Chembra. |
| (7) Puliyil. | (14) Pandakkal. |

Mahe was at first a place of considerable importance and trade, but afterwards, having fallen so frequently into the hands of the English, the settlement and its trade suffered; and in 1782 its fortifications were not only razed to the ground, but the town was almost entirely burnt. Most of the chief buildings in Mahe are picturesquely situated on the bank close to the river mouth. The site is hilly, but densely covered with coconut trees. Mahe is celebrated for the fertility of its soil and the salubrity of its climate. It is in charge of a Chief de Service subordinate to Pondicherry. There is a Roman Catholic chapel to which a large number of devotees are annually attracted from different and distant parts on the occasion of a festival on the 15th of October every year. There are three boys' schools and one girls' school. There is also a British Post office and a long wooden bridge maintained by the Malabar District Board across the Mahe river. The coast road from Beypore to Telli-cherry and Cannanore passes through Mahe.

There is a temple called Kilakke Puttalatt Bhagavati temple of note in Mahe. Here a festival takes place every year in Kumbham (February-March), when more than 5,000 people assemble from different places on North Malabar.

Close to Mahe, at Kallayi in British territory, there is a British Sea Customs Superintendent. Round Mahe there are four land customs chowkies with a preventive police establishment for guarding the frontier against the smuggling of dutiable goods, such as liquor, arms, ammunition, and military stores, opium and salt.

Of the four outlying aldees or villages restored to the French, Chalakkara, Pallur and Chembra formed the demesne of the Nambiyars of Iruvalinad and Pandakkal of Kurungott Nayar, and the four villages together constituted the amsam of Nalutara in Kottayam taluk. In obedience to Extract from Minutes of Consultation, the Board of Revenue, in their Proceedings, dated 28th September 1846, directed the delivery to the French Government of the villages of Chalakkara, Pallur, Chembra, Pandakkal, as also the three detached points called Fort St. George and the great and small Kallayi. These were accordingly handed over by Mr. J. D. Robinson, Head Assistant Collector, to Monsieur Hayes, Chief of Mahe, on the 14th November 1853. The boundaries of the four villages were—

East.—Part of Panniyanur, Peringalam, Olavilam and Kallayi amsams.

West.—Tiruvangad and Kallayi amsams.

North.—Poniyam river and part of Panniyanur amsam.

South.—Part of Olavilam and Kallayi amsams.

Of the three detached points which communicate with each other—

North.—The strip of Kallayi lying between them and Vera Kunnu.

South and south-west.—A strip of Kallayi amsam intervening between them and Mahe river, and a portion of Tellicherry.

East.—A mosque and precipice.

West.—A portion of Tellicherry road and a strip of Kallayi amsam intervening between them and Kanien Kunnu.

WYNAD TALUK.

By V. Chappu Menon, B.A.

Boundaries, Area and Population.—The Wynad taluk which forms part of the table-land of Mysore originally consisted of three divisions known as North Wynad, South Wynad and South-East Wynad, comprising seven, six and three amsams respectively. The North and South Wynad divisions still appertain to the Malabar district, but the south-east portion, consisting of the amsams of Nambalakod, Munnadan and Cherankod, was transferred to the Nilgiri district with effect from 31st March 1877 (*Fort St. George Gazette*, dated 13th March 1877). This article is confined to the notice of the Malabar-Wynad, Mr. A. E. C. Stuart who has been engaged for some time in the settlement of forests and of escheat claims in Wynad having, with the sanction of Government, undertaken the preparation of a special manual for the entire tracts known at present as the Nilgiri-Wynad and the Malabar-Wynad.

The Malabar-Wynad is bounded on the north by Kottayam and Coorg, on the east by Mysore, on the south by the Nilgiri district and Ernad, and on the west by Calicut and Kurumbranad.

Area.—999 square miles, of which 80 square miles may be said to be under cultivation.

Population.—According to the census of 1881, the population numbered 88,091 souls, of whom 76,898 were Hindus, 9,056 were Muhammadans, 1,983 were Christians and 154 belonged to other classes. The males were to the females as 49,661 to 38,430. The number of houses occupied was 8,666 and of those unoccupied 3,982.

Physical Aspects.—Wynad is an elevated and exceedingly picturesque mountainous plateau. It is generally rugged and broken and has some of the largest mountain peaks in the district. The central portions consist of ranges of low hills of easy slopes, covered with grass and low bamboo jungle, while the eastern parts are fairly open and flat and merge insensibly into the table-land of Mysore. The Nilgiri-Kundur range abuts on the south-east corner of the taluk, while the Bramagiri hills on the north separate it from Coorg. The average height of the plateau above sea-level is 3,000 feet, though many of the mountain peaks are over 5,000 feet, *e.g.*, Vavul mala (Camel's Hump), the highest peak in the taluk, is 7,677 feet; Vellera mala, 7,364 feet; Banasur, 6,762 feet; and Bramagiri peak, 5,276 feet.

Mountains and Forests.—The table-land of Wynad is composed of low ridges with innumerable valleys running in all directions ; the only space which is of a more level surface is about Porakudi, Panamaram and Ganapativattam, in the south-east. The eastern portion is under heavy forest and few hills appear. The whole of it is undulating. The ghats from the Periah pass towards the Tamarasseri pass and 11 miles to the east are lofty consisting of immense peaks, from 5,000 to 6,000 feet and occupy a large surface. To the north of Manantoddy (5 miles) is a lofty ridge branching off from the ghats and north of it (4 miles) is the famous mountain of Bramagiri. This ridge forms the limit common to Coorg and Wynad and between these two ridges lies the valley of Tirunelli. In the interior are several detached hills of considerable elevation. The following are the principal mountains :—

(1) The Balasur or Banasuran mala (ബാണാസുരൻ), called after the giant Banasuran who is supposed to have built a fort on its summit.

(2) Bramagiri, supposed to be the abode of the god Brahma, and which would make a splendid sanatorium.

(3) Chandra mala (ചന്ദ്രമല).

(4) Tala mala (തലമല).

(5) Tariyott or Terriote mala (തരിയോട്ട് മല).

(6) Vavul mala (Camel's Hump).

(7) Elampileri mala (എലമ്പിലിമല).

The forests in Wynad are very valuable. A note on them prepared by the District Forest Officer, Mr. Rhodes Morgan, will be found at the end of this paper.

Rivers.—The important rivers in the taluk are—

(1) The Kabbani which has its principal sources in the Western Ghats. They take their rise in the valley of the high mountains north-west and north-east above the Tamarasseri pass. Several streams, such as the Kalpetta, the Manantoddy and the Bavalli join this river, which when united drains nearly the whole of North and South Wynad.

(2) The Chola or Solayar, one of the main tributaries of the Beypore river which leaps down in a magnificent cataract from the crest of the hills close to the Choladi pass into the Nilambur valley.

(3) The Manantoddy pula which has its sources in the mountains between Banasur peak and the summit of the Kuttiyadi and Periah passes and joins the Kabbani near the famous Fish Pagoda.

(4) The Panamaram pula.

(5) The Kunattu pula (കുന്നത്തു) in Vayitiri amsam.

(6) The Putusseri pula (പുതുശ്ശേരി) in Kurumbala amsam.

(7) The Kanayamcheri pula (കനയംചേരി) in Etannatassakur amsam.

(8) The Alatur pula (ആലത്തൂർ) in Ganapathi Vattam amsam.

Nos. (4) to (8) united join the Manantoddy river near the Fish Pagoda and form the upper waters of the Kabbani.

The Rampur and the Moyar rivers chiefly drain the South-East Wynad.

Passes.—The main passes uniting the low country with the taluk are—

- (1) The Smugglers' pass from Dindinal to Manatana.
- (2) The Periah pass descending on Kannavam in Kottayam taluk.
- (3) The Ellacherum pass (Cardamom Mountain pass) leading to Kuttiyadi in Kurumbranad taluk.
- (4) The Kuttiyadi pass also descending on Kuttiyadi.
- (5) The Tariyott pass likewise leading to Kuttiyadi.
- (6) The Tamarasseri pass into Calicut taluk.
- (7) The Choladi pass leading into the Nilambur valley.
- (8) The Karkur pass into the Ernad taluk.

Nos. (2), (6) and (8) are broad roads open for cart traffic. No. (3) is only available for horse or pack-bullocks. The remaining are minor passes, used only by foot-passengers.

History.—The traditionary history of Wynad is very obscure, but the following account of it has the merit of having been in vogue in the early years of British rule.

The country was formerly held by a line of Vedar Rajas ruling the Vedars (wild hunters), and thus much is probably correct, for Wynad has been the last refuge and is still the home of many aboriginal tribes, Kurumbars, Kurichiyars, Panniyars, etc., driven up probably from the low country of Malabar.

In the times of the Vedar Rajas, a man of the Kshatriya caste called the "Cumbala Raja" (? Kumbala) came to Wynad from the north with a view to visit the Tirunelli shrine. He was taken prisoner and carried before the Vedar Raja, who insisted, before permitting him to depart, on his marrying one of the daughters of the kingly Vedar line.

Being a Kshatriya he would not consent to marry into the Vedar tribe, but as the Raja was inexorable he at last agreed on the condition that the ceremony should be carried out in accordance with Kshatriya customs. This was allowed and a delay occurred while marriage pandals and other preparations were being made.

Taking advantage of this delay, the imprisoned Raja communicated with the Kshatriya Rajas of Kottayam and Kurumbranad in the low country, and these princes, with their forces, put in an appearance on the wedding day. The Vedar Raja was besieged in his fort; the fort was taken, and the Vedar Raja and most of his people were slain.

The intended bride of the "Cumbala Raja" was given, it is said, in marriage to one of the Nambiar caste who was entrusted by the Kottayam and Kurumbranad Rajas with the government of the country.

The allied Rajas next consulted, it is said, how to divide the country so as to avoid disputes. To this end they set out in different directions and agreed to make the place where they should meet the boundary. This plan failed, as may well be conceived by any one who has even now-a-days tried to find his way through the elephant grass and tangled swamps with which Wynad abounds.

The Kottayam Raja then generously gave up all his claims to the country to the Kurumbranad Raja, stipulating only that if posterity failed the latter country should come to him and his posterity.

An ascetic with matted hair, who had been one of the attendants of the Cumbala Raja, settled down, it is said, in Wynad, and his daughter was afterwards married to a Kottayam Raja. It is not said what became

of the other attendant who is described as a Sudra Vellalan. Subsequently the Kottayam and Kurumbranad families fell out, and by the time the British raj was established, the Kottayam family was supreme in the taluk.

It is unnecessary to detail here the events of the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's rebellion and death, as these have been treated fully in Volume I.

The attainder passed on him and his heirs in Wynad deserves, however, a few remarks.

On the 16th June 1805, Lieut.-Colonel MacLeod offered rewards for the apprehension of the Palassi (Pychy) Raja and eleven of his principal adherents, and "also made known that all the estates and property belonging to the described rebels is confiscated from this date". The rebel leader and five of his followers were killed on the 30th November 1805. The sentence of forfeiture pronounced on the 16th June 1805 has never been effectively carried out, though from time to time attempts have been made to ascertain the exact limits of the "Pychy escheats" with a view to the assertion of the rights of the State therein. The consequence has been that many of the lands in Wynad—the janmam property of the Pychy rebels and therefore the property of the State by forfeiture—have been usurped by fictitious janmis, whose claims are now being investigated. The decisions arrived at in the various claims preferred and investigated will be carried out at the new revenue settlement of the tract about to be commenced.

Subdivisions of the Taluk for Administrative Purposes.—Wynad originally comprised eleven hoblis consisting of thirteen amsams, the latter being subsequently increased to 16 by the creation of Peria, Vayitiri and Cherankod amsams. The names of the hoblis and of the ancient and modern amsams are shown below :—

Ancient Hoblis.	Old Amsams.	Modern Amsams.
		<i>North Wynad.</i>
1 Muthornad (മുതത്തറനാട്).	1 Edavaka Arathara (എടവക ആറത്തറ).	1 Peria (പേരിയ).
	2 Thondernad Anjuthura (തൊണ്ടനാടത്തുതറ).	2 Edavaka (എടവക).
	3 Porunnamur (പൊയന്നൂർ).	3 Thondernad (തൊണ്ടനാട്).
2 Porunnamur (പൊയന്നൂർ).	4 Nallurnad (നല്ലൂർനാട്).	4 Porunnamur (പൊയന്നൂർ).
3 Nallurnad (നല്ലൂർനാട്).	5 Ellurnad (എളുർനാട്).	5 Nallurnad (നല്ലൂർനാട്).
4 Ellurnad (എളുർനാട്).	6 Anjuthara Kuppatoth (അയ്യൂറാറകുപ്പതെട്).	6 Ellurnad (എളുർനാട്).
	7 Puthadi Arthara (പുതാടി ആറത്തറ).	7 Kuppatoth (കുപ്പത്തട്).
5 Wynad (വയനാട്).	8 Kurumbala (കുമ്പല).	<i>South Wynad.</i>
		8 Puthadi (പുതാടി).
6 Kurumbala (കുമ്പല).		9 Kurumbala (കുമ്പല).
		10 Vayitiri (വൈതിരി).

Ancient Hoblis.	Old Amsams.	Modern Amsams.
7 Edanatassakur (എടനാടാസ്സക്കുറ).	9 Edanatassakur (എടനാടാസ്സക്കുറ).	11 Edanatassakur (എടനാടാസ്സക്കുറ).
8 Muppainad. (മുപ്പയിനാട്).	10 Muppainad (മുപ്പയിനാട്).	12 Muppainad (മുപ്പയിനാട്).
9 Ganapativattam (ഗണപതിവട്ടം).	11 Ganapativattam (ഗണപതിവട്ടം).	13 Ganapativattam (ഗണപതിവട്ടം).
		<i>South-East Wynad.</i>
10 Munnad (മൂന്നാട്).	12 Munnad (മൂന്നാട്)	14 Munnad (മൂന്നാട്).
11 Nambolakod (നമ്പൊലകൊട്).	13 Nambolakod (നമ്പൊലകൊട്).	
		15 Cherankod (ചെറങ്കൊട്).
		16 Nambolakod (നമ്പൊലകൊട്).

Pulpalli desam which formed part of the Kuppato amsam was transferred to Puthadi amsam in 1884 under Board's Proceedings, dated 9th August 1884, No. 2754.

The taluk was formerly under the Sub-Collector, Tellicherry, who was replaced by the Deputy Collector on the creation of that class of officers on the 12th August 1859. Its civil jurisdiction vested in the Deputy Tahsildar, Vayitiri, and the Deputy Collector, Manantoddy, until 1879, when a separate Munsif's Court was established at Vayitiri for the entire tract (*vide* notification in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, dated 28th January 1879, page 112). The seven amsams of North Wynad forming the Tahsildar-Magistrate's jurisdiction are subordinate to the District and Sessions Court, Tellicherry, for judicial purposes; whilst those of the South Wynad forming the Deputy Tahsildar's charge are subordinate to the District and Sessions Court, Calicut (*vide* notifications in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, dated 2nd January 1863, 3rd March, and 15th October 1886). Until recently, the District Munsif, Vayitiri, was subordinate only to the District Court, Calicut, but in the Government notifications, dated 3rd March and 15th October 1886, already quoted, he was placed in subordination to both the North Malabar and South Malabar District Courts. The District Munsif is generally invested with first-class magisterial powers with a view to presiding at the Bench of Honorary Magistrates for South Wynad.

The following are the principal public offices :—

- (1) The Deputy Collector and Magistrate located at Manantoddy.
- (2) The Tahsildar and Sub-Magistrate located at Manantoddy.
- (3) The Police Inspector located at Manantoddy.
- (4) The Deputy Tahsildar and Sub-Magistrate located at Vayitiri.
- (5) The Police Inspector located at Vayitiri.
- (6) The District Munsif located at Vayitiri.
- (7) The Sub-Registrar, Manantoddy, under the District Registrar, Tellicherry.
- (8) The Sub-Registrar, Vayitiri, under the District Registrar, Calicut.

- (9) Combined Postal and Telegraph office at Vayitiri.
- (10) Other Post offices at Manantoddy, Kalpetta, Tariyott, Sultan's Battery and Mepadi.
- (11) Police stations at Manantoddy, Oliyot, Koroth, Panamaram, Kalpetta, Vayitiri, Mepadi, Tariyott, Sultan's Battery and Periah.
- (12) Sub-Assistant Conservator at Manantoddy and his subordinates.
- (13) Local Fund Supervisors and Sub-Overseers at Vayitiri and Manantoddy.
- (14) Local Fund Middle School at Manantoddy.
- (15) Vaccine staff for North and South Wynad under the control of the Deputy Inspectors of Tellicherry and Calicut circles respectively.
- (16) Hospitals at Vayitiri and Manantoddy in charge of Apothecaries; the latter being supervised till August 1886 by a European medical officer, who drew a special allowance of Rs. 150 per mensem from Government.
- (17) Bench of Magistrates, North Wynad.
- (18) Do. South Wynad.

Manantoddy.—In Vemom desam of Ellurnad amsam, is the headquarters of the Deputy Collector and of the Tahsildar of Wynad. It contains, in addition to public offices, a hospital, a travellers' bungalow, a chattram in Buffalo street and another at Bavalli and a middle school, and is the centre of some trade. A weekly market is held here on Sundays. There was formerly a cantonment at this place on a low flat hill, consisting of a small redoubt, an artillery shed, a range of officers' quarters, place-of-arms, hospital, etc. The important religious institutions in the Ellurnad amsam are—(1) Tirunelli temple (തിരുനെല്ലി ക്ഷേത്രം), (2) Trichaleri temple (തൃച്ചാലേരി ക്ഷേത്രം), (3) Valliyurkava (വള്ളിയൂർക്കാവ്), the famous Fish Pagoda (Vol. I., p. 537), (4) the Roman Catholic church. There is a Protestant cemetery at Manantoddy and another at Vayitiri. Tirunelli and Trichaleri are considered most sacred places, and a short account of the origin of the temple at the former locality is given below.

Tirunelli temple (literally the temple having the sacred nelli tree) lies in a valley of the mountains to the south of the Bramagiri peak. It is known by three different names, viz., (1) Tirunelli temple (തിരുനെല്ലി ക്ഷേത്രം) (2) Amalaka temple (ആലേകക്ഷേത്രം), and (3) Sidha temple (സിദ്ധ ക്ഷേത്രം). It is believed to have been dedicated by Brahma to Vishnu known as Deva Devesan (ദേവദേവേശൻ) and Tirunelli Perumal (തിരുനെല്ലി പെരുമാൾ). The mythological origin of the temple is as follows.

Once upon a time when Brahma was enjoying one of his periodical peregrinations, he happened to be delighted beyond measure with this place with a grove of most beautiful trees and plants, of flowers and foliage among which stood a nelli tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*), on which was seen the image of Vishnu with four hands bedecked with numerous fine jewels. The image immediately vanished from sight. Being overtaken with grief and surprise at this sudden disappearance, Brahma engaged himself in deep contemplation, when the image reappeared and he heard the following words uttered by an invisible being: "The image that thou hast seen is that of Vishnu, the excellence of this place draws and keeps him here." Convinced of these divine utterances, Brahma made a temple,

consecrated Vishnu therein and entrusted its keeping to two pious Brahmins of the Amalaka village. The Brahma ordained that visits to, and prayers at, the temple would remove the sins committed though they were for generations, and secure paradise, and that the performance of prayers and ceremonies would lead to the translation of the spirits of the departed, who have not obtained salvation, to the "Pithurloka" (regions of blissful spirits) wherein to enjoy eternal happiness. This blessing, pronounced by the Brahma, is believed in by Hindus, and pilgrimages are therefore undertaken to the shrine.

In connection with the temple there are seven holy water fountains, which are—

(1) Papa-nasini (പാപനാശിനി), literally extinguisher of sins, (2) Pan-chathirtham (പഞ്ചതീർത്ഥം), (3) Irmamochini-thirtham (ഇരമോചിനിതീർത്ഥം), (4) Gunnika-thirtham (ഗുണികതീർത്ഥം), (5) Sata-vinnu (ശതവിന്ദ), (6) Sahas-ravinnu (സഹസ്രവിന്ദ), (7) Varaham (വരഹം).

There is a rock called Pinnapara (പിണ്ണപ്പറ) where offerings to the spirits of the departed are made, and this rock is supposed to be the bone of an asuran (demon) named Palana-bhedi (പാലാനഭേദി), who was killed by Vishnu and who at the time of his death prayed to that deity that his body might be converted into a rock extending from Tirunelli to Gaya and divided into three parts fit for the performance of offerings for the departed, viz., at (1) Tirunelli representing his foot, (2) Godaveri representing the middle part, and (3) Gaya representing the head.

Offerings at any of these three places are supposed to have special benefits in producing happiness and in the propitiation of the spirits. For the safeguarding of the temple four shrines have been created, viz., the shrine (1) of Durga at the east, (2) of Siva at the south, and (3) at the west and (4) of Subramaniam at the north. These four shrines are supposed to represent (1) Valliyurkava temple (വള്ളിയൂർക്കാവ്), (2) Trichaleri temple (തൃശ്ശൂർ), (3) Tricharakunnu temple (തൃശ്ശാകുന്ന്), and (4) a temple said to exist in the Brahmagiri mountains.

There are some old copper plate grants in this temple in the Vatteluthu (വട്ടെഴുത്ത) character which have not yet been deciphered.

In the desam of Arattuthara (literally a place of bathing the idol), in Ellurnad amsam, is situated the Valliyurkava temple, at which a festival takes place annually, when an immense concourse of people assemble and live in small booths built from materials obtained on the spot. Feeding the mahseer and other carp which abound in the pool of the river lying close to this shrine is considered meritorious, and hence the popular name of the "Fish Pagoda" by which it is generally known to Europeans.

Vayitiri.—In the amsam of the same name, is the seat of the District Munsif and of the Deputy Tahsildar. It contains likewise the offices of the Sub-Registrar and the Police Inspector and is a place of some importance. The Bench of Magistrates for South Wynad meets at Vayitiri. There is a Hindu temple known as Kunnath ampalam now in ruins. There is also a Roman Catholic chapel in fair condition and a chattram. About a mile to the south-west of the village lies the Pukkote lake, a natural sheet of water among hills, the only thing of the kind of which the

district can boast. On the picturesque bank of the lake the European planters of the district have built a club, and there is a large store adjoining it.

Lackadi—in the same amsam, lies at the head of the Tamarasseri ghat pass and contains a bungalow, a chattram and the ruins of the old Mysorean stockade (Lekkiti-kotta), from which it derives its name.

Periah—in the amsam of the same name, is about 19 miles from Manantoddy and lies on the road to Tellicherry. It is celebrated for its cardamom cultivation, and has a travellers' bungalow, a chattram and a Police station.

Nallurnad.—Payingatiri, in Nallurnad amsam, is a Brahman village of some note, and is about two miles from Manantoddy. The amsam contains a mosque known as Pallikkal Angadiyil palli (പല്ലികൽ അങ്ങാടിയിൽ പള്ളി) and a bazaar.

Kuppatot.—*Panapuram* or *Panamaram* (literally the place of palms) in Kuppatot amsam was once a strong military post consisting of an extensive square mud fort with a sepoy place-of-arms and other buildings; but the whole of it is now in ruins.

In contains now a Mappilla bazaar and a Police station.

Putati.—*Putati* and *Purakati*, in Putati amsam, are places of note. At the former is a temple known as Arimula Ayyappan temple, on the east wall of the mandapam of which is an inscription, dated K.A. 922 (A.D. 1746), in a mixture of four languages. There is a Canarose inscription on a stone which belonged to the Patiri temple, but is now in the possession of Patiri Manjaya Gavundan. In the hamlet of Pakkam is a free standing stone.

At Kaniyampatta, in the Putati amsam, there is a bungalow belonging to the District Board.

Porunnanur amsam contains the bazaar known as Kellur (കല്ലൂർ അങ്ങാടി) and also three mosques called (1) Kellurangadi palli (കല്ലൂർ അങ്ങാടി പള്ളി), (2) Palanchana angadi palli (പാഞ്ചന അങ്ങാടി പള്ളി) and (3) Kandattvayal palli (കണ്ടത്തവയൽ പള്ളി),

Tondarnad.—*Korom* or *Korothe* in Tondarnad amsam is a place of considerable trade chiefly in the hands of the Mappillas. It contains a travellers' bungalow, a Police station, two Hindu temples known as Tondarakotta (തൊണ്ടറക്കോട്ട ക്ഷേത്രം) and Bhagavati Kav (ഭഗവതികാവ് ക്ഷേത്രം) and two mosques called Korothe angadi palli (കൊറോത്ത അങ്ങാടി പള്ളി) and Korothe putiya palli (കൊറോത്ത പുതിയ പള്ളി).

Etannatassakur.—*Kalpatta* alias *Kalpatti*, in Etannatassakur amsam is a place of some note from its being the residence of some Brahmans and Chettis. It is on the high road from the Tamarasseri pass, and contains a bungalow and a chattram.

Tariyott—is another place in the same amsam of some note, and contains a chattram.

Ganapativattam—(literally the circle or range of the god Ganapati), otherwise known as Sultan's Battery from the fact that Tippu Sultan had a fort here, is a village of little importance. There was a British

regiment stationed here in the early part of the present century. On the hill known as Nalapatt chala kunnu is a stone having an inscription in old Tamil on two sides. It has not yet been read. There is another on the *Dipastambha* (lamp post) at the Ganapati temple, and a third on a stone standing in the north court of the Mariyamma temple. In the hamlet of Kitanganat are twelve dolmens, a menhir and three carved stones.

Muppainad—contains a small fort and a pagoda of some importance dedicated to Vettakorunakan. The Devaswam is usually known as the Muttill Devaswam. In the hamlet of Muttill are 22 dolmens, and in Chingeri 2.

Christian Churches and Cemeteries.—There are two Roman Catholic chapels in the taluk, one at Manantoddy and the other at Vayitiri, also a Protestant chapel at Chundale and a temporary edifice at Vayitiri used for divine service by the Protestant community. At Vayitiri the service is performed by the Chaplain of Calicut, and at Manantoddy by the Chaplain of Cannanore. At the latter station there is no separate building, the service being performed in the Local Fund school-house. There are two Protestant cemeteries, one at Manantoddy and the other at Vayitiri, which are in good condition. The Roman Catholic cemeteries are not secured by proper walls.

Bungalows and Chattrams.—There are bungalows at (1) Periah, (2) Korothe, (3) Manantoddy, (4) Lakkidi, and (5) Sultan's Battery, and chattrams at (1) Periah, (2) Manantoddy, (3) Bavalli, (4) Kalpetta, (5) Tariyott, (6) Lakkidi, (7) Vayitri and (8) Sultan's Battery.

Mines, Minerals and Manufactures.—Iron ore may be obtained in several parts, but none of it is manufactured. The principal rocks, which are gneisses, granites, etc., are traversed by quartz reefs, which are frequently auriferous, but they are found chiefly in South-east Wynad. The favourable reports on the auriferous character of the Wynad fields led to several companies being formed for working gold, and although several blocks of estates were purchased for this purpose, no operations are now being carried on in Malabar-Wynad. The collapse of the mining industry, which at one time promised to be so important, told seriously on the other, and ordinary pursuits, such as the planting of coffee and other products. The jungle tribes from a remote period used to work gold from the sands of rivers which are sometimes mixed with gold particles. This practice has now fallen into desuetude.

Soil and Productions.—The soil in the cultivated valleys is a fine rich brown, on the heights it is mostly red mixed with gravel. Towards the east and the woody tract it is almost black and rich from the accumulation of dry leaves and other matter. The productions are generally different kinds of rice, horse-gram and other dry grains, castor and other oil seeds and sugarcane, from which latter, jaggery to a very limited extent is manufactured. Since 1840, the cultivation of coffee has occupied the attention of European planters and proved for a long time highly remunerative. Owing, however, to leaf-disease and other causes, the industry began to languish, and hopes are now centered in tea and cinchona plantations as well as in coffee.

The taluk produces very little pepper and no coconuts nor arecanuts, though a few trees of each may be seen. Cardamoms are produced in great plenty between the Periah and Kuttiyadi passes, and are considered

to be of a superior quality. Small quantities are also obtained on the slopes of the mountains forming the Tamarasseri valley above the pass. Large quantities of honey and bees' wax are obtained from the forests and rocks among the mountains. These useful articles find a ready sale in the seaport towns, from whence they are exported. Some tobacco is produced, but only in small quantities and for private consumption.

Inams.—The inams granted in the Wynad taluk are the following :—

- (1) Punalathalachil Bharadevata (goddess) temple in Kuppattot amsam, Rs. 96-10-4.
- (2) Pallimalamma Bhagavati (goddess) temple in Tondernad amsam, Rs. 11-6-0.

The inams granted in the above amsams are intended to defray the expenses attending the usual ceremonies in the temples.

Cattle and other Animals.—Cattle and buffaloes are numerous and are sometimes a source of mischief to planters. Sheep and goats are almost unknown except such as are imported for food. The taluk abounds with deer (sambur) and wild pigs. Elephants and bison are also to be found in the ghat forests. Tigers are fairly numerous, and panthers abound to such an extent as to be an intolerable nuisance to any one with pet dogs.

A peculiar practice of spearing tigers and panthers obtains among the Chettis in Ganapativattam, Muppainad and Putati amsams. When a kill takes place, the beast of prey is quietly allowed to gorge itself with beef, and under such circumstances it lies up in the first favourable sheltering cover it finds. Word is sent round the country and the people bearing nets and spears quietly assemble at the spot. If the patch of jungle in which the animal has lain up is of small extent, the nets are immediately run up round it and fastened to stout stakes driven into the ground. The nets are of ordinary thin rope, and, when stretched, are about 5 feet high. Ordinarily, however, the matter is not so easily arranged, but the probable course of the animal after it is roused is usually well known, a piece of likely jungle is selected and three sides of it are beforehand netted in. Scouts are posted, the animal is then disturbed, and as soon as it enters the netted space, the fourth side is immediately closed with nets, the workers being protected by the spearmen while this ticklish operation is in hand. The animal thus netted rarely escapes, the netted space is gradually reduced in size by clearing away brushwood and eventually the animal is confined in a space measuring some 18 or 20 yards in diameter. The aid of the village deity is invoked, and the huntsmen armed with spears challenge the animal to combat at the time pronounced by the oracle to be favourable for action. The ground where the so-called combat is fought is called Narikandi (tiger-ground), and people sometimes have to await the oracular revelations for four or five days. At the hour appointed, the animal is enraged by every sort of device: when its first low muttered growls are heard, the spearmen surrounding the net in an unbroken phalanx shout in response; the growls gradually become louder and more continuous, until at last breaking into short and sharp savage grunts, the maddened animal delivers a charge full at the net when the spearmen half mad themselves from arrack and excitement receive it on their spear points. Several such charges are usually delivered before the animal receives its death thrust.

The skin of a tiger or panther thus slain is never removed either for obtaining rewards from Government, or for sale, but the carcass is hung on a horizontal bar and there allowed to rot.

Fairs and Markets.—Weekly markets are held on Sundays at Vayitiri and Manantoddy. A large fair is held for five days at Valliyur Kavu (fish pagoda) during the annual festival; markets are also held at Kalpetta, Tariyott, Mepadi and Sultan's Battery.

Climate.—The climate of Wynad is much cooler than the low country, being about 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the level of the sea. The thermometer during the cool weather is as low as 60°, but during the months of March, April and May, it rises to 84° and sometimes higher. On the whole, it is considered unhealthy, owing chiefly to defective water-supply and the prevalence of malaria. Manantoddy is, from a climatic point of view, better than Vayitiri, and has comparatively an open country around it. From October to January the climate may be said to be fairly dry, cool and salubrious; from February to May hot land-winds blow and fever is prevalent; from June to October rain falls with short intermissions, and though the temperature is lower and fever less general than in the preceding months, dysentery, diarrhoea and rheumatism are common. The average rainfall of the taluk for three years is given below:—

Months.	Manantoddy.			Vayitiri.		
	1882.	1883.	1884.	1882.	1883.	1884.
	INCHES.	INCHES.	INCHES.	INCHES.	INCHES.	INCHES.
January	·30	..	..	·82	..	..
February	..	..	..	..	..	..
March	·95	2·31	..	1·12	5·27	·10
April	2·91	2·75	2·62	5·76	5·82	5·51
May	4·29	2·74	1·80	8·16	7·05	1·47
June	47·06	21·47	12·20	88·56	43·77	18·35
July	84·68	38·41	21·94	118·20	64·53	39·30
August	14·98	30·46	31·51	34·35	54·34	55·05
September	9·89	4·83	9·58	16·34	12·30	18·56
October	7·87	7·57	5·87	12·70	17·90	5·90
November	2·68	2·26	2·96	4·52	3·80	7·19
December	..	1·69	·12	·20	3·05	1·52
Total ..	175·61	114·49	88·60	290·73	217·83	152·95

Trigonometrical Stations.—There is but one survey station to be preserved and annually reported on (Board's Proceedings, dated 28th July 1886, No. 1706).

Name of G. T. S. Station.	Situation.	Series.	Modern values.	
			Latitude.	Longitude.
Narikod ..	Vayitiri am- sam.	Modern ..	11° 32' 26" 88	76° 01' 21" 07

Traffic Registry Stations.—Two stations for registering the traffic with Mysore were opened in December 1880 at Bavalli and Sultan's Battery. The statistics of trade for 1885-86 are given below :—

Imports into Malabar from Mysore.

Articles.	Via Bavalli.		Via Sultan's Battery.		Total.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
		RS.		RS.		RS.
Animals, living, horses No.	1	22	5	113	6	135
Do. cattle "	737	4,444	523	4,008	1,260	8,452
Do. sheep and goats "	4,856	17,339	5,523	18,445	10,379	35,784
Do. other sorts "	56	14	207	341	263	355
Chinese and Japanese ware .. Val.	..	35	..	..	..	35
Coffee Mds.	203	1,097	694	10,895	897	11,992
Cotton twist and yarn, Indian .. "	..	..	1	40	1	40
Do. piece-goods, Indian .. "	130	9,635	133	6,986	263	16,621
Do. do. European .. "	41	2,608	4	280	45	2,888
Dyeing and colouring materials—						
Turmeric "	24	188	17	100	41	288
Earthenware and porcelain .. Val.	..	130	..	423	..	553
Fruits and nuts, coconuts .. No.	1,500	48	30,200	843	31,700	891
Do. all other kinds .. Mds.	2	10	..	..	2	10
Grain and pulse, wheat "	7,752	13,907	6,924	14,597	14,676	28,504
Do. other spring crops "	3,015	4,163	2,638	6,903	5,653	11,066
Do. rice not in the husk .. "	347	1,427	4,642	21,844	4,989	23,271
Do. rice in the husk "	35	37	69	69	104	106
Do. other rain crops "	11,508	15,757	21,953	33,296	33,461	49,053
Leather, manufactures of Val.	..	270	..	50	..	320
Liquors "	..	10,237	..	..	..	10,237
Mats "	..	248	..	241	..	489
Metals and manufacture of metals,						
—Brass and copper Mds.	29	1,222	37	1,578	66	2,800
Metals and manufactures of metals,						
—Iron "	1	8	1	12	2	20
Oils "	865	9,817	652	7,394	1,517	17,211
Provisions, ghee "	29	813	3	72	32	885
Do. other kinds "	1,419	4,109	630	1,843	2,049	5,952
Salt "	..	..	65	136	65	136
Saltpetre, &c., other saline sub-						
stances "	..	..	172	112	172	112
Oils, mustard "	93	314	4	15	97	329
Do. gingelly "	6,029	30,901	130	510	7,059	31,411
Do. other oil seeds "	18	100	175	489	193	589
Do. other seeds, other kinds .. "	440	1,293	191	588	631	1,881
Spices, other sorts "	629	2,811	325	2,112	954	4,923
Sugar, unrefined "	980	4,186	2,952	15,998	3,932	20,184
Do. refined "	20	205	9	93	29	298
Tobacco "	11	102	138	1,156	149	1,258
Wood, timber "	942	2,032	109	125	1,051	2,157
Wool, piece-goods, Indian .. "	97	2,585	391	10,275	488	12,860
Do. European "	2	55	2	121	4	176
All other articles of merchandise						
Unmanufactured .. Val.	..	5,806	..	6,800	..	12,606
Manufactured .. "	..	2,015	..	1,558	..	3,573
Total ..	..	1,49,990	..	1,70,531	..	3,20,521

Exports from Malabar to Mysore.

Articles.	Via Bavalli.		Via Sultan's Battery.		Total.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
		RS.		RS.		RS.
Animals, living, cattle No.	19	235	..	..	19	235
Coffee Mds.	..	..	70	1,236	70	1,236
Cotton, raw "	6	50	..	..	6	50
Cotton manufacture, piece-goods, European "	107	6,050	..	..	107	6,050
Fibrous productions, other fibres manufactured "	10	72	..	..	10	72
Fruits and nuts, coconuts No.	5,900	216	..	..	5,900	216
Do. all other kinds Mds.	11	170	..	..	11	170
Grain and pulso, wheat "	33	72	..	..	33	72
Do. rice, husked "	33	93	..	..	33	93
Do. rice, unhusked "	1,246	1,256	1,126	1,139	2,372	2,395
Gums and resins "	4	33	..	..	4	33
Hides and skins, hides of cattle "	79	1,029	33	426	112	1,455
Do. skins of shoop and goats. "	76	977	41	465	117	1,442
Leather, unmanufactured Val.	..	..	..	313	..	313
Metals and manufactures of metals, —Brass and copper Mds.	8	400	..	..	8	400
Metals and manufactures of metals, —Iron "	214	3,445	..	..	214	3,445
Oils "	1,802	10,275	76	439	1,878	10,714
Provisions, other kinds "	24	160	1	3	25	163
Salt "	15,320	38,925	2,620	4,702	17,940	43,627
Seeds, other seeds, other kinds "	49	630	..	..	49	630
Spices, betel nuts "	21	573	..	..	21	573
Do. other spices "	15	622	..	..	15	622
Sugar, refined "	9	110	..	..	9	110
Do. unrefined "	1	6	..	..	1	6
Tobacco "	11	126	1	11	12	137
Wood, timber "	1,279	2,565	64	275	1,343	2,840
Wool, manufactured piece-goods, Indian "	4	160	..	..	4	160
All other articles. } Manufactured. Val.	..	153	..	98	..	251
	..	1,000	..	1,300	..	2,300
of merchandise } Unmanufactured "	..	1,000	..	1,300	..	2,300
Total ..	..	69,403	..	10,407	..	79,810

WYNAD FORESTS.

By Rhodes Morgan, Esq., District Forest Officer.

General Description.—The whole of the Wynad plateau must have been covered at no very remote period with dense forest, the greater portion of which, more especially in the centre of the taluk, has been swept away by the system of cultivation known as "*Tuckle*" or *punam* in Malabar, leaving a fringe of deciduous teak forest all along the eastern frontier, from whence it extends into the province of Mysore. On the north and west, the steep declivities of the Western Ghats, covered with a primeval growth of evergreen forest also escaped destruction.

The deciduous forests occupy a zone extending from 11° 58' Lat. on the north to 11° 35' Lat. on the south, and between 75° 59' and 76° 33' East Long. The evergreen forests clothe the slopes of the Western Ghats on the west, and of the Dindimal and Bramagiri ranges on the north. These ranges run out at right angles to the Western Ghats and form buttresses of that great chain of mountains.

The deciduous forests contain the most valuable timber trees, such as teak, rosewood, iynoo (*Artocarpus hirsuta*), venghay (*Pterocarpus marsupium*), von-teak (*Lagerstræmia microcarpa*) and a host of others, and produce many valuable articles of commerce, of which wax, honey, resin, turmeric, zedoary and myrabolans are the principal. They are more or less open, and there is little undergrowth, except in one or two tracts where fire has been artificially excluded. Thousands of acres are covered with a growth of coarse grass from 4' to 8' high. Where the soil is richer, and the growth of trees denser, there is an undergrowth of low scrub, consisting of *Lea-Helicteres*, *curcuma*, etc. Many trees grow to a great size, yielding as much as 300 cubic feet of timber occasionally; but the average contents of the trees are about 40 cubic feet.

In the evergreen forests, the trees are lofty, and the growth very dense. There is little or no undergrowth, except in patches, where a dwarf *Pandanus* is common. These forests have a gloomy aspect, and the sun rarely penetrates them except where some tree has fallen from old age, or has been up-rooted by some storm.

The most valuable trees are the red and white cedars, the wild jack, the poonspar, and the ironwood. Cardamoms are the principal product; they are extensively cultivated, and also grow spontaneously. Bees' wax, dammer, rattans and pepper are the only other products much collected at present, though resins, kino, gamboge, etc., abound, but have no market value.

Past History.—When Wynad was taken from Tippu Sultan by the British, the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, a petty chieftain in possession, rebelled against the British, was conquered and shot. His forests and other possessions were then escheated. For years no real effect was given to the order of escheat, and many forests were usurped possession of by various persons. In the year 1859, a Forest Department was formed and an officer, Mr. Hunter, sent down to work the Wynad. At that period, the Collector administered the forests and sold timber, on what is known as the stump-fee system, i.e., any person paying a certain sum per tree was allowed to cut it down and remove it. In the case of teak, this stump-fee was Re. 1 per tree.

The forests were worked on the native system for many years, no efforts were made to improve them, and trees were indiscriminately felled where found, whatever their age might be.

In 1878, all felling of living teak was stopped, and the Forest Department turned its attention to the utilisation of the wind-fallen and dead trees which were being annually destroyed by fire.

In 1882, the Forest Act was introduced, and immense progress has been made in the scientific treatment of the forests.

Present Condition of Forests.—The deciduous forests have been divided into 14 blocks, of which six are reserved forests, two are under reservation, and six blocks are reserved lands.

The evergreen forests have been divided into three blocks; all at present are under reservation. The annexed statement gives particulars of all these blocks, and their areas.

Of the reserved forests, three—Begur, Kurchiyat, and Rampur—have been demarcated with posts and cairns, and two others will be demarcated before this year has ended.

They are all under special fire protection under rule 8 of the rules under section 26 of the Forest Act; but only one (Begur, area 15,366 acres) is fire-traced, and systematically patrolled in the fire season. Gradually complete protection will be extended to all the others.

The Begur Forest has been divided into 8 compartments, and a working scheme will be prepared for it shortly. At present, as already stated, only dead wood is being removed.

All the forests have been roaded, and about 80 miles of such roads exist at present; but these roads are all more or less primitive.

The timber in the forests is squared, with much skill, by aboriginal tribes, on contract. They are paid three-fourths of an anna per cubic foot; when felled, the logs are hauled by elephants into depots, and are from thence carted to the banks of the Kabbani river and floated to Mysore. In the dry weather, logs are carted the whole way to Mysore; but such transport is so costly as to be almost prohibitive. There are eight elephants and ten buffaloes altogether maintained for the haulage of timber in the forests.

Numerous buildings have been erected, and still more will shortly be erected for the establishment employed to work the forests, which consists of—

1 District Forest Officer.	1 Ranger.
1 Sub-Assistant Conser- vator.	3 Foresters.
	20 Forest Guards.

The members of the establishment are constantly being changed, owing to the excessive malariousness of the forests in the dry weather, which wrecks the very strongest constitutions in a few months.

List of Reserved Forests and Reserved Lands with their areas, etc., in Wynad.

Number and district.	Taluk.	Amsams.	Name of forest.	Area in acres.
			<i>Reserved Forests.</i>	
1 Malabar.	Wynad.	Ganapathi vattam ..	Kuppadi ..	7,337.44
2 Do.	Do.	Do. ..	Kurchiyat ..	18,053.88
3 Do.	Do.	Do. ..	Rampur ..	18,854.67
4 Do.	Do.	Do. ..	Nulpoya ..	3,613.28
5 Do.	Do.	Do. ..	Mavanhalla ..	12,576.64
6 Do.	Do.	Ellurnad ..	Begur ..	15,366.02
			Total ..	75,801.81

*List of Reserved Forests and Reserved Lands with their areas, etc., in
Wynad—cont.*

Number and district.	Taluk.	Amsams.	Name of forest.	Area in acres.
			<i>Reserved Lands.</i>	
1		Ellurnad	Kudrakote ..	43,764
2		Putati	Padri	34,385
3		Tondernad	Periah cardamom forest.	13,440
4		Poriah	Chapparam ..	112
5		Do.	Panniyatta ..	150
6		Ganapathivattam ..	Palapattur ..	1,538
7		Do.	Vengur	3,013
8		Do.	Chodleth (excluded portions in).	960
9		Do.	Karapur	1,825
10		Do.	Kallur	5,230
11		Do.	Excluded portions of Trans-Beni.	7,459
12		Ellurnad	Botanical Garden, Manantoddy.	21
			Total ..	111,897

KANOTH FOREST.

Attached to the Wynad subdivision there is an extensive tract of forest known as the Kanoth forests. It is situated in the Kottayam taluk, at the base, and partly on the western slopes of the Western Ghats. The area of these escheat forests has been approximately computed at 375 square miles. Of this enormous tract, a very small portion (some 40 square miles) is in the hands of the Forest Department, the rest has not been settled yet.

These forests were escheated from the Kanoth (Kamavath) Nambiar, one of the principal adherents of the rebel Palassi (Pychy) Raja. In 1883, the management of the tract was transferred to the Forest Department, and immediate steps were taken for its conservation and improvement.

It is inhabited by an aboriginal tribe known as Kurichiyars, who had for years previously carried on the destructive system of "Punam" cultivation (known in Wynad as "Tuckle"). The whole forest, with the exception of a few patches near the crest of the ghats (3,500' elevation), had been ruthlessly hacked to pieces. The present growth is from 3 to 7 years of age, and consists principally of a multitude of worthless pollards and crooked coppice shoots.

It has been demarcated and surveyed, and 31 miles of the northern boundary have posts and cairns erected as well. It is now under reservation. At the conclusion of the settlement, the aboriginal inhabitants will be removed, and settled elsewhere, and works started for the improvement of the growth.

Nurseries have been established, and large quantities of *ficus elastica* seed obtained from Assam and planted, and numerous seedlings raised. Mahogany and bamboo seedlings are also being raised to plant out clearings.

There are four small experimental teak plantations made in 1876-78, which, however, are not so forward as could be wished, having been seriously injured, when young, by an attack of borer. Teak is, however, indigenous and promises yet to be a success.

CALICUT TALUK.

By C. Kunhi Kannan.

Position, Boundaries, Soil and Area.—The Calicut taluk occupies a central position in the district. It is situated in Lat. 11° 15' N., and Long. 75° 50' E. It is bounded on the north by the Kurumbranad and Wynaad taluks, on the east by the Wynaad and Ernad taluks, on the south by the Ernad taluk, and on the west by the Arabian Sea. The soil about the seaboard is brown or white sand; in the interior it is red with gravel approaching in certain parts to a mixture of red and brown.

The approximate area of the taluk, according to the census report of 1881, is 339 square miles. Of this about 68,057 acres or 106 square miles are cultivated.

The demand on account of land revenue in the fasli year 1295 (1885-86) was Rs. 1,29,814 giving an average of Rs. 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ per acre of cultivated area.

Population.—The population of the taluk, including floating population, according to the census of 1881, is 205,962 (103,669 males and 102,293 females) against 189,734 as ascertained by the census of 1871. Of the former, which gives an average of 456 persons per square mile, 149,843 are Hindus, 52,942 Muhammadans, 3,126 Christians and 51 "others." Under the head of education, the census of 1881 returned 6,384 persons as "under instruction," 18,721 as "instructed" and 180,857 as "illiterate including not stated"—a state of things which shows that education has not reached the masses. There were in the taluk 39,450 houses in 1881 against 36,479 in 1871. Of the former, 34,751 houses were occupied and 4,699 unoccupied. The average number of persons per occupied house is 5·7.

Division of the Taluk for Administrative Purposes.—The taluk comprises 41 amsams, each having an adhikari on a salary of Rs. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ per mensem, a menon on Rs. 6, and two peons on Rs. 3 each. But in the Nagaram amsam, in which the capital of the district stands, there are two menons on Rs. 6 each and four peons on Rs. 3 each, whilst in the Panniyankara amsam, which has the largest revenue in the taluk, there are 3 peons.

In 1860, when the taluks of the district were reorganized, there were only 35 amsams allotted to Calicut taluk. But in 1866 six amsams in the Kurumbranad taluk, namely:—

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1. Nediyanad, | 4. Annasseri, |
| 2. Kilakkott, | 5. Natuvallur, |
| 3. Matavur, | 6. Nanminda, |

which were nearer to Calicut than the headquarters of Kurumbranad, were transferred to the Calicut taluk under the orders of Government, dated 5th September 1866, No. 2362.

Government Establishments maintained in the Taluk.—As the capital of the district all the important offices are located in the town of Calicut. They are—(1) the Collector's office including the District Board's office, Assistant or Temporary Deputy Collector's office, the Treasury Deputy Collector's office, the Currency office, the Treasury and Press, the District Forest office and the District Board District Engineer's office; (2) the District and Sessions Court¹ of South Malabar including the Sub-Court and the District Munsif's Court; (3) the office of the District Superintendent of Police; (4) the office of the District Medical and Sanitary Officer; (5) the office of the Executive Engineer, West Coast division; (6) the Deputy Tahsildar's and Town Magistrate's Court including the Sub-Jail; (7) the Telegraph office; (8) the Post office; (9) the Port office; (10) the office of the Superintendent of Customs; (11) the Police station; (12) the District Jail; (13) the Government College; (14) the District Registrar's office; (15) the Branch Bank of Madras and (16) the office of the Assistant Commissioner of Salt and Abkari Revenue.

The Tahsildar's office including the Sub-Jail is on a hill at Chevayur about four miles east of the town of Calicut. There is a Sub-Registrar's office at Chevayur as well as at Tamarasseri in Kedavur amsam, about 19 miles from Calicut on the road to Vayittiri. There are Police stations at Ellatur, Naduvattam (Beypore), Kunnammangalam and Tamarasseri, Kanniparamba, Chevayur and Putupadi.

Short Description of the Town.—The Towns Improvement Act X of 1865 was extended to Calicut on the 3rd July 1866. The limits of the town for the purposes of the Act were—

West.—Sea;

North.—Road from the sea north of the barracks, past Rock Hall and East Hill, to the Conolly Canal at Karaparamba;

East.—Road from Karaparamba to Kakodi bridge to intersection of the road running south near Florican Hill, and on to its intersection with the Calicut to Tamarasseri road—thence by said road to the canal—thence the canal to its intersection with the watercourse dividing the Komeri desam from the Valayanad desam of the Valayanad amsam—thence eastward along the line of the said watercourse and the northern boundary of the Valayanad desam to the foot of the Pokkunnu Hill—thence south-east along the foot of the hill, and from the hill along the eastern boundary of the Valayanad desam to the backwater at Attupurathu paramba—thence returning by the backwater to the Mangavu bridge, and from the bridge along the canal leading to the Beypore river to the portion of it called Kotta Pota, where the canal turns eastward;

South.—Thence turning to the west along a foot-path leading to the Mammalli road, and from the road to the Tiruvachira or tank, and thence to the sea, keeping along the southern boundary of the Panniyankara desam of the Panniyankara amsam;

including within those limits houses and premises wholly or in part within 100 yards of the outside of any boundary road—

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Panniyankara (portion). | 5. Valayanad (portion). |
| 2. Nagaram (all). | 6. Edakkad (portion). |
| 3. Kasaba (all). | 7. Kottuli (portion). |
| 4. Kachcheri (all). | |

¹The Zilla Court at Calicut was established in 1803. It was abolished in 1843 to make room for a Civil Court for which was substituted a District Court under Act I II of 1873.

Act X of 1865 (Municipal) was in force until 1871 when it was repealed by Act III of 1871, which again was replaced by Act IV of 1884. The extent of the municipal town is approximately 13 square miles.

The sources from which the municipal income is derived are—

(a) an annual tax on arts, professions, trades and callings, and on offices and appointments at the rates specified in the Act ;

(b) an annual tax on lands and buildings not exceeding $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the annual value of such lands and buildings ;

(c) a half-yearly tax on vehicles with springs, palanquins and animals at rates not exceeding those specified in the Act ;

(d) a half-yearly tax on carts and other vehicles without springs at a rate not exceeding Rs. 2 for each half year in respect of every such vehicle ; and

(e) tolls on vehicles and animals entering the municipal limits at rates not exceeding those prescribed in the Act.

The purposes to which the funds raised under the Act are applied are—

(a) the construction, repair and maintenance of streets and bridges and other means of communication ;

(b) the construction and repair of hospitals, dispensaries, lunatic asylums, choultries, markets, drains, sewers, tanks and wells, the payment of all charges connected with the objects for which such buildings have been constructed, the training and employment of medical practitioners, vaccinators, the sanitary inspection of towns and villages, the registration of births and deaths, the lighting of the streets, the cleaning of streets, tanks and wells, and other works of a similar nature ;

(c) the diffusion of education, and with this view the construction and repair of school-houses, the establishment and maintenance of schools either wholly or by means of grants-in-aid, the inspection of schools and the training of teachers ;

(d) other measures of public utility calculated to promote the safety, health, comfort or convenience of the people ;

(e) the payment of salaries, leave allowances, pensions, gratuities and compassionate allowances to servants employed by the Municipal Council ; and

(f) the payment of all expenses specially provided for by the Act, but not included under preceding clauses (a) to (e).

The revenue of the Calicut Municipality during the official year ending 31st March 1886 was Rs. 56,925 and expenditure during the period was Rs. 48,294.

The population of the municipal town of Calicut, according to the census of 1881, was 57,085 (30,009 males and 27,076 females) against 48,338 returned by the census of 1871. The latter figure cannot be considered as accurate, inasmuch as it embraced the population of the amsams of Nagaram, Kasaba and Kachcheri only, which are wholly included within the Municipality. The census of 1881 includes the population of the above three amsams, as well as of such parts of Edakkad, Panniyankara, Valayanad and Kottuli amsams as are within the Municipality.

The population of the town is classified as follows :—

Hindus	33,875
Muhammadans	20,257
Christians	2,909
Others	44

There are 10,152 houses in the town, being 8,540 occupied and 1,512 unoccupied. The average number of persons per occupied house is 6·7. The density of population is 4,391 per square mile.

There is a Protestant church called the St. Mary's Church at Calicut, which was built in June 1863. Before its erection the Anglican community held Sunday service in a portion of the Collector's office. There is an old European cemetery close to the beach and not far from the now Custom house, where there are several graves and tombs—the earliest inscription goes back to the seventeenth century. The tomb built by the friends of Mr. Conolly, the Collector of Malabar, who was assassinated by Mappillas, is in this cemetery.

The history of the Roman Catholic Church, Calicut, which is interesting, is briefly as follows :—

In 1513 A.D., a treaty was concluded between the Portuguese and the Zamorin, in which the latter allowed the former to erect a factory at Calicut to which was attached a chapel.

On the 4th of March 1724 a Portuguese man-of-war, called *Mater do Deos*, anchored in the Calicut roads, and its commander, Pedro Guedes do Magalhaens, effected a treaty on behalf of Pedro Mascarenhas, Conde de Sandomil, the Portuguese Viceroy and Captain General of India, with the Zamorin in the presence of Mons. Andre Molandin, chief of Moyo (Mahe), who became surety for the execution of the treaty. By this the Zamorin undertook, *inter alia*, the erection of "a church of stone and mortar with a parochial house, vestry, porch and a belfry having a bell weighing 150 lb." This treaty was, it appears, engrossed on a copper plate, which, it is said, remains in the possession of the Portuguese Government at Goa to this day.

Towards the close of the year 1724, Mons. Molandin named above informed the authorities at Goa that the Zamorin had deposited 17,000 fanams as the price of a bell to be cast at Goa, that the building of the church had been commenced and that the Zamorin had in the presence of the Vicar, Bernado da Sa, given a moor merchant, Bamacheri Isumali, as surety to pay all further expenses for the completion of the work. About 1725, the church was completed, dedicated to "*Mater do Deos*", and the Zamorin granted a garden in perpetuity for the support of the church.

The church management went on smoothly till the invasion of Malabar by Hyder Ali in 1766. In that year the Portuguese Vicar and Factor waited on Hyder Ali and obtained an order to Madye, Raja of Coimbatore and Governor of Calicut, for the payment of 2,420 fanams annually to the Vicar of the church. Hyder Ali also ordered that the rent and revenue or benefits of the landed property should not be appropriated.

In 1775 the church, which was then under the immediate jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Cranganore and Cochin, was repaired.

The Mysorean Government continued its payment to the church till 1781, when Sirdar Khan, Tippu's fouzdar, stopped the allowance. But

the Vicar raised the revenue from the glebe lands till 1788, when a Brahman named Daxapaya came as Tippu's Revenue Collector of Calicut, and demanded from the Vicar, Gabriel Consalves, the church revenues and imprisoned him; but the Vicar effected his escape with the connivance of Arshed Beg Khan, Tippu's fouzdar, and fled to Tellicherry.

The Vicar returned to Calicut and resumed possession of the church lands in 1792, when Malabar came under the East India Company. But the Company "had caused 500 coconut trees belonging to the church to be cut down" as they had rendered "the English Factory close and unhealthy and impeded also the sight of the flag-staff." The Vicar therefore applied in March 1793 to the Malabar Commissioners for "a just indemnification and for permission to collect the rent on houses built on church ground agreeably to immemorial custom and privileges as per the Zamorin's grant, engraved on copper plate still preserved at Goa."

The Vicar's petition was repeated to Mr. Farmer, the Supravisor of Malabar, who wrote to the Bombay Government showing an account of the annual rents of the church lands and allowances made by the former Governments and stating that he has since October 1793 paid Rs. 50 *per mensem* to the Vicar, and adding "that the collections formerly made by the Padre will now be made by the Company, in which by the increasing number who flock to our Government there will be a progressive increase."

On the 24th December 1793, the Bombay Government agreed to allow the Padre Rs. 50 "for his own maintenance expenses, for the servants and repairs of the church"—an allowance which has been continued to this day.

Although it would appear that the rents of all the glebe lands were to be collected by the East India Company as proposed by Mr. Farmer in 1793, yet it is said that the church records up to 1825 show that a large extent of lands obtained by endowments and legacies remained with the church and was leased by the Vicars. In 1835, Vicar Leonard Arelino do Casta stated that "on the acquisition of the country by the English a part of the land was taken possession of by them with the view of answering certain public ends, and a commutation in money at the rate of Rs. 50 per month was granted for the support of the curate as well as other expenses of the church."

In 1838, by the Bull of Pope Gregory XVI, this church, along with other churches on the Malabar Coast, was placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Verapoly. In 1850 this church, with other churches in Malabar and Canara, was placed under the Carmelites.

In 1862 an orphanage and asylum was started. For completing the building the Madras Government paid Rs. 2,000 in 1875 and Rs. 1,500 in 1882.

The Carmelite Mission established a convent and girls' school and a school for boys in lieu of the old parochial school. These schools are now in a thriving condition. The boys' school was up to the end of 1884-85 aided from Municipal funds, but in 1885-86 it was recognized as a poor European school for which grant-in-aid is paid from Provincial funds. The strength of the boys' school on the 31st March 1886 was 172, whilst that of the girls' school was 94.

In December 1878 the Malabar and Canara Portuguese Missions were, by the Bull of Pope Pius IX, placed under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits, under whom it remains.

In 1878 another charitable institution was attached to the Roman Catholic Mission at Calicut, denominated the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. It has since been divided into two branches—St. Mary's conference and St. Francis Xavier's conference. The poor and helpless of every creed are here assisted in their temporal necessities.

There is a small Roman Catholic chapel called the Chapel of the Holy Cross at Calicut on the road to Wynad about two furlongs north of the Mananchira tank. It was a thatched chapel until last year, when it was substantially built by a member of the Roman Catholic congregation.

There is also a Basel Mission Church at Calicut. The history of the Mission is briefly noted below :—

In May 1842 the Mission was established by the Rev. J. M. Fritz. In the same year, two Malayalam schools and a Tamil school were opened. One of the former was raised to the standard of a high school in 1879.

In 1845 a girls' orphanage was opened, and in connection with it female education commenced. This institution existed until 1882, when it was amalgamated with that at Chombala in Kurumbranad taluk.

In 1854 the erection of the Basel Mission Church at Calicut was commenced, and it was on 20th December 1855 used for the first time.

The Basel Mission cemetery is about a mile to the north of the church in a compound which lies between the trunk and the Wynaad road.

In 1855 a carpenter's workshop and a weaving establishment with six looms were opened. In the former, Christians and Heathens are employed, and in the latter the number of workmen exceed 100.

In 1868 a mercantile mission shop was opened. It is the only shop at Calicut, which fully meets the demand of the public. In 1874 the Mission started tile works. Here machines of German make are used for manufacturing tiles after the European fashion, for which there is an ever-increasing demand. The tile works furnish employment for more than 150 persons both Christians and Heathens. Here it must be noted that these industrial establishments are entirely of a charitable character.

In 1876 a caste girls' school was opened in Calicut, and in 1883 a congregation girls' school with nearly 100 pupils was also started.

There are seven Hindu temples of note in the town of Calicut. They are—

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. The Talli temple. | 5. Arikkodi Kavu. |
| 2. Tiruvannur temple. | 6. Kokkolikott temple. |
| 3. Varakkal temple. | 7. Bhairagimadham temple. |
| 4. Bilattikulam temple. | |

The Talli temple is in kasaba amsam in a locality of the same name in the heart of the Calicut town close to the Zamorin's old palace. The temple is a very ancient one, and is 218 feet long from east to west and 270 feet broad from north to south. It is dedicated principally to Siva, though Vishnu, Bhagavati, Ganapati and Ayyappan are also worshipped. The temple contains sculptures of a high order as well as paintings intended to perpetuate Hindu religious legends. Attached to the temple

is a tank in pretty good preservation with laterite steps. The tank is 240 feet long from east to west and 349 feet broad from north to south, and is used for bathing purposes. Close to this is a tank known as Kandankulam, also used for washing. It is 349 by 140 feet. Talli is densely populated by Brahmans, Nayars and others. A festival is celebrated for a week annually in the month of Medam (March-April) at the Talli temple.

The Tiruvannur temple is in Panniyankara amsam, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the town in a desam (hamlet), from which the temple derives its name. Originally the name appears to have been Tirumunnur (the holy three hundred). The Zamorin lives near the temple. His Putiya (new) Kovilakam (palace) branch is also located at Tiruvannur, another branch called the Padinhare Kovilakam is in Valayanad amsam, Mankavil desam, and a third one, called the Ambadi Kovilakam, is in kasaba amsam. The chief object of worship in this temple is Siva, though Vishnu, Ganapati and Ayyappan are also collaterally worshipped. This temple is a very ancient one, is elaborately sculptured, and contains paintings. The newly erected gateway is interesting, being in style precisely similar to the *bustis* at *Mudabidri* in South Kanara erected by the Jains. The temple is 246 feet long from east to west and 198 feet wide from north to south. The Zamorin maintains a Brahman feeding-house at Tiruvannur.

The Varakkal temple is in Edakkad amsam and is 96 feet long from east to west and 66 feet broad from north to south. It is on an eminence, and is dedicated to Bhagavati, Ganapati, Ayyappan and Dakshinamurthi. It is fabled that the image in this temple was placed by Parasu Rama with his own hands. The temple contains sculptures. The dasra festival is celebrated annually with great eclat in this temple. Thousands of people congregate here for the performance of ancestral obsequies on the occasion of new moon in the month of Tulam (October-November).

On this day all married men among the native community in Calicut are, by custom, expected to go to their wives' houses with presents in the shape of sweetmeats, plantains, etc., on pain formerly of having their marriages dissolved, a custom perpetuated in a couplet which runs when translated as follows:—

"Failure to visit on the occasion of Varakkal new moon, entails forfeiture of relationship." വരക്കൽ നവമിന്നു വന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ, ബന്ധം മുറിക്കത്തു അടയാളം.

There is a tank attached to the temple for washing purposes which is 228 feet long from east to west and 390 feet broad from north to south.

Bilattikulam temple is in kacheri amsam, in which Vettakaramakan is worshipped. It is $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet long from east to west and $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad from north to south. A festival is celebrated here for forty days in December and January.

The tank attached to the Bilattikulam temple is 378 feet from east to west and 150 feet from north to south, and is used for washing purposes.

The Arikkodikavu temple is in kasaba amsam in which Bhagavati, Ayyappan and Andimahakalan are worshipped. The temple is 120 feet long from north to south and 108 feet broad from east to west. In the month of Kanni (September-October) a festival lasting for 10 days is celebrated here. The Kokkolikott temple is also in Kasaba amsam dedicated to Siva. It is 120 feet long and 84 feet broad.

The Bhairagimadham temple is in nagaram amsam in which Siva, Parvati, Ganapati and Hanuman are worshipped. It is in the very heart of the Calicut town behind the southern row of the main big bazaar. It is in the possession of the Bhairagis, a set of ascetic gowda Brahmans who emigrated from Northern India. It is a small temple being only 20 by 12 feet.

There are no less than 40 mosques in the town of Calicut. The most important of them are the two Jamatt mosques, Shokkindo Palli and Palaya Palli. Besides these there are several other suburban mosques.

The two Jamatt mosques lie on either side of the big tank known as Kuttichira in the middle of the Mappilla quarters in Calicut. The one on the south of the tank is 144 by 114 feet, and the other on the north is 115½ by 64½ feet. The Kuttichira tank is 410 feet long, north to south and 210 feet wide, east to west. It is built in laterite and is used for washing purposes.

Shokkindo Palli (mosque) is 48 by 32 feet and is looked upon with much reverence by Mappillas. It is said to have been built over the grave of a Mappilla named Suppikkavittil Shaikh Mamu Koya, who by his piety approached in sanctity in the opinion of Mappillas to that of a Saiyid. He is said to have died more than 300 years ago. This mosque is constantly resorted to by Mappillas for the adjustment of civil and other disputes by the test of oath.

Palaya Palli which is 56 by 30 feet is looked upon as an ancient institution as its name indicates.

The West Hill barracks, built on an eminence commanding a good view of the sea and the surrounding country, lie in Edakkad amsam within the Municipality. A detachment of European soldiers is garrisoned here. The detachment was first stationed at Calicut in 1849 owing to frequent Mappilla outrages. It was removed to Malapuram in 1851, but again brought back on the assassination of Mr. Conolly, the Collector of Malabar, on the 12th September 1855 in his bungalow on the West Hill.

The Lighthouse at Calicut was built in February 1847. It is a column of laterite in chunam, 102½ feet high, and the white dioptric fourth order light is visible in clear weather at 14 miles. The Calicut port bears from Sacrifice Rock south-east distant 20 miles. Vessels should anchor in 5 fathoms mud. The merchants find it more convenient, when the sea breezes are strong, to load from the beach 1 or 2 miles to the north of the lighthouse, where there is always less surf than opposite the town. Large Kotiyas and Pattimars are built on the beach 1½ miles south of the lighthouse, by the entrance of the Kallai river or creek, where the shore is also smooth, being partially protected by the Coote reef. There is a patch of rocky ground with 4 fathoms least water, having 6 fathoms mud, all around it, bearing west north-west distant 3¾ miles from the lighthouse. This is supposed to be the shoal discovered by Captain Hogg of the "Juliana." Calicut reef, on which the sea breaks in one part almost always where there is only two feet at low water, is of irregular outline. This shoal-patch of two feet is in its centre, and bears from the lighthouse south south-west ½, west 1½ miles, and is distant 6 cables' lengths from the nearest shore abreast. The southern extremity of this reef (which is generally called the Coote reef after the late East India Company sloop-of-war Coote which was lost there) lies 2 cables' lengths to the south of the centre breakers. To the south and east of the reef,

the bottom is soft mud. There is a considerable extent of anchoring ground for small coasting craft in 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms at low water, partially protected from north-west winds by the reef. A red buoy to mark the western extreme of this reef, as a guide to small coasting vessels, was moored two cables' lengths west by north from the most shallow part. Seaward of the reef are numerous dangerous rocky patches, but none have less than two fathoms on them. This foul ground extends more than two miles off shore. One patch of 13 feet at low water bears south-west $\frac{3}{4}$, west $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the lighthouse, and another with a similar depth south south-west $\frac{1}{2}$, west rather more than two miles. It is high water on full and change at Calicut and Beypore at 12 hours 15 minutes; springs rise little more than 4 feet, but extraordinary tides as much as 5 feet; neaps rise $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Calicut south-west shoal bears from the lighthouse about south-west by west $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. On the northern extremity of this shoal, with the lighthouse bearing east north-east, are rocks in 4 fathoms, and on its western edge rocks in $4\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms. Over the centre of the shoals are numerous rocky heads, with 3 fathoms on them, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms between them. These are the rocks on which the "Juliana" first struck when Captain Hogg anchored in 5 fathoms, lighthouse bearing east north-east. On the inner or eastern side of the shoal was 4 fathoms clear ground, with the water decreasing gradually towards the shore. When there is any sea on, it breaks, and may generally be seen. On the outer edge are rocks in $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms with 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$. The remains of the "Juliana" lay in $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms south-west, $\frac{3}{4}$ south, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the lighthouse. There is said to be another dangerous ledge, bearing west from the lighthouse, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles distant. On the northern side of this shoal, with the lighthouse east $\frac{3}{4}$ south are 4 fathoms, and on the southern side with lighthouse east $\frac{3}{4}$ north 4 fathoms; on the western extremity $4\frac{3}{4}$ fathoms. Ships approaching from either the south or the north intending to anchor, ought not to come inside of 8 fathoms till the lighthouse bears east by south, then steer for the anchorage. The best anchorage in Calicut roads is, during the north-east monsoon, in $5\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, with the lighthouse about east by south. This is a convenient berth for the new screw-pile pier. The best distinguishing mark for Calicut in the morning is the house amongst trees on the hill more than 2 miles north of the lighthouse; in the afternoon, the white column of the light-house shows well 10 miles off. The Camel's Hump, or Wavul-mullay, over 7,000 feet above the sea level (the culminating peak of the Wynad mountains which stand 20 miles west of the Nilgiri range) bears from Calicut lighthouse north-east by east $\frac{1}{2}$, east $23\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It may be seen in clear weather, as soon as a vessel is on the bank of soundings. In the hazy weather of March and April, it is frequently indistinct from the anchorage off Calicut. The southern extremity of the mountain range is rather abrupt, the mountains thence receding far to the east.

The District Jail at Calicut was formerly situated close to the French Loge at Calicut. The jail was removed to a hill about two miles from the beach to the east on 17th November 1869, when buildings were erected at a cost of Rs. 92,393. On the 31st December 1885, there were 200 prisoners in the jail.

The pier at Calicut was built in 1871 at a cost of Rs. 64,000. It is close to the new customs office, about half a mile north of the lighthouse. The pier is 400 feet long, and barges drawing from 3 to 6 feet of water are employed at the T end for the importation and exportation of goods. The

pier went out of order in 1883, when, with the permission of Government, a company of local merchants, designated the Calicut Pier and Warehouse Company, Limited, to carry on the business of warehousemen and to levy cramage and other dues and tolls, was started with a capital of Rs. 5,000, which was utilized for repairing the pier.

A Telegraph office was opened at Calicut in September 1856. It is now held in a rented building adjoining the Captain's tank to the south of the Roman Catholic church in close proximity to the District Court premises.

The Post office at Calicut is also held in a private building rented for the purpose. It is not far from the Telegraph office.

There is a club for Europeans on the beach which was started on the 8th February 1864. Connected with the club is a station library maintained by subscriptions.

The hospital and dispensary at Calicut was opened in October 1845, under the auspices of Government. It was transferred to the Municipality when it was instituted at Calicut. It is now kept up at Municipal expense supplemented by a grant from the District Board. The dispensary has an endowment of Rs. 13,000 collected by private subscriptions and invested in Government securities yielding Rs. 520 per annum as interest.

The lunatic asylum at Calicut was established on 20th May 1872 at a cost of Rs. 39,250. It is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Calicut on the road to Chevayur. It is built on a hill called Kutiravattam. On the 31st March 1885, there were 149 lunatics in the asylum.

The Municipality maintains a public bungalow and a mussaferkhana in the town. These are in the neighbourhood of the Mananchira tank, which is a reservoir of excellent drinking water. It has laterite steps on four sides. It is 420 feet east to west, and 488 feet north to south.

A few yards to the south-east of this tank is another called Mutalakulam. It was originally octagonal in shape, but has by time become dilapidated resulting in the change of its original form. It was included in the premises of the Zamorin's old palace which lay contiguous to it. The compound on which the Zamorin's old residence stood, called the Kottaparamba, immediately adjoins the tank on the south. The installation of the Zamorin takes place to this day in this Kottaparamba, divided by the Beypore road into the eastern and western portion. The spot where the ceremony takes place is marked by an upright granite pillar in the eastern portion.

To the east of the Mananchira tank is a small parade ground originally provided for the detachment stationed at Calicut, but now used by the Volunteers and Police. The Head-quarter Police office faces this open ground on the east; and the new office of the Collector and District Magistrate is about to be built on its southern limit.

Besides the Mananchira tank there is another immediately south of the Roman Catholic church called the Captain's tank, which is 244 by 237 feet. It is in a state of good preservation, though the water is not used for drinking purposes.

In Pauniyankara amsam there are two large tanks called Nilottachira and Tiruchira used for washing, which are respectively 260 by 166 and 630 by 360 feet in size. There are many more tanks in the town which need not be specially enumerated.

Two newspapers are published in Calicut town. One in English entitled the *Malabar and Travancore Spectator*, and the other the *Kerala Patrika* in Malayalam. A monthly Malayalam periodical called *Paropakari*, edited by a Muhammadan, is also published at Calicut.

There are at present three registered public presses at Calicut in addition to the Government Press. They are the *Spectator Press*, *Vidya Vilasam Press* and *James' Press*. A press is also maintained at *Karaparamba* by a European firm which is used more by the firm than by the general public.

In 1885 the European and Eurasian inhabitants of Calicut organized themselves into two companies of Volunteer Rifles. These companies and others located at *Tellicherry*, *Wynad* and *Cochin*, with a section at *Palghat* and numbering altogether about 300 men, were amalgamated into the "*Malabar Volunteer Rifles*" under a Major Commandant with headquarters at Calicut.

The French have a *Loge*¹ in Calicut "*Occupee par un gardien*." The *Loge* consists of 6 acres on the sea-shore about half a mile north of the Calicut Light-house and adjoins the old district jail site. The exact facts connected with the foundation of the French factory are involved in doubt. It was apparently obtained by the French from the Zamorin, but there is nothing to lead to the supposition that the Zamorin had ever conceded to them anything more than mere commercial privileges within the limits of the *Loge*. The Zamorin appeared to have exercised fiscal and judicial authority within its limits—an authority which neither Hyder Ali nor Tippu Sultan ever bestowed on the French after the Zamorin's power ceased.

Beyond the fact that the landed property and houses are untaxed, there is nothing to distinguish the *Loge* from the rest of Calicut. It is doubtful what rights the French Government has in it. As it has been altogether omitted from the treaty of Versailles, dated the 3rd September 1783, it has been held that the French had no sovereign rights in it. The *Loge* was restored to the French on 1st February 1819.

In the first capitulation of Mahe made by Monsieur Louet, Commander-in-Chief of the French garrison at Mahe, and signed on the 10th February 1761, it was agreed in article 9 that "the French factory at Calicut shall be suffered quietly to enjoy the privileges of neutrality observed there."

Industries and Manufactures.—In the town of Calicut a weaving establishment and tile works are maintained by the Basel Mission. Soda water machines are worked by two Parsi merchants. Coffee and ginger curing is undertaken by several European and Native firms and traders. A Bombay merchant has opened a large coir manufactory close to the south beach road, about a mile south of the old Custom house, at which more than 100 persons are daily at work in dressing fibre and twisting coir.

The Malabar Spinning and Weaving Company, Limited, was started in November 1883, with a capital of Rs. 6,00,000. The buildings are in course of construction, and the Company have not started business yet. The premises are in *Panniyankara amsam*.

¹ The name of "*loge*" or "*comptoir*" is given to factories or isolated establishments comprehending one house with the adjacent grounds where France had the right to have her flag flying and to form factories, &c. (*Pharoah and Co.'s Gazetteer* of 1855.)

Railway Stations, Roads, Bridges, Canals, etc.—The Madras Railway, which had its terminus at Beypore, will shortly be extended to Calicut. The line has been formed and rails laid and the station is in course of construction in the heart of the town. The line, it is expected, will be open for traffic in the course of a year.

The aggregate length of roads maintained by the Municipality is 52 miles.

There is a very extensive street of bazaars known as the big bazaar extending inland from the beach in an unbroken line about a mile in length. Several narrow cross-streets lead from the main one.

There is a temporary wooden bridge over the Kallai river. It will be replaced by the railway iron bridge which is so designed as to suit the local traffic as well. Near this bridge is a Government timber depot, where teak and saplings, from the Nilambur plantations, are floated down and stored.

The Conolly canal connects the Kallai with the Ellatur river and thus provides an uninterrupted line of water communication from Beypore to Badagara, a distance of 37 miles. A list of ferries in the taluk is given below :—

<i>First Class.</i>	
1. Mammallikadavu.	16. Pallikadavu.
2. Chaliampula (Beypore ferry).	17. Parayangotkadavu.
3. Korapulakadavu.	18. Manantalakadavu.
	19. Mukkuvarkandikadavu.
<i>Second Class.</i>	
4. Elamaramkadavu.	<i>Fourth Class.</i>
5. Urakadavu.	20. Pulikkalkadavu.
6. Arapulakadavu.	21. Purakatirikadavu.
7. Olasherikadavu.	22. Putukkalkadavu.
	23. Putiyottilkadavu.
<i>Third Class.</i>	24. Parambilkadavu.
8. Chakkumkadavu.	25. Cheruvattakadavu.
9. Irupulinyikadavu.	26. Mavalikadavu.
10. Kulumadamuku <i>alias</i> Puttan- nagadikadavu.	27. Chettukadavu.
11. Irupulinyi Mokkalakadavu.	28. Kurungotkadavu.
12. Teyyattinkadavu.	29. Kudattayikadavu.
13. Kuliyaamokkakadavu.	30. Kakkodikadavu.
14. Manakadavu <i>alias</i> Kuttan- kadavu.	31. Tottattilkadavu.
15. Puttekadavu.	32. Tondinmelkadavu.
	33. Attiyanmolikadavu.
	34. Kannanchinnanpalam.
	35. Kunnattukadavu.

In Edakkad amsam is a small Mappilla village known as Putiyangadi (new bazaar), about three miles from Calicut town. Here lives the Mappilla priest, called Putiyangadi Tangal of pure Arab extraction. There is a Jamatt mosque here said to be more than 130 years old, 72 by 30 feet in size. A festival is celebrated here annually. Though a small Mappilla hamlet, Putiyangadi possesses eight mosques.

In Panniyankara amsam there is a locality called Gomukham (cow's face) on the sea-shore where Hindus resort for ablutions as a place of sanctity on occasions of new moon and eclipse.

In Cheruvannur amsam at Mammalli, about 7 miles from Calicut, there is a coffee-curing establishment under European management.

There is in this amsam an important Hindu temple called the Cheruvannur temple dedicated to Siva, Subramanyan, Ayyappan, Ganapati and Dakshinamurti. The roof of the shrine is copper plated. The temple is sculptured. On a beam is a comparatively recent Malayalam writing that the temple was built by the Uralars. The temple is 99 by 44 feet in size, and a festival is celebrated annually for 41 days called Mandala Vilakku in December and January.

In this amsam are the Marakkat works once noted for its iron manufactures.

Beypore is a small town in an amsam of the same name. It was formerly known as Vaypura and Vada Parapanad. Tippu Sultan named the town "Sultan patnam." It lies between Lat. $11^{\circ} 10' N.$, and Long. $75^{\circ} 50' 30'' E.$ According to the census of 1871, there were 1,102 houses; the population was 6,214. In the census of 1881 there were 1,119 houses with a population of 6,739 souls. Though many attempts have been made to utilize the great natural advantages of its position, it was not until 1858, when Challiyam Island, on the opposite bank of the river, was made a terminus of the Madras Railway, that the town became of importance. Tippu selected it as the site of the capital of Malabar, but hardly a vestige of its short-lived importance has survived. In 1797 sawmills, in 1805 a canvas factory, in 1848 iron works and, later still, ship-building works were started here, but all from one cause or another have failed. In 1858 the railway created the present town, and Beypore is every year becoming busier. But the extension of the railway to Calicut is likely to result in the reversion of Beypore to its old state of a fishing village.

The Beypore bar admits crafts of 300 tons to the river, and at low spring-tides, gives soundings of 12 to 14 feet and at high tides from 16 to 18 feet.

In Beypore amsam there are four Kovilakams called—

- | | | |
|------------------------|--|------------------------|
| 1. Manayatt kovilakam, | \| | 3. Pudia kovilakam, |
| 2. Nediyal kovilakam, | \| | 4. Panangat kovilakam, |

belonging to the family of the Beypore branch of the Parappanad family. There is also a Hindu temple containing sculptures and dedicated to Siva, Ganapati and Bhagavati with a laterite built tank and a Brahman feeding-house. The temple is 180 by 138 feet. There is a travellers' bungalow as well as a Sea Customs office here.

There is a place of sanctity for Hindus on the sea-shore in this amsam, called Kotesvaram for purposes of ablution on occasions of new moon or eclipse.

In Valayanad amsam there is an ancient temple called Srivalayanad temple. The roof of the shrine is copper plated. It is 192 feet long by 144 feet broad. There are elaborate sculptures on the gopuram. The temple belongs to the Zamorin. An annual festival lasting for 8 days is celebrated in this temple in the month of Makaram (December-January), when the image of Bhagavati worshipped in the temple is taken in procession round the temple on an elephant's back with great pomp.

At Tamarasseri, in Kedavur amsam, there is a palace belonging to the Kottayam Raja. Close to it is a tank which is 240 by 144 feet. It is not in a state of preservation, but there are indications of its having been built in laterite. As stated elsewhere, there is a Sub-Registrar's office here as well as a chattram maintained by the District Board. At Putupadi, in this amsam, there is a chattram kept up by a native landlord. There is also a comfortable little hotel for Europeans travelling to and from the Wynad planting districts. Tamarasseri ghaut is much used for the export of coffee from Wynad.

In Kanniparamba amsam, there is a temple dedicated to Siva, Vishnu, Ganapati, Ayyappan and Dakshinamurti. It is 132 feet square. It is a very ancient temple so much so that it is fabled to have been founded by Kamwa Rishi commemorated in the Maha Bharata.

In Kanniparamba amsam, there is on the rocky pinnacle of a hill a pit which is four *koles* square and half a *kole* deep, from which, according to native popular belief, holy water gushes out daily in the morning in the month of Edavam (April-May) for a *nalika* (20 minutes), when it miraculously becomes dry. It is also said that the holy water begins to flow on the occasion of Sivaratri festival in Kumbham (February-March). Pilgrims aggregating 3,000 in number assemble on this hill on such occasions. This hill has been noticed in Ward and Connor's memoir.

Fairs and Markets.—At Karamparamba, in Kacheri amsam, a weekly fair is held on every Monday, when more than 1,000 persons resort to it from rural parts. A weekly fair on every Sunday is held in Manasseri amsam and at Kedavur every Tuesday.

In the town of Calicut, the Municipality maintains two important markets. There are also several petty markets in the town licensed by the Municipality.

Archæology.—Kaulanur desam in Annasseri amsam, 8 miles north of Calicut, there are two rock-cut caves. In Kannankara desam there are three menhirs and a stone circle.

In Nagaram amsam, in Machehinde mosque, is a slab let into the wall, having an inscription in Arabic, Canarese and an unknown language. It is much injured by time and weather.

In Chevayur, 3 miles north-east of Calicut, exists a sepulchral rock-cut cave; an erect pillar stands in the middle of the main chamber. The hole at the top of the cave was covered by a block of stone which hid it from sight. Several pots and parts of a sword were found in it.

In Iringallur amsam, 3 miles east of Calicut, there is a dolmen, in the desam of Kottul, there are four such dolmens, and in Kayilamatham one. They are all surrounded by stone circles.

In Kanniparamba, 11 miles east of Calicut in the hamlet of Kalpalli, there is a toppikal or hat-stone. In Atuvatu and Mavur, there is a menhir in each, and in Palangat, a rock-cut cave.

In Karipuram temple, in Payipalasseri desam, Kilakkott amsam, 15 miles north-east of Calicut, there is an inscription in old Tamil on a slab.

In Koduvalli amsam, 16 miles north-east of Calicut in Chorgotur desam in the temple, is a granite slab with an inscription in old Tamil. There is also a menhir here as well as in Manapuram desam. In the temple at the latter desam, there is an inscription in old Tamil on a granite slab.

In Kovur amsam, 5 miles from Calicut, in Velliparamba desam, a cave was discovered in the backyard of a private house. It was opened and closed again by the house-owner.

In Padinhattummuri amsam, $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Calicut, a number of very interesting rock-cut caves were excavated, from which a quantity of pottery was unearthed. An account of the place with two plates of engravings was published in Vol. VIII of the Indian Antiquary. The articles found in the cells were sent to the Madras Museum.

In Puttur amsam, $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles east north-east of Calicut, in the templo in the Chokur desam, there is an inscribed granite slab with an old Tamil inscription. In the desam of Ketayanur is a dolmen and a rock-cut cave, and in Chokur desam there is a menhir.

In Talakulattur amsam, 8 miles north of Calicut, there is an old temple with an illegible inscription on a stone.

In Valayanad amsam, 2 miles east south-east of Calicut, in Konneri desam, there is a rock-cut cave now filled up.

Trigonometrical Survey Station.—Pokkumnu in Valayanad amsam is the only Trigonometrical Survey station in the Calicut taluk.

Dams and Anicuts.—In Karamur amsam, there is a dam known as the Muliya nadla, which is constructed for the protection of cultivation.

At Putiyachira on the road to Chevayur, there was some time back a lock in the Conolly canal for the protection of cultivation from the influx of salt water. It is not now repaired as the water traffic is of more importance. The Conolly canal passes through the amsams of Kasaba, Kottuli, Kacheheri, Edakkad, Karannur, Makkada and Elattur, and connects the Kallayi with the Elattur river.

ERNAD TALUK.

By V. Chappu Menon, B.A.

Boundaries.—This taluk comprises the two old taluks of Ernad and Cheranad. It is bounded on the north by Calicut and Wynad, on the east by the Nilgiri district, on the south by Walluvanad and Ponnani, on the west by the sea.

Area.—Eight hundred and eleven square miles, of which 140 square miles, or about one-sixth of the whole extent, may be said to be under cultivation. The remainder consists of waste lands and hilly tracts.

Population.—The total population, according to the census of 1881, was 296,143, of whom 148,521 were males and 147,622 females. Distributed according to sects, the population stands as follows:—

Hindus	..	..	..	145,451
Muhammadans	..	..	..	149,987
Christians	..	..	..	699
Other classes	..	..	..	6

This taluk contains the largest number of Muhammadans usually denominated Mappillas, comprising, as it does, a ratio of 23 per cent of the entire Mappilla population in the district.

The total number of houses in the taluk in 1881 was 60,596, of which 54,415, or about 90 per cent, were occupied and the rest unoccupied.

Physical Aspects.—The country is overrun with woods, hills and mountains. The eastern portion comprehending the Nilambur valley formed by the ghats and the Kunda mountains and the Wavul range extending to Chekkunnammalai (ചെക്കുണ്ണമല), a high saddle-hill north-east of Ariakode contains teak and other timber in almost inexhaustible quantities and it is mostly from this valley that the largest timber is obtained. The central portion is here and there flat with mountain ridges running in different directions. The western portion, with the exception of a few miles from the coast, which is flat, is undulating intersected in all directions by extensive valleys of wet cultivation.

Mountains and Hills.—The most remarkable hills are—

- (1) The Wavul range.
- (2) The Chekkumalai or Chekkunnam hill, containing a Trigonometrical Survey station.
- (3) The Pantalur hill whose ridge separates the Ernad from Walluvanad taluk.
- (4) The Urothmala hill which formed the boundary of the old Cheranad taluk and which contains likewise a Trigonometrical station.

Forests.—Ernad taluk furnishes most valuable timber trees. Various exotics, such as mahogany and rubber trees, castilloa, hevea and ipca-cuanha, are being planted and experimented with, and some of them have thoroughly been acclimatized and established there. At Nilambur, these experiments and plantations are under the management of the District Forest Officer located at that station. The following is a list of forests which are under the control of this officer :—

Number.	Name of Forest.	Situation.		Area in square miles.	Whether Government or leased forest, and if leased, from whom.
		Taluk.	Amsam.		
1	Karimpoya Reserve.	Ernad.	Nilambur ..	6.18	Government Forest.
2	Amarapolam do.	Do.	Do. ..	0.77	Do.
3	Chathamborai do.	Do.	Do. ..	1.09	Leased from Nadvatti or Wandur Nambudiripud.
4	Nellikutta do.	Do.	Do. ..	2.99	Leased from the Zamorin of Calicut.
5	Valluvasheri block comprising—				
	(1) Pokodo ..	Do.	Do. ..	1.18	Leased from Trikkullur Devasam.
	(2) Panangodo.	Do.	Do. ..	1.41	Do.
	(3) Valluvasheri.	Do.	Do. ..	1.45	Do.

ERNAD TALUK

Number.	Name of Forest.	Situation.		Area in square miles.	Whether Government or leased forest, and if leased, from whom.
		Taluk.	Amsam.		
6	Nilambur block comprising—				
	(1) Trevalikava.	Ernad.	Nilambur ..	8.37	Leased from Trikkallur Devasam.
	(2) Anwakod ..	Do.	Do. ..		
	(3) Edakod ..	Do.	Mambur ..		
	(4) Ellanjery ..	Do.	Nilambur ..		
	(5) Ramalur ..	Do.	Do. ..		
	(6) Mulataramna.	Do.	Do. ..		
7	Erambadom ..	Do.	Do. ..	90	Leased.
8	Kanakut ..	Do.	Do. ..	1.04	Leased from Trikkallur Devasam.
9	Muriat ..	Do.	Do. ..	2.75	Do.
10	Karien ..	Do.	Do. ..	1.48	Do.
11	Mangalasseri ..	Calicut.	Manasseri ..	.01	Do.
12	Ambalakandy ..	Do.	Pannikod ..	.001	Do.
13	Arimbrautta ..	Ernad.	Urangattiri ..	.50	Do.
14	Puthalatha and Chittarikkal.	Calicut.	Manasseri ..	.01	Do.
			Total ..	30.13	

The Nilambur teak plantations were first suggested in 1840 by Mr. Conolly, Collector of Malabar, who described their object as being "to replace those forests which had vanished from private carelessness and rapacity—a work too new, too extensive, and too barren of early return to be ever taken up by the native proprietor." Great difficulty was at first encountered in getting the seed to germinate and many expedients were resorted to. These proved entirely unsuccessful. In 1843, Dr. Roxburgh suggested the method of sowing the seed at the beginning of the rains in shaded beds lightly covered with earth and rotten straw, and this system, which proved a success is now pursued with slight modifications suggested by experience. The first attempt at planting was made in 1842 and was followed in regular succession under the able management, first of Chathu Menon, the native conservator, who for 20 years carried on the operations, and of Mr. Ferguson, whose skilled and unremitting attention during the long tenure of his office from 1863 to 1883 had brought the plantations to their present pitch.

The "Memorandum on the Conolly Teak Plantations", prepared by Mr. Atholl McGregor in 1877 (printed at the Travancore Government Press), and Lieut.-Col. Beddome's "Report upon the Nilambur Teak Plantations", printed at the Government Press, Madras, in 1878, contain most valuable information in regard to the Nilambur forests. An extract from the former publication is printed at the end of this paper.

Rivers.—The following are the principal rivers in the taluk :—

1. *The Beypore river* (also called the Ponpula or Gold river) which rises in the mountains south of the Naduvattam pass, and after meandering through Wynad, rushes down the ghats into the Nilambur valley, receiving in its devious windings, before reaching Nilambur (a) the

Kalakkampula, (b) the Karkurpula, (c) the Sholayar or Cholayar on its right bank and (d) the Karimpula on its left bank. The last named is a formidable river fed by numerous streams rushing down from the crest of the Nilgiri and Kunda mountains. The union of these streams now forms one considerable river, which runs north of Nilambur, and after receiving in its serpentine windings and course several streams, such as the Kurampula and the Kudirapula, discharges itself finally into the sea at Beypore. The river is navigable all the year round up to Ariakode, but boats go up with ease to Nilambur during the monsoon, and smaller boats proceed even further up to Edakkara, about 8 miles north-east of Nilambur. The distance from Calicut to Ariakode *by land*, according to the Route-book, is 27 miles; from Ariakode to Edavanna 8 miles; from Edavanna to Nilambur 8 miles; from Nilambur to Edakkara 8 miles; and from Edakkara to Nadagani 10 miles.

2. *The Kadalundi (Kadal-tundi) river* rises in the southern slopes of the Kunda mountains, enters the taluk near Chappanangadi, meanders westerly with many serpentine windings, and after flowing *via* Tirurangadi empties itself into the sea at Kadalundi. One branch of the stream joins the Beypore river opposite to the place of that name and forms the island of Chaliyam. Like other rivers in Malabar, the Kadalundi river is known by different names in the different parts of its course, *e.g.*, at Malapuram, it is called the Anakayam river; at Tirurangadi, the Tirurangadi river, etc. The bed of the river is exceedingly narrow and rocky with high banks fringed with wood and groves of areca and other palms at intervals. Teak and other timber, also rafts of bamboos are floated down to the coast to the depots at Beypore and Kallai near Calicut.

Subdivisions of the Taluk for Administrative Purposes.—The taluk is divided into 52 amsams, of which 35 are under the magisterial jurisdiction of the Tahsildar-Magistrate and 17 under the Sub-Magistrate of Tirurangadi.

Previous to the revision¹ of the taluk establishments by Mr. Pelly there were 2 taluks, designated Ernad and Cheranad, but in the year 1860 they were amalgamated, a Deputy Tahsildar being appointed for the Cheranad division.

The taluk of Ernad was along with Walluvanad and the magisterial charge of Cheranad entrusted to Mr. Collett, the Assistant Collector and Magistrate, under Collector's proclamation, dated 12th November 1849. He remained in charge till April 1854, when he was appointed Special Assistant Collector and Magistrate and latterly Sub-Judge, Calicut. In 1856, Mr. E. C. G. Thomas was appointed Special Assistant and was succeeded by Mr. A. MacGregor under the orders of Government, communicated in G.O., dated 20th October 1863, No. 1902. The Special Assistant was transferred to Coimbatore for employment on the Nilgiris and the office was revived, on the recommendation of Mr. MacGregor after the Kolattur outbreak, by G.O., dated 11th October 1873, No. 1629. A further reconstitution took place in 1886, whereby the Special Assistant was placed in the revenue charge of Ernad and Calicut taluks and in the magisterial charge of Ernad and portion of Walluvanad (*vide* G.O., dated 15th February 1886, No. 126). The Divisional Magistrate's headquarters are at Malapuram in Ernad taluk.

¹ G.Os., dated 1st October 1860, No. 1751 and 3rd November 1860, No. 2038.

Public Establishments.—The various offices located in the taluk are the following :—

- (1) The Special Assistant Collector and Magistrate at Malapuram.
- (2) The Tahsildar and his establishment at Manjeri.
- (3) The Deputy Tahsildar and his establishment at Tirurangadi.
- (4) The District Munsif of Ernad at Manjeri, and of Cheranad at Parappanangadi.
- (5) Assistant Superintendent of Police at Malapuram.
- (6) Inspector, Special Police force at Malapuram.
- (7) Inspectors of Police at Manjeri, Malapuram and Tirurangadi and Police stations at—

Manjeri.	Kondotti.
Edavanna.	Ariakode.
Nilambur.	Tirurangadi.
Wandur.	Parappanangadi.
Pandikad.	Chaliyam.
Malapuram.	Peroke.
Kottakal.	

- (8) District Forest Officer and his establishment at Nilambur.
- (9) Sub-Registrars of Manjeri, Malapuram, Wandur, Kondotti and Tirurangadi.
- (10) Government Telegraph office at Malapuram and the Railway Telegraph offices at Beypore and Parappanangadi.
- (11) Post offices at Manjeri, Malapuram, Nilambur, Kondotti, Parappanangadi and Beypore.
- (12) Local Fund middle school at Manjeri.
- (13) Local Fund hospitals at Manjeri and Nilambur.
- (14) Local Fund Supervisor and Overseers.
- (15) Vaccine staff.
- (16) Military detachment at Malapuram.
- (17) Marine office at Beypore (Chaliyam) under the charge of the Port Officer, Calicut.

Towns and other places of importance.—There are no municipal towns constituted under the Act in the taluk. The places of importance are described below :—

Manjeri—in the amsam of the same name, is the headquarters of the taluk and is the seat of the Tahsildar, the District Munsif and the Sub-Registrar of Assurances. There are a Local Fund hospital, a public bungalow, a middle school and a chattram at this station. A weekly market is held which is generally well-attended. About a quarter of a mile to the south-east of the taluk is a pagoda called Srimuttra Kumm *alias* Kunnath Ampalam, dedicated to Durga and situated on a low hill, and immediately below it is the residence of the Manjeri Karnamalpad. In the east wall of the temple is an inscription, dated K.A. 827 (A.D. 1651), stating that Mana Vikrama built a matam. There is another near a well to the north, dated K.A. 833 (A.D. 1657), by the same man.

It was this temple that was seized by the gang of Mappilla fanatics under Attan Kurikal in 1849, and Ensign Wyse, who lies buried on the taluk cutchery hill, was killed in an attempt to take the temple from the fanatics. There are several large dolmens, menhirs and rock-cut caves in this amsam.

Nilambur—which is about 16 miles from Manjeri, is an important station for timber traffic. It is the seat of the District Forest Officer who has charge of the extensive Government teak plantations, and contains a hospital, a Police station, a public bungalow and a Post office. The District Forest Officer is also a Special Magistrate for the trial of offences under the conservancy clauses of the Police Act.

The Nilambur and Amarampalam Tirumalpads who own extensive forests reside in the Nilambur amsam. There are two temples, one dedicated to Vettakkorumakan and the other to Siva. There is an inscription on a block of gneiss rock in the Cherupula river about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles below the junction with the Karimpula, known as "Eltu Kallu" or Eluttu Kalla, and used to determine the boundary between two jaumis. The stone is in the middle of a forest far from any habitation, and the inscription is only visible in extremely dry weather, being below the ordinary low water level. There are numerous dolmens and menhirs and rock-cut caves in the amsam. Gold washing was carried on formerly at Nilambur and the gold so obtained was called channam.

Elakkara—on the river side 8 miles to the east of Nilambur on the road to Nilgiris, is an extensive plain of black rich soil, supposed to be once thickly populated judging from the remains, which are still visible, of ruined temples, houses, tanks, wells, etc. It is now covered with dense jungle, which is well stocked with game. The place is feverish at certain times of the year. There is a public bungalow for the accommodation of travellers going by the Karkur pass.

Wandur—in the amsam of the same name, is 12 miles from Manjeri, and is the seat of a Sub-Registrar of Assurances, who is also a Special Magistrate. There is a Police station, also a good public bungalow which was once largely used by passengers travelling by the Sispara or Chichippara route to the Nilgiris. The road has fallen into disuse and is not now properly maintained. There is a mosque at this place; also a Siva temple.

Pandikad—in the amsam of the same name, is 8 miles from Manjeri, and has a Police station, a small public bungalow and a weekly market. Iron ore is obtained to some extent in these parts.

Mambal—in the amsam of the same name, contains a Mappilla bazaar and is a place of timber trade.

Edavanna—in Tiruvali amsam, is a rising Mappilla town on the Nilambur river about 8 miles from Manjeri and has considerable timber trade. There is a mosque at this station, also a temple at Tiruvali about 2 miles from the Edavanna bazaar.

Ariakode—in Iruvetti amsam and about 11 miles from Manjeri, is a small Mappilla town pleasantly situated on the south bank of the Beypore river, and has considerable timber trade. There is a Police station and a good bungalow built on a hill about half a mile from the village for the accommodation of travellers going to Nilgiris via the Karkur pass. The scenery about the place is charming and plenty of easy shooting is available in the neighbourhood. There is a mosque at this station.

Trikkallur or Trikkalliyur—in Urangattiri amsam, is celebrated for a Siva temple standing on elevated ground. It was in this temple that Kutti Assan and eleven other Mappillas made a determined stand against the Police and the Military from the 27th to 29th December 1884. The temple was captured and the fanatics slain after breaking open the loopholed barricaded doors with dynamite. The temple owns large property managed by Kirrangat Ashtamurti Nambudiripad of Vallappula amsam, in Walluvanad taluk. Opposite the temple stands the Churoth mosque, in which the fanatics prayed before taking post in the pagoda. The Mappilla inhabitants of the amsams of Urangattiri, Mappram, Chikod, Iruvetti and Tiruvali were fined for this outrage under the provisions of the Mappilla Outrages Act XX of 1859.

Chembrasserai amsam.—Iron ore is found in this amsam, which is one of the biggest in the taluk.

Kottakal—in the amsam of the same name is 14 miles from Manjeri, and is the seat of the Kilakke Kovilakam Rajas, one of the three branches of the Zamorin's family. There are here the old fort, called Venkata-kotta and a small bungalow built by the Raja for the accommodation of visitors. A weekly fair is held, at which areca-nut, arrow-root flour and ginger form the principal articles of trade. The Military camping ground at Klari is only 2 miles from this place.

Malapuram—(literally mountainous place) in Kilumiri amsam, is a healthy military station about 7 miles from Manjeri and 31 miles from Calicut. It is the seat of the Special Assistant Collector, of the Assistant Superintendent of Police and the Special Police force and of the Sub-Registrar of Assurances. It contains, likewise, Post and Telegraph offices, a public bungalow, a D.P.W. halting shed, barracks for European troops, a Chapel, two Christian cemeteries, a small bazaar, and a weekly market well-attended. Tippu had a fort here, which is now in ruins. Near the barracks there are good recreation and camping grounds for the troops. Malapuram is the centre of the country which has been fruitful in Mappilla fanatical outbreaks, and in consequence of two risings in 1841 and 1843, native troops were sent here; but as they proved useless during the outbreaks of 1849 and 1851, a detachment of European troops has been stationed here since 1852.

A description of the boundaries of the Military Cantonment for the European barracks at Malapuram will be found printed at page 172 of the *Fort Saint George Gazette*, dated 22nd February 1853.

The detachment was augmented and officers' quarters built since the Kolattur outrage of 1873. On more than one occasion, special Police corps¹ were raised in Malapuram to deal with local outrages, but in the lull which followed the passing of the Mappilla Outrages Act, the work was transferred to the regular constabulary.² A special Police force has again been posted here since 1885.

At a short distance from the Malapuram barracks is the Malapuram mosque, which is a tiled building and is of some importance. An annual festival, called Nerchecha is held here usually in the month of Kumbham, supposed to be in commemoration of the death of 40 Mappillas who fell in an encounter with the neighbouring Hindu landlord, Para

¹ Vide extracts from Minutes of Consultation, dated 16th May 1854, No. 352.

² G.O., dated 4th May 1860, published in the *Fort Saint George Gazette* of the same date,

Nambi's followers. There are three Hindu temples in the amsam, known as (1) the Tripuranthakan temple near the barracks, (2) the Mannur Siva temple and (3) the Channath Siva temple. The sacred places of Muhammadans, in addition to the Malapuram mosque, are (1) the Hajiyar Palli and (2) Sayyid's Jarum (സയ്യിദുൽ ജാറം).

Kondotti—in Kolattur amsam (17 miles from Calicut), is an important Mappilla town on the road to Calicut and contains the office of the Sub-Registrar who is also a Special Magistrate. There are besides a Police station, a Post office, and a public bungalow. It is the residence of the Kondotti Tangal who is the Muhammadan high priest of the section of Mappillas known locally as Kondotti Kayikkars. There is a shrine here called *Kondotti-thakkiya*, which is supposed to have been built in 948 M.E. (A.D. 1773) by the then Tangal, named *Muhammad Shaha* and in which he interred his remains. A Nerecheha is performed here annually in the month of Minam. The Tangals have been loyal to the British Government and their loyalty has been rewarded by the grant of a personal inam to the extent of Rs. 2,734 per year (*vide* G.O., dated 12th October 1865, No. 2474), and by permission to keep seven pieces of cannon (*vide* licence granted by the Government of India, under date the 15th September 1885, No. 43, forwarded with Madras Government G.O., dated 29th September 1885, No. 2617, Mis.). There are two mosques at this station which are largely attended.

Urakam-Melmuri contains the Uroth hill which was used as a heliographic station in February 1885 during the disarming operations then in progress. On the top of the hill stands the Tiruvarchchanam Kunnu temple dedicated to god Sankara Narayanan. The Ponmundam fanatics in May 1885 tried to occupy this hill after the murder of Cheruman Kutti Kariyan and his family on the 1st May 1885, but had to leave it for want of water. The celebrated Mattathur mosque is situated in this amsam.

Tirurangudi (literally Tiru = sacred, ur = village, angadi = bazaar or the place of bazaar in the sacred country of Cheranad) in Trikkulam amsam, is the seat of the Deputy Tahsildar, of the Sub-Registrar of Assurances and of the Police Inspector of that division, and contains a Post office, a bazaar and a well-attended weekly market. The town, which consists of long and crooked streets, lies on the south bank of the river and has nothing remarkable about it, save that there are a jamath mosque which is attended by a large congregation and a Hindu temple dedicated to Siva. There are the remains of a fort dismantled several years ago. In the vicinity of this fort, a decided victory was gained by General Hartley over Tipu's troops in 1790 (Vol. I, p. 470).

And it was in the same neighbourhood that Colonel Humberstone defeated and slew Mukhdam Ali, one of Hyder Ali's Generals on 8th April 1782 (Vol. I, p. 433). It is curious that the only two pitched battles fought in Malabar between the Mysoreans and the British took place on the same battlefield.

Mampram lies directly opposite to Tirurangudi, on the north bank of the river, in Kotuvayur amsam, and contains the mukham or tomb of a great Tangal buried there. It is on this account a place of considerable pilgrimage. The history of the Tangal who lies interred there is as follows :—

In the early part of the 18th century a Tangal named Sayyid Hussain Ibn Alabi Jiffiri Tangal, who is supposed to have come from Arabia, settled at the place called Mampram or Mampuram which was

then an extensive waste. It was reclaimed and planted with coconut trees for the growth of which the soil appears to be admirably adapted. He lived in a house called Taramal, and died in the month of Shaban in the Hejira 1169, leaving a daughter named Fattima. In the fifth year after his death, there arrived at Mampram his nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law (Fattima's husband) named Sayyid Alabi Ibn Muhammad, whom in his lifetime the Mappillas served with the utmost devotion and whom after his death they have deified. His first marriage with Fattima was not fruitful, and he married, as his second wife, a woman from the Putiamaliakal house in Calicut.

His next marriage was with a woman of Quilandi, by whom he had, among others, Sayyid Fazl usually known as Pukkoya who was banished with his relatives beyond India on the 19th March 1852. Sayyid Alabi's fourth wife was a woman of Pommundam in Ponnani taluk, who bore him a daughter. The mukham or shrine intended and used primarily as a receptacle for the dead bodies of the principal Tangals is a rectangular building constructed on very solid foundations, and divided into large hall-like rooms. The building has upper storeys, in one portion there are three and in the other two storeys. The second floor of one of the rooms stands on a higher elevation than that of the other; and over it an upper floor stands, the circular wall of which is capped by the dome. On the foundation floor of the domed hall are laid 9 coffins, including in them those of Sayyid Alabi who died in 1019 A.E. (Hejira 1260), and his uncle and those of their nearest deceased relatives. The other hall is the place where verses from the Koran are read for the salvation of the souls of the deceased persons.

The shrine was built over the grave of his uncle by Sayyid Alabi in the third year after his arrival at Mampram or in the 8th year after the uncle's death. The space in the interior which was originally of lesser dimensions than the foundation, was found not sufficient to allow of walking on it after the nine bodies had been buried there. A certain Karachi merchant out of gratitude to Sayyid Alabi for his having been miraculously saved by the latter in a shipwreck at sea, had the room extended at his own expense so as to cover the entire space on the foundation. The dome having gone out of repair in recent years, it is now being put up anew and furnished by Putiyamaligayil Sayyid Abdulla Koya of Calicut, out of contributions for the purpose made by his co-religionists. This shrine has been frequently visited by Mappilla fanatics for the purpose of invoking the Varkkaths (blessings or aid) of the great Tungal buried there, previously to the execution of their designs. And it is also largely resorted to by other Muhammadans and by Hindus to invoke the great Tungal's aid in any enterprises in which they are interested.

Parappanangadi (literally the bazaar place in the Parappanad raj) is a small Mappilla village about 4 miles from Tirurangadi and is the seat of the Cheranad Munsif's Court. It contains likewise a Post office, a Police station and the Railway station of the same name. The palace of the Kshatriya family of Parappanad Rajas is situated at a short distance from the Railway station. It is from this family that the consorts of the Ranis of the Travancore family are usually selected. Pepper, ginger, salted fish and areca-nut form the chief articles of trade and are exported in large quantities. The Munsif's Court-house and the Railway station though usually known by the name of "Parappanangadi" are really located within the limits of the Netuva amsam.

Ferokh or (as Malayalis write it) *Parumakka* (written also Ferokabad in military department Route book), in Nallur amsam, contains a Police station and an important weekly market to which people from Calicut resort for the purchase of poultry, provisions, etc. Half a mile south-west of it on an elevated spot are the ruins of Ferokabad commanding two beautiful reaches of the Beypore river which flows immediately to the north of the fortress. It was planned by Tippu whose intention it was to make it the capital of Malabar, but his troops were driven out of it in 1790 before the design was fully carried out. He compelled a large portion of the inhabitants of Calicut to settle here, but on the departure of his troops they returned to their former abode. The ferry at Ferokh is called the Mammalli ferry. The railway now in course of extension to Calicut passes through this place. An iron bridge on cylinders is being carried across the Mammalli (Beypore) river, and the bridge is to carry ordinary traffic as well as the railway. A railway station is also proposed at this locality. Two miles above the Mammalli ferry on the Ernad or south bank of the river lies Chattamparamba, a laterite hill containing numerous tombs of a long forgotten generation, some of them excavated from the laterite rock and others in the shape of huge earthen pots buried beneath the surface. From some of these, the interesting beads depicted in the illustrations at pages 180-81 of Volume I have been taken. Some of the beads are of agate with designs on them which take one back to the times of the Buddhists. The pottery, which is found in abundance in these tombs, is of a very varied character and quite different to anything manufactured in recent times.

Chaliyam in Palanchannur amsam (erroneously called Beypore, which is a contiguous amsam on the north bank of the river in the Calicut taluk) is an island formed by the Kadalhundi and Beypore rivers, and by the sea on the west. It is about ten miles in circumference. It is the present western terminus of the Madras Railway and contains a hotel, two public chattrams, a Police station, Post office, Marine flagstaff, a Protestant chapel and cemetery, a mosque and a petty bazaar. The travellers' bungalow and the Beypore Sea Customs office lie on the northern side of the Beypore ferry in the Calicut taluk. The Railway station has a flower garden and a small park kept in neat order by the railway company.

There is a rocky islet lying to the southward of the entrance to the Beypore river and connected with the mainland by a groyne. This islet contains two mounds, a northern and a southern one, and the Port Officer, Calicut, made excavations round the base of the former and discovered the remains of what appeared to be the remains of a fortress. Captain Gillham states as follows :—

“There is now no question or doubt but that the masonry was the commencement of foundations for a very formidable fortress for the protection of the entrance to Beypore river. The walls being the strongest on the west and north-west and north angles where the foundations were 13 feet across and from 2 to 3 feet deep, commencing on coarse sand and shelly bottom. The portion comprised between the south-west angle of the mound round by east to the north angle is of cut laterite stone built in chumam, and from the north angle to the south-east angle round by east, the foundations are cuttings and levellings on the upper surface of the laterite rock, with small portions of concrete and masonry levellings in places. From the fact of the foundation having been commenced on sandy soil, together with the fact that when excavations were being made into the base of the north mound, a considerable quantity of red soil was

found, has led me to the opinion that the mounds on the islet are not natural, but artificially made from soil carried to the islet from the mainland."

The Port officer also dug three wells with the object of ascertaining whether fresh water was obtainable on the isle. Of these three, two yield perfectly pure water, but the third proved brackish. It is likely that the foundations of the fortress discovered formed part of Tippu Sultan's project for protecting his projected city at Perokh.

Kadalhundi and *Nirumkayitha kotta* in Vallikunnu amsam are small hamlets of some note. The former contains a Mappilla bazaar and the latter the important temple known as Nirumkayitha kotta dedicated to god Ayyappan. The temple has a copper sheet roof and stands on the slope of an elevated hill. On the top of the hill called Melkotta, there is a deity which persons proceeding to the Nirumkayitha kotta temple go up to worship. The place is infested by monkeys, supposed to be a portion of the army with which Rama conquered Ceylon, left here by him on his return from his expedition.

The following temples and mosques which are not described above deserve notice :-

(1) *Manjeri Amsam*.—(1) Arizhayi Siva temple, (2) Pantalur temple, (3) Manjeri mosque.

(2) *Trikkalangot Amsam*.—contains the Trikkalangot temple dedicated to Vettakorumakan and certain inscriptions in Vattehuthu and five dolmens. The celebrated Karikkatt temple, dedicated to Subramania, also exists here.

(3) *Ponmala Amsam*.—contains the important Ponmala temple and the Ponmala mosque.

(4) *Intiannur Amsam*.—contains a temple, dedicated to Ganapathi and Siva.

(5) *Kottakkel Amsam*.—contains (1) Kottakkel Siva temple, (2) Pandanangalam Vishnu temple, (3) Vettakorumakan temple.

(6) *Netiyiruppu Amsam*.—contains Pulikkad Bhagavathi temple.

(7) *Alinjilam Amsam*.—contains (1) Pariapuram temple, dedicated to Subramania, (2) Palakkel Bhagavathi temple, (3) Karumaken kavu temple, (4) Ariyil Siva temple.

(8) *Nallur Amsam*.—contains the Nallur Siva temple which is of some importance.

(9) *Chelembra Amsam*.—contains (1) Vennayur Vishnu temple, (2) Itavalikkel Ganapathi temple, (3) Tiruvangat Siva temple.

(10) *Karat Amsam*.—contains Virali kavu temple.

(11) *Puthur Amsam*.—contains Cherukumath Bhagavathi temple, the deity of which is supposed to have come from the temple of that name in North Malabar.

(12) *Valluvambram Amsam*.—contains Pullamur mosque.

(13) *Netuva Amsam*.—contains Pisharikkel kavu temple *alias* Puthiarayara Nullur temple, dedicated to goddess Mukambika.

Christian Churches and Cemeteries and scattered Tombs.—There are Roman Catholic and Protestant chapels at Malapuram and at Chaliyam

(Beypore). There are also cemeteries at each of these stations. The scattered tombs in the taluk are the following :—

(1) Tomb near the District Forest office at Nilambur bearing the following inscription—“To the memory of Samuel Robert Clogston, Lieutenant in the 23rd Regiment, M.N.I. He was born on the 26th January 1824 and drowned in the Chellambore river (Nilambur) near this spot on the 13th August 1843. Generous, high spirited and of great promise ; he died deeply regretted. His brother officers, in testimony of esteem for his worth and sorrow for his early death, have erected this tomb.”

(2) Tomb of Ensign Wyse, who died at the hands of Mappilla fanatics in 1849 in Manjeri amsam close to the District Munsif's Court, bears no inscription.

(3) Tomb of Mary Elliot in the Valakkat coffee estate, in the jungly wilds of the Silent Valley in Chembrasserai amsam.

Soil and Productions.—The soil of the western portion of Ernad and on the heights, is red laterite intermixed with gravel ; in the valleys of cultivation, it is a rich brown free from gravel, so also in the cultivated tract in the interior. The dense coconut belt usually not more than 4 miles wide extending along the coast, runs up for 12 or 13 miles into very nearly the heart of the taluk about Malapuram, and the soil in these parts seems to be singularly well adapted to this tree and to other vegetable productions, among others, the pineapple which nowhere flourishes better than in these richly cultivated low-lying valleys in Ernad. In the forests and mountains, the soil is a rich black mould owing to the constant falling of decayed leaves and rotten wood. Granitic gneiss is conspicuous on the face of the ghats and the mountains, to the east where it is seen to form a perfect barrier. The productions generally are rice of various sorts, and several species of dry grain and pulses ; pepper is produced but not in such abundance as in the tracts along the coast. The areca palm is cultivated extensively about the central parts and grows luxuriantly on the banks of all the rivers ; it is, however, scarce to the east of Nilambur. Timber of many descriptions, also bamboos, honey and bees' wax are obtained from the forests.

Inams.—A list of inams of various descriptions granted in the taluk is appended.

No.	Name of Inamholder.	Amsam in which Inam lands are situated.	Amount.	Remarks.
	<i>Devadayan</i> (or inams granted for temples).		RS. A. P.	
1	Kapilkarimkali kshetrom.	Nilambur ..	1 3 3	For the expenses attending the usual ceremonies in the temple.
2	Chementala Bhagavati kshetrom.	Do. ..	18 8 5	
3	Wandur Siva kshetrom.	Wandur ..	7 10 3	
4	Punnapalei Siva kshetrom.	Do. ..	6 0 11	
5	Chatengam Kulangara Vishnu kshetrom.	Do. ..	3 11 9	
6	Karikat kshetrom ..	Do. ..	20 0 0	
7	Do. ..	Irimpuli ..	28 13 3	
8	Irimbuli Vishnu kshetrom.	Do. ..	5 7 9	

No.	Name of Inamholder.	Amsam in which Inam lands are situate.	Amount.	Remarks.
	<i>Devadayam, etc.—cont.</i>		RS. A. P.	
9	Mutrakunnu kshetrom ..	Trimpuli ..	32 2 6	For the expenses attending the usual ceremonies in the temple and for entertainments given to Brahmins.
10	Karikat kshetrom ..	Trikalangode ..	19 1 1	} For expenses attending the usual ceremonies in the temple.
11	Moladatha kshetrom ..	Do. ..	33 4 0	
12	Mutrakunnu kshetrom ..	Manjeri ..	1,112 7 10	
13	Arupiraya Siva kshetrom.	Do. ..	28 12 3	} Do. and for entertainments given to Brahmins.
14	Vakethodi Karinkali kshetrom.	Do. ..	35 8 5	
15	Tiruvidaikal kshetrom ..	Do. ..	14 2 4	
16	Orinadatha Siva kshetrom.	Do. ..	14 11 2	
17	Pantatur Bhagavati kshetrom.	Do. ..	63 3 8	
18	Potiyatu kshetrom ..	Mehauri ..	13 4 8	} Do. and for entertainments given to Brahmins.
19	Kurumangode Iyyappan kshetrom.	Pandikad ..	2 6 6	
20	Naduvathu kshetrom ..	Do. ..	9 3 6	
21	Nechiparamboth Tripurandakan kshetrom.	Kilmuri ..	31 4 8	
22	Ulanam Siva kshetrom ..	Naduva ..	19 1 9	
23	Chiramangalath Vottakorumakan kshetrom.	Do. ..	10 12 0	} For the expenses attending the usual ceremonies in the temple.
24	Tirumandhan kumma Bhagavati kshetrom.	Porur ..	7 1 5	
25	Palaparamben kshetrom.	Kotuvayur ..	12 5 6	
26	Mutuvolur Bhagavati kshetrom.	Kulimanna ..	7 11 6	
27	Mannur kshetrom ..	Vallikunnu ..	98 13 4	
28	Nerumkathakotta templo.	Do. ..	311 6 4	} For the expenses attending the usual ceremonies in the temple.
29	Do.	Palenchennur.	9 6 10	
30	Trikkolum kshetrom ..	Trikkolam ..	13 1 2	
		Total ..	2,029 12 0	
	<i>Dharmadayam (or inams granted for charitable purposes).</i>			
31	Chorukuticheri karupram chattam.	Mapprom ..	2 9 6	} For the expenses attending the entertainments given to Brahmins.
32	Do.	Chikod ..	18 6 2	
33	Keraladhiswarapuram kshetrom.	Naduva ..	125 0 5	
34	Do.	Nannembra ..	5 1 0	
35	Do.	Valakulam ..	18 8 8	
36	Trikandiyur chattam ..	Do. ..	2 11 5	
		Total ..	172 5 2	

No.	Name of Inamholder.	Amsam in which Inam lands are situate.	Amount.	Remarks.
<i>Religious Institutions (or inams granted for mosques).</i>			RS. A. P.	
37	Malapratha Ajiyara Palli mosque.	Kilmuri ..	6 10 9	For defraying the expenses for lights.
38	Mampad Vali Jamath Palli mosque.	Mampad ..	7 5 10	
39	Mampad Cheria Jamath Palli mosque.	Do. ..	14 13 2	
40	Ariakode mosque ..	Iruvetti ..	6 15 1	For the expenses attending the Vilakkati-yantram festival.
41	Tannur Daraka Palli mosque.	Nannembra ..	109 12 10	
42	Quilandi mosque ..	Trikkalangode ..	191 14 11	For the support of the Quilandi Palli mosque.
43	Do. ..	Munjeri ..	745 13 2	
44	Do. ..	Karakunnu ..	862 3 11	For defraying the expense for lights.
45	Mampratha Palli mosque.	Kotuvayur ..	2 0 4	
Total ..			1,941 10 0	
<i>Personal (or inams granted for special services).</i>				
46	Kondotti Tangal ..	Kulimanna ..	143 5 3	These inams were confirmed in 1865 to Ishtiyak Shah, the Kondotti Tangal, so long as he continues true and loyal to the Government.
47	Do. ..	Chikod ..	1,125 2 3	
48	Do. ..	Kolattur ..	318 7 3	
49	Do. ..	Karipur ..	263 3 11	
50	Do. ..	Olakara ..	35 8 7	
51	Do. ..	Kavannur ..	58 13 9	
52	Do. ..	Chirukavu ..	13 3 2	
53	Do. ..	Nediruppu ..	32 0 3	
54	Do. ..	Urangattiri ..	73 13 1	
55	Do. ..	Iruvetti ..	251 14 8	
56	Do. ..	Chongara ..	135 15 3	
57	Do. ..	Arimbra ..	283 1 2	
Total ..			2,734 8 7	
Grand Total			6,878 3 9	

Mines, Minerals and Manufactures.—Iron ore is found in different parts of the taluk, chiefly in Chembrasser and Pandikad amsams, but very little of it is actually worked. Gold ore is found in the beds of the rivers and streams running down from the ghats into the Nilambur valley. One of the principal branches of the Boypore river is called the Ponpula or gold river from an idea that a large portion of that mineral is washed down the stream during the rains. The manufactures in the taluk are of little moment and consist of some cloth of an inferior quality. The cloths formerly famous as shaleats appear to have derived their name from Chaliyam, the present terminus of the Madras Railway, but the art of weaving them appears to have been lost. Oils from coconut and castor, coir on the sea coast, jaggery and arrack from toddy are manufactured almost everywhere.

Bungalows and Chattrams.—There are bungalows at (1) Kondotti, (2) Ariakool, (3) Etavanna, (4) Nilambur, (5) Etakkara, (6) Wandur, (7) Malapuram, (8) Pandikad, (9) Manjeri; and chattrams at (1) Manjeri and (2) Karimpula.

The bungalows at Pandikad and Manjeri are under the supervision of local fund overseers.

Railway Stations.—In the Ernad taluk there are railway stations at Chaliyam (erroneously called Beypore) and Parappanangadi and one proposed to be built in connection with the extension to Calicut at Ferokeh.

Fairs.—There are fairs at—

(1) Manjeri,	(5) Vatapuram,
(2) Malapuram,	(6) Pandikad, and
(3) Kottakal,	(7) Ferokeh.
(4) Wandur,	

Trigonometrical Stations.—The survey stations to be preserved and annually reported on are named below (Board's Proceedings, dated 28th July 1886, No. 1706):—

Name of G.T. Station	Situation.	Series.	Modern values.	
			Latitude.	Longitude.
Chokkummu ..	Urangattiri ..	Modern.	11 15 27.71	76 08 22.58
Urot mala ..	Urakam Mol-muri.	Do.	11 05 15.73	76 03 05.60

MEMORANDUM ON THE CONOLLY TEAK PLANTATIONS AT NILAMBUR, ERNAD TALUK, MALABAR DISTRICT.

By Atholl MacGregor, M.C.S., late Collector of Malabar.

The Nilambur Teak Plantations were first suggested in 1840 by Mr. Conolly, Collector of Malabar, who described their object as being "to replace those Forests which have vanished from private carelessness and rapacity—a work too new, too extensive, and too barren of early return to be ever taken up by the native proprietor."

Great difficulty was at first encountered in getting the seed to germinate, and many expedients were resorted to. It was argued that in the natural forest the hard outer covering of the seed was destroyed by the annual fires, and it was sought to effect the same object by covering the seed with a light coating of dry grass and setting fire to it. Soaking in water was also tried. In the one case the heat destroyed the vitality of the seed, and in the other the seed rotted. Removing the husk by hand was also tried, it being suggested that it was only the seeds in the forest which happened to be cleaned by white-ants that germinate!

The transplantation of self-sown teak saplings had been simultaneously tried, but whether from injury to the trees in removal, or from attempting to grow too much under shade, or too near mature teak that had already exhausted the surface soil so far as regarded the constituents of teak, this

also proved a failure, and Mr. Conolly, in a letter of 4th August 1842 reported that of 30,000 seeds sown none had come up, and that of 10,000, saplings transplanted more than half had died. Recourse was next had to a Mr. Perrotet, a French gentleman, Superintendent, Botanical Gardens at Pondicherry. His advice was to plunge the seed in water nearly boiling, and to uncover the roots of old stumps and cut them in places in order to cause the development of shoots; this experiment came no nearer success.

The true method appears to have been first suggested by Dr. Roxburgh at the end of 1843. He advised sowing the seed at the beginning of the rains in shaded beds lightly covered with earth and rotten straw. The present method is given in an appendix, and it will be seen that 30 years have added little to the knowledge acquired in 1844—for except that the seed is sown 2 months before the rains, and artificially irrigated so as to give it an additional start the method is substantially the same.

Writing in 1845, Mr. Conolly described the experiment as at an end, and success achieved owing to the extraordinary healthy appearance of the young seedlings, 50,000 of which were raised in May, June, and July 1844.

The marginal statement gives the area planted annually arranged in periods of 10 years.

Years.	Aeres.	Years.	Aeres.	Years.	Aeres.
Up to 1841	31	1853	55	1863	81
1844 ..	63	1854	92	1864	121
1845 ..	61	1855	100	1865	56
1846 ..	100	1856	79	1866	128
1847 ..	118	1857	36	1867	118
1848 ..	182	1858	42	1868	145
1849 ..	134	1859	39	1869	53
1850 ..	132	1860	39	1872	235
1851 ..	147	1861	86	1873	86
1852 ..	38	1862	50	1874	84
10 years.	1,006	10 years.	617	10 years.	1,107
Yearly average }	100		61		110

The years 1870 and 1871 are not represented, operations having been carried on elsewhere. The statement shows that up to 1874 the area planted in this section aggregates 2,730 acres, or an average of 91 acres per annum for the 30 years.

The Nilambur valley is of the shape of a horse shoe, and is elevated about 400 feet above sea level.

The hills surrounding it on three sides rise in the direction of Sissapara on the S.E., and the Camel's Hump on the N.W. to 8,000 feet, while to the N.E., the plateau of S.E. Wynad, which closes it in on that side, does not attain an average elevation of more than 3,000 feet. The semi-circle of hills overhangs one vast amphitheatre of valleys of denudation converging on Nilambur, and a great part of the Valley, including almost always the river bank to a distance of several hundred yards, is an alluvial deposit of enormous depth; the rocks are described by Mr. King as gneiss of quartzo-felspathic or quartzo-hornblende variety. The rainfall is about 120 inches, falling chiefly between June 1st and November 1st. The temperature in shade ranges from 80 to 90 throughout the year, and there is a singular absence of high wind all the year round.

Rainfall on slopes of surrounding ghats is probably over 200.

The rivers are navigable by rafts up to January, and below Mambat, the most westerly point of the Plantation, the navigation is so easy that the largest rafts can be managed by one man. The river which drains the valley empties itself into the sea at Beypore, and 4 miles from the mouth of the river a navigable canal communicates with another river which traverses the heart of the Calicut Bazaar, the best timber market on the west coast. This river is connected with the Calicut roadstead by a bar always open, so that the cost of conveying timber from the Plantations alongside ship may be regarded as at a minimum.

A good cart road is carried from Calicut through Nilambur up the Karkur Ghat to S.E. Wynad, whence the main line is carried on to Mysore, with branches on the north to the Devala gold fields and South Wynad, and on the south to the Ouchterlony Valley and to Ootacamund. The road skirts the plantations for 6 miles, having bridges over the two large rivers.

The climate of Nilambur is tolerably healthy throughout the year. The months of March, April and May are the fever months, but with due precaution fever is seldom contracted at Nilambur itself.

Forests in Malabar are chiefly private property and the great bulk of the land in the Nilambur valley is the property of the Nilambur Tirumulpad, a wealthy landowner not likely under any circumstances to sell land, still less for the purpose of instituting a local industry of a character to compete with his own agricultural and timber operations for the limited supply of local labour. The plantations owed their existence to the accident that one of the many religious bodies holding temple lands happened to be in want of funds and to own blocks of land scattered here and there in this valley, many of which constituted the very best sites for planting that could have been selected had the whole area been available to choose from.

In considering, however, the difficulties which had to be contended with, it is necessary to regard as occupying a prominent position, the jealousy of a local Janmi of overpowering influence whose house and pagoda formed the only point of social attraction in what was otherwise a jungle.

At first, operations were confined to the narrow strips of river bank, west of Nilambur, and when in 1853 these appeared to be exhausted, a point to the east, further up the river was selected, and became the scene of the operations of that year as well as of 1855 and 1856. The mistake was, however, made of including in the planted area several laterite hills over which the trees signally failed.

Accordingly attention was again turned to the lands down stream, and in the vicinity of the earlier plantations on the north bank land was found yielding sites for 1857-1862 inclusive, of fair quality, some being very good. In 1860, however, exploration had been set on foot further up stream than had hitherto been attempted, *i.e.*, above the junction of the Shurly river with the Karimpula or main stream. Here there were found several pieces of land included in the Government Estate, with first-class soil and water carriage which formed a compact block adapted for further extension on a larger scale. In 1863 Mr. Ferguson arrived, bringing the knowledge of a forester trained in the extensive plantations of Perthshire, and operations were vigorously prosecuted for the ensuing

¹ The whole establishment has suffered badly in the current season.

7 years, *i.e.*, from 1863–1869, by which time 619 acres had been planted in this quarter. The area of suitable land here having been exhausted, the experiment was made of further extending at Nellikutta, 10 miles up stream and near the base of the hills in 1870 and 1871 rather more than 100 acres were planted.

The site, however, proved so unhealthy that it was abandoned owing to loss of life and invaliding among the establishment. Fortunately at this time an opportunity presented itself of acquiring by purchase a block of land containing some superior planting sites, and almost surrounded by Government land planted or in forest. Here operations have been carried on since. In order to make up for the break of continuity caused by the plantings of 1870 and 1871 having been carried out at a site that had to be abandoned, 235 acres were planted in 1872 so as to bring up the average to 80 acres for the 3 years, which average was maintained during 1873 and 1874.

During these last two years operations had been carried on simultaneously at the newly-acquired site at Amarapalam, so as to open up a different source of labour-supply through the village of Vandur, and create a basis of operations for further extension at the Karimpula site. It is, however, not advisable to go further into these particulars, but to confine observations to the area already described, amounting to 2,730 acres, the object of this paper being to investigate the actual position of the undertaking, with reference to the ascertained survey areas.

To determine the success of the enterprise the questions to be asked are: What have the plantations cost? What do they now return? What are they likely hereafter to return?

Taking as a basis the calculations made in 1872 at the suggestion of Major Pearson, and adding the subsequent cost, the total outlay on the plantations is Rs. 2,29,000, of which since 1863 a sum of Rs. 1,01,000 has been recouped by thinnings, leaving the net cost Rs. 1,28,000. The opponents of planting, however, maintain that up to the period when interest is returned the cost must include compound interest at 4 per cent on the original outlay.

As a matter of pure calculation of financial results this must be conceded, without, however, admitting that on the showing of absolute profit thus computed is to depend the question of whether a certain portion of the Forest Revenue is to be returned to the land in view to reproduction of timber.

This includes payments for land, *viz.*, in 1840 for lease from Pagoda Committee Rs. 9,000 and in 1871 for Chetumboria planting site Rs. 5,000.

If the net expenditure of each year is taken and calculated up to 1874, at compound interest, the debt against the plantations amounts to Rs. 2,35,000.¹

To estimate fairly the position, annual extensions must be kept out of sight, and the capital account closed. In 2 or 3 years there would be no very young plantations unable to take care of themselves and entailing, therefore, heavy expenditure. The future outlay will then be restricted to fire-tracing, clearing parasites, watching and thinning out of saplings.

¹ Labour has cost 4 annas a day for many years. In the earlier years the cost was less. It may be roughly estimated that at present rates planting costs Rs. 30 an acre—felling, burning, pitting, planting, and once weeding, nurseries and establishment being included.

A third of the existing establishment might be debited to the plantations, leaving the remainder to be divided between the natural forest operations, and extensions of plantations on new site.

Altogether an annual expenditure of Rs. 5,000 would probably suffice.

An annual revenue from thinnings of Rs. 10,000 would thus cover the upkeep, and pay 4 per cent current interest on the actual outlay ; and the question is, do the facts lead to anticipate a steady income of this amount ?

The actuals derived from the sale of thinnings have been as under:—

	RS.		RS.
1863	12,044	1871	5,583
1864	1,216	1872	843
1865	16,776	1873	7,378
1866	9,307	1874	11,162
1867	15,647		
1868	500	12 years ..	94,144
1869	9,515	Per year ..	7,845
1870	4,173		

The period from 1868 to 1872, inclusive, shows a falling off. This may be partly accounted for by the fact that in the first year or two, owing to previous neglect of thinning, the return may have been abnormally large.

A further explanation will be found in the fact that at about 10 years of age a plantation begins to yield profitable thinnings, and that if the old years' figures be scrutinized, it will be observed that the years that supplied annually to each of these 5 years a plantation for the first time yielding profitable thinnings were those in which a marked diminution in the average area of extension is apparent. Thus the acreage planted, 1858-1862 inclusive, was only 256 acres, or an average of about 50 acres compared to an average of 100 in the earlier period.

During the next 10 years, on the other hand, the annual acreage that will come under thinning each year is 110, and when in addition to this, allowance is made for older plantations requiring thinning for a 2nd and 3rd time, there seems a fair ground for anticipating a gradual increase of income from this source.

The following table shows the classification of thinnings for the market :—

Class.	Average diameter	Average length.	Estimated yield.	
	INCH.	FEET.	RS. A.	RS. A.
Superior ..	3½ to 4	30 to 40	1 0 to 4 0	
1	2½ to 3	30 to 45	1 0 to 2 0	
2	2 to 3	30 to 40	0 12 to 1 4	
3	1½ to 2	20 to 35	0 6 to 0 12	
4	1 to 1½	15 to 30	0 1 to 0 8	

During the last few years some saplings have been annually brought to market realizing from Rs. 5 to 10 each. This class must undoubtedly increase in number rapidly, as the plantations increase in age ; and here a few remarks may be appropriately introduced as to the system that has hitherto guided the selection of trees for thinning. The idea of

revenue has been entirely and most wisely ignored, the number removed being decided solely with reference to requirements of space and light, inferior trees being invariably, if possible, removed in preference to superior.

The original planting may be reckoned as giving 1,100 trees to the acre, of which a considerable number never make any show, being dwarfed in the first 3 or 4 years by exceptionally vigorous neighbours, or perishing from other causes.

The first thinnings are not worth removal. The trees remaining per acre at 10, 20 and 30 years may be roughly stated at 750, 500 and 150 respectively.

Thus each tree in a 30 years' old plantation represents a selection, partly natural, partly in accordance with principles of forestry of 1 in 7.

The further reduction that will ensue is a matter of somewhat uncertain conjecture; but, if a final crop is taken at 80 years old, a clean cut being then made, block by block, it is estimated that the trees would be of a size to admit of not more than 50 to the acre, so that 100 trees per acre would be obtained from a 30 years' old plantation before the final crop was taken—timber that would be suitable for minor building purposes, for sleepers and for bridge work of a certain class.

The finding of a market for the ordinary thinnings of the classes before noted is an important consideration, and on the success with which the thinnings are brought to market at the right period and judiciously disposed of, the income from this source greatly depends.

There is a limit to the extent to which this class of materials can command a local market, and it is only the exceptional demand at Calicut that has hitherto admitted of so large an income being obtained. Calicut is a great *entrepot* for the trade of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Ports, and a demand for poles and minor building materials is naturally great from these rainless regions, not to mention the demand for materials so suitable as these are for the rigging of Native craft.

As years advanced, of course, the numbers of the thinnings of the smaller classes would decrease; but, on the whole, it is probable that taking into consideration the increase in the larger timber annually removed, the revenue would at least maintain itself at 10,000, and thus simple interest and working expenses be secured till the final crop was realized. It is even likely that this amount may be largely exceeded, and any excess will be so much towards extinguishing the debt.

Captain Seaton, whose estimate is the most careful and business-like of any I have yet seen, calculated the final crop at 100 acres a year, of 50 trees to the acre and 50 cub. ft. to the tree, and taking the rates realized at Rs. 1, 1½ and 2 a cub. ft. he shewed a profit of Rs. 40 per tree, or 2 lakhs annually.

The figures given in this report show that the average area planted annually for the 30 years has been 91 acres, and from this a deduction is necessary to cover spaces, where from some cause or another there has been failure, or where hereafter failure may occur. Looking at the long period of time that is to elapse, the area may, from this cause, be reduced nearly 25 per cent, say to 70 acres. The yield per tree of 50 cub. ft.

seems a moderate estimate, considering that exceptionally fine trees might now be pointed out in parts of the older plantations containing more than half that quantity.¹

Supposing the average price to be 1--8, a net profit of Rs. 40 leaves Rs. 35 for expenses, or 11 annas a cub. ft. This, if applying merely to felling and floating, is excessive, as it is well known that inferior woods, fetching no more than 4 and 5 annas a cub. ft. in the Calicut market, are profitably removed from forests further up the same rivers, and consequently more expensive to work.

Establishment charge, too, would dwindle to a very small figure per cub. ft. over such extensive operations.

It is doubtless safe to allow a wide margin in such calculations, but here there is sufficient to cover not only large excess in cost of operations but also a falling off in the number of trees per acre or in the price realized.

Rogarding this last it seems very improbable that at such a distant date, when it may be presumed the natural supply of timber in the market will have so much diminished, an average rate of Rs. 1½ per cub. ft. will not be realized by teak of the clean, straight, sound growth, for which the Nilambur Valley teak is celebrated, a character which in the plantations promises to be fully maintained.

Colonel Beddome's apprehension that the quality of the timber will be found in a considerable degree inferior in the market to Anamala teak does not seem well grounded,² especially when the absence of heartshake and the economy of working secured by straight growth is considered. A comparison of the conditions under which the two classes of timber can be brought to market shows what a hopeless disadvantage the Anamala teak labours under.

Speaking of the latter, in a letter, dated 14th May 1875, No. 128 (G.O., Madras Government, Public Works Department, 6th July 1877), Captain Campbell Walker observes that he doubts whether Rs. 1½ a cub. ft. for timber delivered in Coimbatore leaves any profit to the department, and Colonel Beddome, under date 19th April 1876 (*vide* same proceedings), wrote that it was very evident that those rates could not be remunerative or even cover working expenses.

In other words, the Anamala teak, despite its excellent quality, can scarcely be brought to market for the market value owing to the absence of perfect water communication between the forests and market depot. Hitherto the use of teak generally for bridge work has been on the west coast greatly discouraged by the difficulty of securing with certainty and with no very long notice a large number of beams of the necessary scantling, and hence either inferior sorts of timber are used or iron girders imported.

¹ Mr. Stanbrough, Assistant Conservator, took measurements in 1874, and calculated on them an average of 1,500 cub. ft. per acre of timber in the plantations of 1844-1853, inclusive—the maximum of a year being 2,500 and minimum 1,350. Further measurements and calculations are desirable.

² Here and there natural teak trees have been left standing, to the great detriment of saplings planted near them. They are from time to time felled, and a batch of such logs was seen by Colonel Morgan, Conservator of the Mudamala Teak Forest, and Mr. Douglas, Conservator of the Anamalas, while inspecting in 1872. A fair sample of the batch was judged by these two competent authorities to be some 60 years old, and to contain 50 cub. ft. of timber worth, from its even growth and quality, Rs. 2 a cub. ft. in the market depot, to which Rs. 5 or 6 would suffice to transport it.

With these compact areas to work on, and the great number and uniformity of growth of the trees, it may be fairly expected that teak for bridge work will be much more extensively used when the plantations begin to mature their crop.

It must be freely admitted that all calculations of this nature are liable to error, but making all allowances, it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that eventually the result of the plantations must be to contribute to the wants of the country an immense stock of useful material, realizing such a revenue as fully to reimburse the State for their outlay even after compound interest for the unproductive period is allowed. This result must be deemed a satisfactory outcome of the exertions of Mr. Conolly, the zealous pioneer of the enterprise, of the late Chattu Menon, the native Conservator, who for 20 years carried on the operations, and of Mr. Ferguson, whose skilled and unremitting attention during the last 14 years has brought the plantations to their present pitch.

APPENDIX.

A.—MEMORANDUM ON GROWING SEEDLINGS FROM TEAK SEED, PLANTING OUT, ETC.

By Mr. J. Ferguson, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Nilambur.

1. Collect seed from trees with a clear stem free from decay and of vigorous growth; February, the best month to collect in.

2. *Preparation of Nursery Beds.*—Select good free soil, dig 12 inches deep, removing weeds, roots and stones. When caked, the soil should be reduced to a fine mould, and the nursery levelled; line off beds, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and one foot space betwixt each bed and its fellow, then raise an outer edging round each bed, 3 to 4 inches high; beds when thus finished will be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide between the edgings, and 120 seeds of seed will suffice for 150 feet in length of the above-sized beds; sow from 10th to 15th April; before sowing steep the seed forty-eight hours in water, then sow and cover with a thin covering of fine soil, nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, then cover with straw to retain the moisture; betwixt the soil and straw a few very small twigs without leaves to prevent the straw from being washed into the soil by water; which, if allowed, is apt to destroy the young seedlings on its (the straw's) removal. Water daily copiously, say a common earthen pot of water to each two running feet in length of bed, less or more, according to free soil or otherwise. In this way the seed will germinate in from 10 to 15 or 20 days or more according to freshness of soil, waterless as the plant strengthens, but keeping up sufficient moisture till the monsoon sets in from the 1st to the 3rd week in June, when the plants will be from 4 to 8 inches high and ready for planting out permanently.

3. The site for planting should be selected and felled in December, allowed to dry till March, fired, then cross cut, piled, and burned off, and after the soil is softened by the rains, line and mark off the pits the required distance apart; from 6 to 7 feet answers well, the pits dug from 10 to 12 inches square, and equal depth and filled in as dug with earth slightly raised around tops.

4. *Planting.*—The seedling should be put well down in the pit, taking care the tap root is not twisted and turned up (to prevent which the tap root is shortened to 6 inches as lifted from the bed); when planting the coolly inserts his hand the required depth perpendicularly, taking out the

soil and putting the seedlings with the other hand (as above without twisting or turning up the root), putting back the removed soil and pressing it firmly round (without damaging) the plant, and this prevents its being wind waved before taking root.

5. Planting should take place after the soil is well saturated with rain ; from the 10th to 30th June and 8th July is the best season, as afterwards the seedling's tap root rapidly swells like a carrot and does not throw out fibrous roots, nor establish itself either so quickly or so well as before that state of growth.

When the planting cannot be finished by the 8th of July, the small vigorous seedlings, which continue to germinate up till August and will even germinate after twelve and fourteen months in the beds, should be selected in preference to the larger and more robust with the carrot roots.

NOTE BY THE OFFICIATING INSPECTOR.

I am informed by the Conservator of Forests, Southern Division, Bombay, that he has tried transplanting Teak Seedlings in the nursery before planting out, with the best results, and as this plan mitigates the difficulty to which Mr. Ferguson refers with regard to the long carrot roots, it appears worthy of trial where circumstances admit. The Conservator of Forests, Southern Division, Bombay, has promised a memorandum on the subject which will be circulated on receipt.

OOTACAMUND,
26th March 1874.

(Signed) C. WALKER, Capt.,
Offg. Inspector of Forests.

B.—MEMORANDUM ON PLANTING EXPENSES.

By Mr. J. Ferguson, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Nilambur.

Cost per acre of planting natural forest.

	RS.	A.	P.
Weeding undergrowth preparatory to felling	2	0	0
Felling	5	0	0
Firing the jungle as first felled	0	4	0
Cross cutting remains of first burn.	3	8	0
Piling and burning off clear	10	0	0
Lining, marking, pitting and planting out	3	8	0
Weeding and hoeing round the plants	2	8	0
Second weeding	1	4	0
Third weeding	1	4	0
Fourth weeding	1	4	0
Teak seeds 2 parrahs	0	8	0
Preparing, sowing and watering nursery beds	3	0	0
Contingencies	2	0	0
Total	36	0	0

Cost per acre of subsequent Maintenance.

—	2nd year.	3rd year.	4th year.	5th year.	6th year.
	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
First weeding? ..	2 8 0	1 8 0	1 0 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Second do. ..	2 8 0	2 4 0	1 12 0	1 4 0	1 4 0
Third do. ..	2 8 0	2 0 0	1 4 0	1 0 0	..
Fourth do. ..	2 8 0	..	..	..	..
Pruning	0 4 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 12 0	0 12 0
Total ..	10 4 0	6 4 0	4 8 0	3 12 0	2 12 0

The above rates are for plantations formed from old natural forests, and should meet all charges on ordinary soil exclusive of superintendence.

If the soil is very fine, and has been previously cropped more than once, the cost of felling and burning will be reduced, but the cost of weeding will be increased for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd years, but as the plants begin to cover the ground the undergrowth decreases considerably.

If the plantations are intended for first-class timber the thinning should begin from the 6th or 7th year.

NOTES.

The memorandum on the Conolly Teak Plantations at Nilambur, by Mr. Atholl MacGregor, the late Collector of Malabar, in 1874, does not seem to have included the operations carried out at Nellikutta, Amara-palam, etc., which lie at some distance from Nilambur itself. Of course, at the period, viz., 1874, when the memorandum was drawn up, about three-fourths of the existing acreage of plantations had been finished, and almost all of this acreage was confined to the Nilambur, Valluvasheri and Chatamborai blocks all situated close to Nilambur. The account of expenditure and revenue of these selected areas only has been given in the memorandum, whilst that recorded below treats of the whole plantation.

The system worked out and the figures adopted in the report No. 104 of 20th April 1878, by Colonel Beddome in reference to G.O. No. 2846, dated 24th September 1877, differ greatly from those adopted in Mr. MacGregor's memorandum, and they embrace the whole plantation.

Colonel Beddome's system has accordingly been adopted and the annual figures are recorded below up to date in the forms therein prescribed.

The following figures are quite accurate, having been regularly adjusted year by year from the annual audited accounts, and it is with the Conservator of Forests' approval that they are here shown :—

Area planted annually arranged up to date.

Years.	Acres.	Years.	Acres.	Years.	Acres.	Years.	Acres.
1842	31	1853	56	1863	81	1873	141
1844	105	1854	92	1864	122	1874	160
1845	61	1855	100	1865	57	1875	161
1846	111	1856	79	1866	129	1876	149
1847	119	1857	36	1867	119	1886	*108
1848	183	1858	43	1868	145		
1849	135	1859	40	1869	54		
1850	132	1860	40	1870	74		
1851	147	1861	174	1871	46		
1852	39	1862	50	1872	208		
10 years.	1,063	10 years.	710	10 years.	1,035	5 years.	719
Yearly average.	106	..	71	..	103	..	145

A.—Statement showing actual expenditure under “Natural Forests” and “Plantation Proper” with $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ B. “Establishment” charges respectively up to 31st March 1886.

Year.	Expenditure.			
	Natural Forest.			
	Mortgage, moiety of kuttikanam paid to jannmis.	1/3 of B. "Establishment" charges.	Charges on timber.	Total.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
Up to 1884-85 ..	1,10,326 11 2	74,978 10 0	70,065 0 11	2,55,370 0 1
During 1885-86 ..	3,082 13 10	4,185 9 4	11,487 5 1	18,735 12 3
Total up to 31st March 1886.	1,13,380 0 0	79,164 3 4	81,552 0 0	2,74,106 2 4

Year.	Expenditure—cont.				Grand total of columns (5) and (9).
	Plantation Proper.			Total.	
	Floating teak saplings.	Plantation charges.	2/3 of B. "Establishment" charges.		
(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	
	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
Up to 1884-85 ..	70,129 4 10	2,03,798 15 5	1,49,067 9 11	4,28,886 8 2	0,84,255 14 3
During 1885-86 ..	10,849 7 3	5,980 11 2	8,871 2 0	25,207 5 2	43,943 1 6
Total up to 31st March 1886.	80,978 12 1	2,14,786 10 7	1,58,928 0 8	4,54,092 13 4	7,28,198 16 8

* This is teak coppice with mahogany standards. Planted—vide G.O. No. 1222 F/175, dated 4th November 1885; † surveyed.

B.—Statement showing actual receipts under “Natural Forests” and “Plantations Proper” up to 31st March 1886, greater part of the Miscellaneous receipts forming refund of moiety of Kuttikanam or Stump Fee which properly refers to timber, two-thirds of the item has therefore been shown under “Natural Forests” and one-third under “Plantation Proper.”

Year.	Receipts.			
	Natural Forests.			
	Timber.	Bamboos.	Two-thirds, Miscellaneous.	Total.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Up to 1884-85	RS. A. P. 3,06,189 4 0	RS. A. P. 17,455 14 5	RS. A. P. 5,401 5 10	RS. A. P. 3,29,026 8 9
1885-86	18,709 2 2	2,062 0 5	401 5 4	21,172 7 11
Total	3,24,878 0 8	19,517 14 10	5,802 11 2	3,50,199 0 8

Year.	Receipts—cont.			Grand total of columns (5) and (8).
	Plantation Proper.			
	Teak saplings.	One-third, Miscellaneous.	Total.	
(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	
Up to 1884-85	RS. A. P. 3,18,354 13 11	RS. A. P. 2,700 10 11	RS. A. P. 3,21,055 8 10	RS. A. P. 6,50,082 1 7
1885-86	59,769 8 10	260 10 8	59,967 3 6	81,139 11 5
Total	3,78,121 0 9	2,960 5 7	3,81,022 12 4	7,31,221 13 0

For the purpose of showing the valuation of plantations in the annual Code form No. 60, the total of column 7 in statement A above, viz., Rs. 2,14,786, has been adopted at the suggestion of the Conservator of Forests, as charges debited under A-VIII (d) in accordance with the Code para. 239. The amount, viz., Rs. 3,78,121 of the corresponding column 6 in statement B above, is the total revenue realized up to date from the thinnings, and this deducting the actual cost, viz., Rs. 2,14,786, shows a surplus revenue of Rs. 1,63,335 in favour of the plantations.

In the absence of any record of the revenue and expenditure under “Plantation proper” with 4 per cent compound interest up to date, it had to be worked out from the very beginning, and the following are the results obtained. In making the calculations to avoid tedious multiplication figures, fractions of 100 above 50 have been treated as 100, and fractions of 100 amounting to 50 or less have been omitted.

	RS.
I	
Plantation outlay from commencement up to date calculated at 4 per cent compound interest is	4,11,285
Plantation revenue from commencement up to date calculated at 4 per cent compound interest	5,20,734
Surplus revenue in favour of plantation	1,09,449
II	
Grand total of the expenditure as per column 10 of the statement A above	7,28,19
Grand total of receipts as per column 9 of the statement B above	7,31,221
Surplus revenue in favour of the division	3,023

III.

RS.

Grand total of expenditure with 4 per cent compound interest recorded up to date..	12,86,640
Grand total of revenue with 4 per cent compound interest recorded up to date..	10,68,258
<i>Balance against the division ..</i>	<u>2,20,387</u>

It will be advantageous here to quote paragraph 58 of Colonel Beddome's report above referred to.

"The two following statements show all expenditure (establishment and working charges) and all receipts up to date. Mr. MacGregor, in his report which is only down to 1874, estimates all charges and receipts on the surrounding forests which are really part and parcel of the land handed over for planting, and he excludes the sale-proceeds on timber cut in those tracts and on timber cut on the tracts actually planted; he also only debits a certain portion of the establishment charges (*i.e.*, one-third) against the plantations. This does not appear to me the proper way to treat the question. Certain tracts of forests are taken up by Government for planting, and the felling and sale of the timber removed from the portions planted and the treatment as forest of such portions not adapted for planting are all necessarily part of the same transaction and cannot be treated separately. By the terms of the agreements we pay 30 per cent on the net proceeds of all jungle timber cut off plantation sites, and 50 per cent on the same cut in the "natural forests," and a stump fee of one rupee on all teak and blackwood trees cut in the natural forest, so that to these operations two-thirds of the pay of establishment are also debited; there is a loss instead of a profit; so that Mr. MacGregor's plan is a little in favour of the plantations although there is not much difference, but it leads to complication."

The two statements referred to by Colonel Beddome in the above-quoted paragraph of his report are in much the same forms in which the statements A and B above given have been prepared, the only difference being that in A and B revenues and charges debitible respectively to "natural forests" and "plantations" have been at the suggestion of the Conservator of Forests more clearly brought out.

The following table shows the present classification of thinnings for the market with their estimated yield shown against each item :—

Classification.	Quarter girth on centre.	Average diameter at butt end.	Average length.	Estimated yield.	Remarks.
Superior large saplings.	INCHES. 5 and more.	INCHES. ..	FEET. 30.	RS. 5	
Do. small.	..	7	30	3	
1st class	..	6	27	2	
2nd do.	..	5	25	1	
3rd do.	..	4	20	$\frac{3}{4}$	
4th do.	..	3	15	$\frac{1}{2}$	
5th do.	..	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	$\frac{3}{8}$	
6th do.	..	..	..	$\frac{3}{8}$	
7th do.	..	..	..	1/16	
8th do.	..	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	

Dry saplings.
Crooked do.
Butt ends of broken saplings of the first four descriptions.

The following tabular statements C to E are in connection with the preliminary working scheme for five years' thinning of the teak plantations, framed by the Conservator of Forests when he inspected the division in October 1885. This has been recorded in detail in his inspection report embodied in Board's Proceedings, No. 3263, F. 659, dated 30th November 1885. The system has been adopted during the year and the result is yet to be decided.

C.—Statement showing approximately the number of trees which should be removed and left standing in the Teak Plantations during quinquennial periods from the 11th to 61st year of growth.

Ago.	Number remaining at each period.	Number to be removed during each period.
1 to 11 years	* 1,100	300
End of 11th year	800	200
Do. 16th do.	600	200
Do. 21st do.	400	150
Do. 26th do.	250	130
Do. 31st do.	120	10
Do. 36th do.	110	10
Do. 41st do.	100	10
Do. 46th do.	90	10
Do. 51st do.	80	10
Do. 56th do.	70	10
Do. 61st do.	60	10

* N.B.—Trees planted per acre (allowing for casualties unreplaceed, roads, and other unplanted spaces).

D.—Statement showing the Plantation blocks with their area and approximate number of trees per compartment and per acre.

Name of block.	Compartment.	Year of planting each compartment.	Area of each compartment.	Total number planted in each compartment.	Total number thinned upto and for 1884-85.	Balance number standing in each compartment.	Number of trees standing per acre.
I. Ayiravillikava ..	1	1842	30 03	11,214	8,278	2,936	94
	2	1844	27 35	25,020	21,378	4,642	100
	3	1852	38 57	37,201	20,761	7,440	193
	4	1853	34 71	37,200	14,908	22,292	642
	Total.		181 66	111,525	74,325	37,210	..
II. Edukod	1	1844	30 05	12,228	0,579	2,649	86
	2	1845	28 14	34,760	16,404	18,346	653
	3	1846	44 78	46,418	21,661	24,757	653
	4	1847	54 01	52,000	26,220	25,780	472
	5	1848	82 15	63,000	40,308	10,632	202
	6	1849	44 58	42,200	25,047	16,553	371
	7	1850	40 07	40,800	26,049	14,751	207
	8	1851	147 10	123,960	67,485	56,475	384
	9	1857	39 14	38,800	19,665	19,135	520
	10	1860	39 60	41,680	23,897	17,783	450
	11	1861	80 05	83,700	54,507	29,193	399
	12	1862	50 11	45,900	31,010	14,890	207
	Total.		693 68	625,430	368,552	256,884	..

D.—Statement showing the Plantation blocks with their area and approximate number of trees per compartment and per acre—continued.

Name of block.	Compartment.	Year of planting each compartment.	Area of each compartment.	Total number planted in each compartment.	Total number thinned up to and for 1884-85.	Balance number standing in each compartment.	Number of trees standing per acre.
III. Ramalur ..	1	1844	AOS. C. 4 93	4,135	2,922	1,513	307
	2	1850	16 40	12,000	0,275	5,725	340
	Total.		21 33	16,135	0,107	7,238	..
IV. Elnjeri ..	1	1845	33 19	38,214	24,585	13,029	411
	2	1846	05 84	55,285	34,961	20,324	300
	3	1849	89 05	61,030	42,558	19,122	213
	4	1850	00 15	54,700	32,804	21,836	330
	5	1858	42 79	43,400	25,125	18,335	428
	6	1859	30 84	38,800	22,877	15,923	300
Total.			337 76	292,130	182,070	109,160	..
V. Aruvakod ..	1	1847	20 20	25,000	10,317	5,683	194
	2	1848	84 34	07,800	37,344	30,456	361
	Total.		113 03	92,800	56,661	36,139	..
VI. Mulafinanna ..	1	1847	34 63	30,000	21,402	5,598	159
	2	1848	10 04	10,000	6,205	3,795	231
	3	1853	20 89	18,700	13,187	5,513	274
	Total.		71 56	58,700	43,074	14,726	..
VII. Panangod ..	1	1854	92 33	85,200	51,080	34,120	369
	2	1855	100 32	104,314	60,702	43,612	435
	3	1856	79 26	93,000	49,619	43,381	548
	4	1863	81 25	71,220	42,750	28,470	350
	5	1864	40 57	36,320	21,871	14,449	356
	Total.		393 78	390,054	226,022	164,032	..
VIII. Amarampalani ..	1	1861-68.	87 44	88,000	31,407	56,593	647
	2	1873	42 30	43,500	8,880	34,620	817
	3	1874	69 03	73,000	..	73,000	1,058
	4	1875	60 91	60,000	..	60,000	985
	5	1876	149 00	146,872	..	146,872	936
	Total.		408 77	411,372	40,287	371,085	..
IX. Valluvasheri ..	1	1864	81 14	70,543	24,686	45,857	565
	2	1865	56 03	55,133	24,252	30,881	545
	3	1886	128 64	120,140	53,022	67,118	522
	4	1867	118 03	103,000	59,791	43,209	364
	5	1868	145 40	104,250	62,430	41,811	370
	6	1869	53 56	52,000	17,044	34,956	..
Total.			584 00	505,066	241,234	263,832	..
X. Nellikutta ..	1	1870	74 23	75,000	10,068	55,932	753
	2	1871	46 00	50,400	13,424	46,936	1,001
	Total.		120 23	134,400	32,492	101,968	..
XI. Chatamborai ..	1	1872	207 56	235,000	50,488	184,512	880
	2	1873	90 08	85,361	26,474	58,887	594
	3	1874	91 46	84,000	13,955	70,045	766
	4	1875	100 00	65,000	..	65,000	650
Total.			498 10	469,361	90,917	378,444	..
XII. Arimbrakutta ..	1	1843	..	13,550	700	12,850	..
	2	1844	..	8,539	500	8,039	..
	Total.		..	22,089	1,200	20,889	..
Ohaliyapuram Mangalasheri.	3	1844	..	8,350	1,501	2,259	..
Pozhayi Mangalasheri ..	4	1844	..	20,050	2,039	18,011	..

E.—Preliminary working scheme for thinning

Series.	Edakod, Acres 893.03		Elanjeri, &c., Acres 675.84.			Panangod, Acres 393.73.	
	Compt. No. and Year	Acre- age.	—	Compt. No. and Year.	Acre- age.	Compt. No. and Year.	Acre- age.
1885-86 ..	(8) 1851 (10) 1860	147.19 39.56	Ayiravillikava. Aruvakod .. Mulatmanna ..	(2) 1844 (2) 1848 (1) 1847	27.35 81.34 34.03	(3) 1856	79.20
Total ..	..	186.75	..	..	146.32	..	79.26
1886-87 ..	(7) 1850 (9) 1857 (2) 1845	49.07 36.14 28.14	Aruvakod .. Ayiravillikava. Do. Mulatmanna ..	(1) 1847 (1) 1842 (4) 1853 (2) 1848	29.29 30.93 34.71 16.04	(2) 1855	100.32
Total ..	..	113.05	..	..	110.97	..	100.32
1887-88 ..	(4) 1847 (1) 1844	54.61 30.65	Elanjeri .. Do. .. Ramalur { Mulatmanna ..	(1) 1845 (2) 1846 (1) 1844 (2) 1850 (3) 1853	33.10 05.81 21.33 20.80	(4) 1863	81.26
Total ..	..	85.26	..	..	141.25	..	81.26
1888-89 ..	(3) 1846 (5) 1848 (6) 1849	44.78 82.15 44.58	Elanjeri .. Do. ..	(3) 1849 (5) 1858	89.05 42.70	(1) 1854 ..	92.33 ..
Total ..	..	171.51	..	..	132.74	..	92.33
1889-90 ..	(11) 1861 (12) 1862	86.05 50.11	Elanjeri .. Do. .. Ayiravillikava.	(6) 1859 (4) 1850 (3) 1852	39.84 66.15 38.57	(5) 1864	40.57
Total ..	..	136.16	..	..	144.56	..	40.57
Grand Total ..	..	693.03	..	..	675.84	..	393.73

NOTE.—For convenience of arrangement, the whole plantations have been divided into six circles or blocks, and *Nellikutta* includes the Nellikutta, Amaranpalam, Mangalasheri and other small outlying

NILAMBUR,
22nd March 1887.

the Plantations during the next five years.

Valluvasher, Acres 584'00.		Chatamborai, Acres 408'10.		Nellikutta, Acres 500'08.			Total.
Compt. No. and Year.	Acre- age.	Compt. No. and Year.	Acre- age.	—	Compt. No. and Year.	Acre- age.	
(5) 1868 (a)	33'04	(1) 1872 (a)	100'00	Nellikutta ..	(1) 1870	74'23	..
(b)	79'08	..	..		(2) 1871	46'00	..
..	..	..	..			..	..
..	113'02	..	100'00	..	..	120'23	745'58
(5) 1868 (a)	32'38	(1) 1872 (b)	107'56	Amarapalam.	(3) 1874	60'03	..
(4) 1867 (b)	77'32	..	..	Do.	(4) 1875	60'01	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	109'70	..	107'56	..	..	129'04	672'44
(4) 1867 (a)	41'31	(2) 1873	90'08	Amarapalam.	(1) 1861-68	87'44	..
(6) 1860 (a)	39'36	..	..	Do.	(2) 1873	42'30	..
(6) 1860 (b)	14'20	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	94'87	..	90'08	..	..	129'83	631'54
(3) 1866 (a)	32'30	(3) 1874	91'46	Mangalasheri, &c.	(1),(2),(3), &	61'68	..
(3) 1866 (b)	96'34	..	..	..	(4), 1843 &	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	1844	..	..
..	128'04	..	91'46	..	..	61'68	678'36
(1) 1864	81'14	(4) 1875	100'00	Amarapalam.	(5) 1876	140'00	..
(2) 1865	56'63	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	137'77	..	100'00	..	..	140'00	708'06
..	584'00	..	408'10	..	..	590'68	3,435'08

series, of which *Elanjeri* includes the Elanjeri, Ayiravillikava, Aruvakod, Melatnanna, and Ramalur blocks.

(Signed) G. HADFIELD,
District Forest Officer,
South Malabar.

WALLUVANAD TALUK.

By P. Karunakara Menon.

Boundaries.—The Taluk is bounded on the north by Ernad Taluk and a portion of Nilgiris district, on the east by Coimbatore district, on the south by Palghat Taluk, Cochin State and Ponnani Taluk, and on the west by the Ponnani and Ernad Taluks.

Area.—According to the figures adopted for the census of 1881, the total area of the Taluk is 963 square miles; 137,417 acres or about 214 square miles of which are under cultivation, and 273,454 acres cultivable, while 3,000 acres represent the extent of hills and forest, and other lands not cultivable.

Soil.—The soil is chiefly red loam, except where black alluvial clay is found in the valleys.

Topography.—The Taluk extends along the foot of the Western Ghats, many spurs of which run into it, e.g., in the amsams of Tuvur, Tiruvalamkundu, Kottopadam, Arakurushi, Tenkara, Kumaramputtur, Kalladikkod, etc. A part of the Arakurushi amsam lies east of the ghaut and is known as the Attappadi valley which contains the head waters of the Bhavani river. The area of the valley is estimated at about 200 square miles. The whole of it as well as the spurs and slopes of the ghaut are covered with valuable timber and other trees, and abound in elephants, bison, tigers, sambur, etc. There are also several detached hills in the Taluk, such as Panakkodan mala, the Avunhikkadan mala, the Chirattamanna mala, the *Anangan mala*,¹ etc. The whole Taluk may be said to be one series of hills and dales, the latter being cultivable with paddy, while the borders of the former are covered with gardens containing jack, areca, and various other trees, in the midst of which stand the houses of the people. These hills are covered with scrub jungle or grass, and afford pasturage for cattle and thatching material for the houses of the poorer classes.² The principal rivers are the Ponnani or Walayar river which forms the southern boundary of the Taluk, the Malappuram or Anakkayam river which forms the northern boundary and the Mannarghat or Thutha river, a tributary of the Ponnani river. All these streams are perennial and are largely used for floating timber in rafts from the hills to the coast during the rainy season and are also passable for small boats for several miles except in the hot season.

The subjoined table gives the rainfall of the Taluk for a series of years.—

¹ The origin of this word *Anangan* is interpreted in two ways—(1) picturesque (the Sanskrit word *Anangan* being a synonym for cupid), (2) without limbs (the Sanskrit word signifying *anant* = without, and *anag* = limbs) meaning that the hill is one single elevation without arms.

² In the Ponnani hills experimental coffee cultivation is carried on.

Years. (Falls).	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	Total.
1288	IN. 22	IN. 20	IN. 27	IN. 22	IN. 3	IN. 1	IN. ..	IN. ..	IN. 3	IN. 1	IN. 20	IN. 11	IN. 130
1289	28	15	6	12	9	..	..	..	..	2	9	27	106
1290	10	6	2	4	8	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	45
1291	22	17	4	6	5	..	..	..	..	4	12	32	102
1292	45	14	9	17	11	1	..	..	5	3	6	27	138
1293	31	16	4	11	11	3	..	..	..	2	3	17	98
1294	21	18	12	13	7	..	..	..	1	..	10	46	127
1295	38	18	5	25	3	4	..	..	..	3	10	16	117
Total ..	219	183	69	110	57	0	..	..	9	15	72	179	872

Average per year .. 109

From all these it may easily be concluded that the climate is not very healthy, fever is present more or less throughout the year and is the chief prevailing disease. In the months of January, February and March generally a sort of malarious fever prevails throughout the Taluk, sometimes, attended with serious results.

Population.—The total population, as per last census is 308,102 against 292,482 in 1871. Of this number 153,236 are males and 154,866 females. Hindus number 225,075, Muhammadans 82,883, Christians 142 and "Others" 2. The average population per square mile is 320, but in reality it is far greater, inasmuch as Attappadi valley in Arakunushi amsam and the portion of the Taluk along the foot of the ghauts is very thinly peopled; while a great part of the Taluk is not at all inhabited.

The total number of houses in 1881 was 57,220, of which 52,644 were occupied and 4,576 unoccupied. There were 55 occupied and 5 unoccupied houses in every square mile, and on an average 5.9 persons in every occupied house. As elsewhere in the district, all houses stand in detached "compounds," except in the case of towns and bazaars, where they are built in the form of streets. The bulk of the people are occupied in cultivating the soil.

Particulars of occupation.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Professional	4,319	553	4,872
Domestic	536	691	1,227
Commercial	3,065	708	3,773
Agricultural	62,958	20,785	83,743
Industrial	23,564	18,363	41,927
Indefinite and non-productive	58,794	113,767	172,561
Total ..	153,236	154,867	208,103

The figures in the above table against "agricultural" shows the largest number as compared with the other Taluks of the district.

The language spoken is Malayalam, except in the case of foreigners. In the Attappadi valley, however, the inhabitants, who are quite ignorant and without any education, speak a form of Canarese.

Administrative Divisions.—For purposes of administration the Taluk is divided into 64 amsams, each having an Adhikari who collects the tax and is also Village Magistrate and Munsif, and who has under him

an accountant (menon) and a couple of peons, except in one instance (Arakurishi amsam) in which the number of peons is four. There is of course a Tahsildar with the powers of a Magistrate of the 2nd class, whose headquarters are at Perintalmanna and who is assisted in his revenue work by a Deputy Tahsildar stationed at Cheruplasseri and usually invested with 2nd-class magisterial powers.

Cultivation, etc.—The staple produce is rice, though arcca, jack, and plantains are also grown largely and coconuts on a small scale. The areas under the several crops are returned as follows :—

	AOS.							
Nanja	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	78,815
Gardens	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23,116
Punja	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35,486

“Punja” represents upland cultivation, such as modan, punam, gingelly, etc. The areas under each crop vary considerably from year to year, according to the nature of the season and other circumstances.

Particulars of Revenue.—The subjoined statement shows the Revenue of the Taluk from various sources for a series of years :—

Particulars.	Fasli 1288.		1289.		1290.		1291.	
	RS.	A. P.	RS.	A. P.	RS.	A. P.	RS.	A. P.
1. Land Revenue ..	2,43,480	4 8	2,41,095	1 11	2,43,110	14 2	2,43,058	5 0
2. Service Fund ..	20,768	1 10	20,777	2 2	20,781	4 2	20,787	7 4
3. Local Fund ..	30,743	8 1	30,440	1 6	30,748	0 8	37,480	11 11
4. Abkari ..	13,140	0 0	13,104	15 7	7,087	8 0	8,475	12 0
5. Stamp ..	24,512	2 0	36,043	5 0	32,906	12 0	33,358	14 0
6. Licence Tax ..	4,232	8 0	566	8 9	1,795	0 0	1,660	0 0
7. Miscellaneous ..	24,115	8 4	64,807	10 3	57,487	1 1	1,17,381	5 6
8. Special Fund ..	10,098	0 1	7,789	0 0	6,800	0 0	3,502	12 6

Particulars.	1292.		1293.		1294.		1295.	
	RS.	A. P.	RS.	A. P.	RS.	A. P.	RS.	A. P.
1. Land Revenue ..	2,43,054	1 7	2,45,715	8 7	2,44,190	1 7	2,45,064	4 4
2. Service Fund ..	20,788	0 0	20,801	14 8	20,807	0 3	20,807	10 8
3. Local Fund ..	30,841	8 11	31,151	12 1	30,990	13 1	30,995	10 11
4. Abkari ..	11,712	8 0	11,943	10 5	8,300	0 0	10,770	0 0
5. Stamp ..	30,507	10 0	20,632	3 0	35,047	9 0	36,870	8 0
6. Licence Tax ..	1,575	0 0	2,040	0 0	1,050	0 0	2,005	0 0
7. Miscellaneous ..	51,739	14 1	52,585	10 3	51,331	5 5	50,314	2 9
8. Special Fund ..	5,939	0 0	8,060	0 0	11,209	8 1	10,932	0 8

Roads.—The Taluk is intersected by 17 main roads :—

The most important of these is road No. 7 from Palghat (*via* Parli) Pattambi, etc., to Ponnani, which enters the Taluk at the south-eastern corner and traverses its whole length along the southern boundary, a distance of 24 miles. Next in order comes road No. 6 from Calicut to Palghat *via* Kondotti and Malapuram; the total length of it in this Taluk is 39 miles.

The Madras Railway passes through the Taluk nearly parallel to road No. 7. Pattambi, Shorannur, Ottappalam and Lakkidi are Railway stations in the Taluk. Pattambi is the nearest station to the headquarters of the Taluk from which it is distant 14 miles. The Deputy Tahsildar's station (Cheruplasseri) is about 13 and about 12 miles respectively by road from Pattambi and Ottappalam, while Shorannur and Lakkidi are farther off.

The subjoined list gives information regarding the principal festivals in the Taluk :—

No.	Name of festival.	Probable number of persons attending.	Duration.	Locality.
	<i>Hindus.</i>		DAYS.	
1	Tirumandha Kunnath Puram.	8,000	15	Angadipuram.
2	Cheruplasseri Utsavam ..	2,000	8	Cheruplasseri.
3	Mulayankavil Baghavati temple Kutu Puram ..	2,000	45	Kulukalur.
4	Muthassiarikavil Talappoli ..	1,000	23	....
5	Mundakot Kurusi Cheriya Mulankutkavil Kutu Puram	1,000	23	Mundakot Kurusi.
6	Mullanhur Kavil Bharni Vela.	1,000	1	Mulanhur.
7	Tinakaturkavil Talappoli Puram	2,500	2	Do.
8	Ariankovil Kuttu Puram ..	3,000	21	Kunattara.
9	Srikurumbakavil Ucheharal Vela	1,500	1	Kulappalli.
10	Mannarkatt Puram	4,000	8	Arukurussi.
11	Parianpatty do.	3,000	7	Mutedath Madamba.
12	Panankumsikavil do.	2,500	8	Chettallur.
13	Karimpuzha Utsavam	1,000	7	Karimbuzha.
14	Tiruvallayanatt Baghavati do.	1,000	7	Do.
15	Nalussiri Baghavatikavil Puram.	1,200	7	Ellampulasseri.
16	Tiruvegapuram Sivaratri ..	2,000	14	Naduvattam.
17	Tutakkal Puram	2,000	25	Do.
18	Cherambatta Puram	1,000	7	Chalavara.
	<i>Mussulman.</i>			
1	Vettattur Kappil Nercha ..	2,500	8	Vettattur.

The following statement gives the particulars of weekly fairs or markets hold in the Taluk :—

No.	Name of fair.	Amsam in which held.	Day of the week.	Distance from taluk headquarters in miles.	Number of people assembling.	Principal articles brought for sale.
1	Mangata ..	Mangata ..	Sunday ..	6	100	Betel leaf and nuts, curry stuffs and sundry miscellaneous articles.
2	Kulattur ..	Kulattur ..	Friday ..	8	200	
3	Tiruvegapuram.	Naduvattam ..	Monday ..	14	400	
4	Cherupulasseri.	Cherupulasseri.	Wednesday.	10	500	
5	Vaniamkulam ..	Kunattara ..	Thursday ..	20	5,000	Betel leaf and nuts, curry stuffs and sundry miscellaneous articles and cattle, ginger (dried), etc.
6	Ottapalam ..	Chunangad ..	Saturday ..	21	400	Miscellaneous do.
7	Pattambi ..	Netrimangalam	Tuesday ..	14	600	Do.
8	Pattirippala ..	Perur	Sunday ..	30	500	Do.
9	Srikrishnapuram.	Srikrishnapuram.	Tuesday ..	16	200	Do.

No.	Name of fair.	Amsam in which held.	Day of the week.	Distance from taluk headquarters in miles.	Number of people assembling.	Principal articles brought for sale.
10	Mannarkad ..	Arakurussi ..	Saturday ..	18	500	Miscellaneous do.
11	Alallur ..	Arakparamba ..	Thursday ..	10	200	Do.
12	Angadipuram ..	Perintalmanna.	Sunday ..	Head-quarters.	1,500	Do. and iron, cloths, vegetables, oils, coconut, etc., etc.

CHIEF TOWNS OR VILLAGES.

Perintalmanna.—Chiefly inhabited by Mappillas is the headquarters of the Taluk. There is also a Munsif Court, Sub-Registrar's office, Post office and a school; six miles from Perintalmanna is Mankata, the seat of the Walluvanad Raja, who enjoys a Malikhana of Rs. 13,400 from Government.

Angadipuram.—Has a beautiful temple called Tirumandhan kunnu

Within this tomb rest the remains of James Hart and Thomas Blake, late privates in the Grenadier Company H. M.'s 94th Regiment. They fell in action on the 4th September 1849 while gallantly contesting with a band of fanatic Mappillas at a temple near Angadipuram, the property of Raja of Walluvanad who has caused this tomb to be erected in memory of the departed and as a small return for the services rendered him on that day by their surviving comrades of the Grenadiers.

situated on the top of a hill. In the well-known Mappilla outrage of 1849, the insurgents occupied this temple and were shot in the vicinity. In memory of two privates of H.M.'s 94th Regiment who fell in the action, the Walluvanad Raja, the owner of the temple, has caused a tomb to be erected over their graves in the compound of the public bungalow. The tomb bears the inscription shown in the margin.

The following tradition is told of the origin of this temple.

The site of the temple was originally a forest. A female of the Cheruma caste while lopping the branches of a tree happened to sharpen her knife on a stone close by. Whereupon the stone began to bleed. This news was carried to one Kattilamittath Nambudiri, who believing in the sanctity of the stone, cleared the jungle around, while another (Chenamkandath) Nambudiri cleared the ground and a third, Pandalakott Nambudiri, erected a pandal over the stone and commenced to make pujas and eventually a temple was erected at the spot.

There is an important mosque also in the place known by the name of Puthanangadi Palli about 3 miles west of the Taluk cutcheri. The mosque has an inscription in Arabic engraved on planks and set up in the walls explaining the benefits of erecting a mosque. This Palli consists of two separate buildings close to each other. Originally there was only a single building, but another was built close by subsequently for the following reasons given by tradition.

Karuvayur Mussad, the prime minister of the Walluvanad Raja, took oath to pull down the original mosque. On the other hand one Muri-kunnan Pokar Muppan also took oath that he would take off the head of the Mussad if he were to pull down the mosque, and exhibit the same

for public view on the spot as a sign of revenge (പൊതുകൾക്കു) and also that two mosques shall be erected in the place of one. The Mussad and Muppan both accomplished their respective aims. Hence the presence of two mosques now in the same compound adjoining each other.

Mannarkatt.—This is a jungly place. Horns, honey and wax are obtained abundantly and cheap. This place took its importance as the centre of commerce in olden times. The different products of the Attappadi valley are brought down here and taken to various places.

Karimpozha.—This is the seat of the Eralppad or second Raja of the Zamorin family. The celebrated Hindu author, Thunchath Ezhuthassan, lived here. There are a number of families of Chettis who manufacture thin cloths of the patterns peculiar to natives (male and female) of Malabar and similar in kind, though inferior in quality, to those manufactured in Tinnevely. The cloth is known by the name of "Karimpula Pavu."

Cherupulasseri.—There are the Deputy Tahsildar's office, Sub-registry office, a school and a Post office here. There is also a temple called "Ayyappan Kavu."

Vaniamkulam.—Has the most important fair in the district. Cattle, grains, nuts, fish (dried), cloths of various sorts and curry stuffs are obtainable at the fair. Elephants and horses are also brought here for sale at times.

Police.—The following is the list of Police stations in the taluk :—

Name of station.	Amsam in which situated.	Remarks.
1. Angatipuram ..	Perintalmanna ..	Headquarters of the taluk.
2. Kulattur	Kulattur	8 miles from do.
3. Melattur	Melattur	10 do. do.
4. Alallur	Arakparamba.. ..	12 do. do.
5. Mannarkatt ..	Arakurushi	18 do. do.
6. Cherupulasseri ..	Cherupulasseri ..	Headquarters of the Deputy Tahsildar Magistrate.
7. Srikrishnapuram ..	Srikrishnapuram ..	8 miles from do.
8. Koppam	Vilayur	7 do. do.
9. Pattambi	Netirimangalam ..	10 do. do.
10. Cheruvannur ..	Mundamuka	14 do. do.
11. Ottapalam	Chunangad	11 do. do.

Religious Institutions.—The following is the list of religious institutions in the Taluk :—

Name of institution.		Amount of Inam grant from Govern- ment.	Amsam in which situated.
		RS. A. P.	
1. Tirumandhankunnu	temple	222 6 11	Angatipuram.
2. Andimahakalan	do. ..	9 0 0	Kalladipatta.
3. Kallaribhagavati	do. ..	5 8 0	Vilayur.
4. Chunangad	do. ..	10 0 0	Chunangad.
5. Tekkokavil Gurutiranan	do. ..	2 0 0	Do.
6. Panamanna Sankaranarayana	do. ..	17 0 0	Do.
7. Vettekorumakan	do. ..	1 0 0	Srikrishnapuram.
8. Pariyanampatta Bhagavati	do. ..	6 8 0	Mutedath Madamb.
9. Kodarmanna	do. ..	2 0 0	Srikrishnapuram.
10. Vettekorumakan	do. ..	0 8 0	Eledath Madamb.
11. Parizhakatt	do. ..	0 8 0	Do.
12. Cherukattupalam Siva	do. ..	1 8 0	Kunattara.
	Total ..	277 14 11	
<i>Sattram.</i>			
1. Chunangatt sattram	.. .. .	516 2 8	Immovable pro- perty paying the revenue is gran- ted.

Trigonometrical Survey Stations.

Name of G.T.S. stations.	Series.	Modern values.		Remarks.
		Latitude.	Longitude.	
1. Pranakod H.S.	.. Modern	10° 58' 46.05"	76° 20' 01.31"	In Chettalur amsam about 7 miles from headquarters.
2. Anangamalci H.S.	.. Do.	10° 49' 10.00"	76° 25' 49.66"	In Chunangad amsam 16 miles from head- quarters.

List of Charitable Institutions in the Taluk.

Name of institution.	No. of persons fed daily.	Amount of Inam grant, if any.
		RS. A. P.
1. Angadipuram sattram	.. 60	..
2. Pattambi	.. 15	..
3. Mannarkkatt	.. 15	..
4. Srikrishnapuram	do. .. 25	..
5. Kacimpuzha	do. .. 50	..
6. Cherupulassori	do. .. 35	..
7. Chunangad	do. .. 30	516 2 8
8. Ottapalam	do. .. 35	..
9. Andimahakalan	do. .. 20	..
10. Tutakkal	do. .. 20	..

PALGHAT TALUK.

By P. Karunakara Menon.

Position.—This is the easternmost Taluk of the District and lies between 10° 25' and 10° 55' N. Lat. and between 76° 27' and 76° 55' E. Long. It formerly comprised the Taluks of Palghat and Temmalapuram which were amalgamated into one in 1861.

Boundaries.—*North*, Walluvanad Taluk; *east*, Coimbatore and Pollachi Taluks in the Coimbatore District and Cochin State; *south*, the Native State of Cochin; *west*, the Cochin State and Walluvanad Taluk.

Area.—The Taluk not having been yet fully surveyed the exact area is not known; but, for the purposes of the census of 1881, it was taken to be 613 square miles.

Soil—Topography.—The District not having been surveyed the true nature of the soil too is not known, but speaking in general terms it may be described as black loam. This Taluk is singularly diversified and interesting in its physical aspect, especially towards the hilly tracts along the Coimbatore and Cochin frontiers. The most striking feature in its configuration is the extensive gap historically known by the name of the "Palghat Gap" in the otherwise unbroken great range of the Western Ghats, about 25 miles across and more than 6,000 feet lower than the hills on its north and south and lying on the meridian of 76° 45' E. and between the parallels of 10° 33' N. and 10° 52' N. This remarkable opening with the lofty Nilgiri Hills and the Anamalas on either side, overtopping the ranges by several thousand feet, the numerous projecting off-shoots of the main chain separating the Taluk from the neighbouring Coimbatore District with their heavy forests, extensive ravines and jungles stretching westwards the forest-clad uplands and the gradually succeeding flat rice fields fringed with high palmyra groves and the numerous mountain torrents and small rivers: all combined give an enchantment to the scenery. Almost all these extensive and valuable forests are private property, except the two Government forests known by the names of the "Chenat Nayar" and the "Walayar" Reserves. The former of these two reserve forests is a block of hill forest which originally formed portion of the Chenat Nayar escheat, while the latter comprises the "Varalapadi" and "Pulampara" forests which were purchased by Government some years ago with the special object of supplying the Madras Railway Company with wood-fuel. The Chenat Nayar and the private heavy forests in the Taluk, all contain more or less valuable trees, among others, teak and blackwood; while cardamom, honey, gum, &c., constitute the chief minor produce which is collected in the case of the private forests by the resident jungle tribes and generally bartered in the plains for the necessaries of life. The Government forests are under the charge of a Ranger stationed at Palghat, who is assisted in his work by 7 forest guards. Of the rivers intersecting the Taluk the most important are the Kalpathi (locally called the Nolanadi) the Kamnadi and the Kollangod (locally designated the Gayathrinadi) rivers. The first two rivers uniting near Parali take the name of the Ponnani river or *Bharathapula* and the last, viz., the Kollangod river, joins the Ponnani river a little farther on. The Kalpathi river has its source at a place called Chentamarakulam in the hills north of Walayar where the stream forms the boundary between the Malabar and Coimbatore Districts, while the other two are said to rise in the Kollangod bluff or the Malaya mountains being the north-western extremities of the Anamalas.

Climate, Health and Meteorology.—During the dry season the climate is very hot, but during the rains it is pleasant and healthy. From November to February a strong east or land-wind blows almost incessantly through the Palghat Gap which makes the weather very trying. The water supply generally is satisfactory and the health of the people, as a rule, good. The prevailing diseases in the Taluk may be said to be smallpox and fever. The Walayar and other forests are malarious. Cholera makes its appearance occasionally.

Population.—The census of 1881 revealed a total of 342,454 inhabitants distributed over 56 amsams and dwelling in 60,351 houses. Classified according to religion, there were 306,662 Hindus, 32,330 Muhammadans and 3,462 Christians. The density of the population was per square mile 559 per amsam 6,115 and per house 5—7. The number of houses returned as unoccupied was 12,234. Of the total population the number of males was 165,311 and of females 177,143. The percentage of increase in population, as compared with 1871, was in respect of males 3·82 and in that of females 6·31 or 5·09, of both sexes. The appended statement shows the classification of the people according to their various occupations :—

Professional	5,090
Domestic	1,520
Commercial	7,097
Agricultural	93,841
Industrial	51,477
Independent	183,423
Total ..	342,454

SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE TALUK FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES.

Revenue and Magisterial.—The unit of administration is as elsewhere the amsam, of which there are 56 in the Taluk, each being under an Adhikari assisted by a Menon and, except in one or two instances, by two peons. The Adikaris exercise also, as elsewhere, civil powers in respect of petty suits for sums of money not exceeding Rs. 20 and criminal powers in respect of petty cases of theft and assault, arising in their respective amsams. The Tahsildar, assisted by a Deputy Tahsildar to whom are assigned certain specified amsams, has the general revenue charge of the Taluk. The two officers likewise exercise magisterial powers, the Deputy Tahsildar over the area constituting his division and the Tahsildar specially over the remaining portion of the Taluk. The former has his headquarters at Alathur and the latter at Palghat. This Taluk with its adjoining Walluvanad Taluk, forms a separate revenue division designated the "Head Assistant's Division" placed under the charge of a Head Assistant Collector and Magistrate, whose headquarters are at Palghat.

Judicial, Civil.—There are two Munsifs' Courts in the taluk located at Palghat and Alathur respectively, and also a Sub-Judge's Court which is stationed at the former place.

Registration.—For registration purposes the Taluk is divided into 4 sub-districts designated the Palghat, Alathur, Koduvayur and Mankara sub-districts, the Sub-Registrars' offices being located at Palghat, Alathur, Pudunagaram and Parali respectively. The Koduvayur Sub-Registrar exercises also magisterial powers in respect of nuisance cases arising within the Pudunagaram town.

Police.—For Police administration, the Taluk is divided into two divisions each placed under an Inspector whose headquarters are at Palghat and Alathur respectively.

Railway Stations.—The Madras Railway enters the Taluk at Walayar through the remarkable Palghat Gap of the Western Ghats. Its length in the Taluk is about 30 miles. The stations are as follow :—

1. *Walayar*.—15½ miles east of Palghat.

2. *Congetode*.—8½ miles do. do.

3. *Palghat*.—This place is specially noted for trade in timber which from the Mannarghat forests, the Chenat Nayar, Government Reserve and the adjoining private forests, is largely brought to the depots belonging to Government and private merchants and then exported by rail to various parts of the other districts in the Presidency, and also to other places.

4. *Parali*.—5¼ miles west of Palghat. There is a Sub-Registrar's office and a distillery here, and about 3 miles from the place there is a Police station and also an estate, called the *Mankara Nayar* estate under the Court of Wards, which was assumed charge of on 3rd December 1877.

IMPORTANT TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

Palghat.—[Pala + kadu, a jungle of pala (*echites scholaris*) trees]—is the chief inland town in the District and a Municipality, and in respect of population stands next to the Calicut town in the district and 14th out of a total number of 227 towns as defined by the last census in the Madras Presidency. The business part of the town lies about 3 miles south of the Olavakod or Palghat-Railway Station and this, with its suburbs comprising the Municipality, covers an area of more than 9 miles and includes portions of Koppam, Puthur, Yakkara, Akathethara, Kavalpad, Vadakunthara and Kannadi amsams. According to the last census, the total population of the place is 36,339 classified into 30,424 Hindus, 4,854 Muhammadans and 1,061 Christians. The male population returned is 17,673 and the female 18,666. The following statement compares houses, population and municipal revenue of the place during the 10 years previous to the last census :—

	Houses.	Population.	Revenue.
1871	5,561	30,752	17,507
1881	6,081	36,339	15,725
Increase or decrease	520	5,587	1,782

On the whole the town has an interesting appearance. Next to the big bazaar (also called *Chathurangapetta*) referred to, the most busy division of the place is *Sultanpetta*. Through this passes the main thoroughfare, by the side or in the vicinity of which are situated the chief public buildings of the place, viz., the Municipal school, the District Munsif's Court, the Head Assistant Collector's dwelling house and his office, the Sub-Judge's Court, the Municipal and Post office, the Roman Catholic Church, the

Municipal hospital with its beautifully laid out garden, and the Protestant Church. Here is also situated an old massive fort built of granite slabs and laterite pieces wherein are located the Taluk Cutcheri, the Sub-Registrar's office and the Police station. In-patients as well as out-patients are largely treated in the hospital referred to, the total number of beds available for in-patients being 16 ; 8 for males and 8 for females. There is also an Assistant Police Superintendent's office here. The trade is chiefly in tobacco, foodgrains, particularly, the dry grains, oil of all sorts, and various kinds of cloths. Timber is largely exported by rail. The place is specially famous for trade in *Pullupaya* (grass mats), generally known by the name of *Palghat mats* and may also be said to be the centre of tobacco trade in the District. The Brahman community called *Pattars* almost all belong to this Taluk. There are no less than 19 separate settlements or gramams of this community within the Municipal limits. They are as follow :—

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Kalpathi. | 11. Sekaripuram. |
| 2. Palaya Kalpathi. | 12. Ramanadhapuram. |
| 3. Chathapuram. | 13. Tarakad. |
| 4. Govindarajapuram. | 14. Vatakkumthara. |
| 5. Vaidyanadhapuram. | 15. Nurni. |
| 6. Komarapuram. | 16. Nellisher. |
| 7. Lakshminarayanapuram. | 17. Thondikulam. |
| 8. Mukka. | 18. Pallipram. |
| 9. Chokkanadhapuram. | 19. Tirunilayi. |
| 10. Puttamkurshi. | |

Of the numerous Hindu temples attached to these gramams, the most important is the *Kalpathi* Siva temple. A car festival lasting, for three days, is annually celebrated here in November, which gathers together a large crowd of people belonging not only to the various parts of this District but also to the neighbouring Cochin State and Coimbatore District. Besides this, there are also two places deserving notice, one within the municipal limits and the other in the neighbouring Elappalli amsam, both of which are held in high estimation and largely resorted to by the people. The so-called holy places are respectively named *Mukkai* and *Ramasara thirdham*. The former is the place where the three mountain streams called the Palayar, Malayar and Walayar unite and take the name of the Kalpathi river ; while the latter is popularly believed to have been created by Rama, the hero of Ramayana, at the instance of his brother Lakshmanan in the days of their temporary retirement to the jungles for the purpose of bathing in the Ganges water.

Alathur—[alam + oor, meaning the city of alam trees, (ഓല) *Dalbergia* used to make mortar], the headquarters of the Deputy Tahsildar of Alathur, is an important village situated in Kattussori amsam about 13 miles from Palghat on the road from there to the Cochin frontier via Vadakkancheri. The place contains a District Munsif's Court, a Sub-Registrar's office, a Police station, a Post office, and a Middle class school. There is also a small bazaar and a travellers' bungalow here. In the vicinity of the place lies the "Alathur" Hill or "Velumalai," one of the Trigonometrical Survey stations in the District, it contains a somewhat large cave and a natural spring higher up, which is never dry. There is also a ruined Hindu temple here. It is popularly believed that the cave was formerly inhabited. The existence of portions of walls dividing the cave into compartments of hearths and a small mill, all seem to

support this tradition. There is a mosque and a Roman Catholic Church here. They are tiled buildings and 140 and 107 feet in extent respectively. In the adjoining Vatakkethara amsam there is a Syrian Christian Church known by the name of the *Melarkott Palli*. This too is a tiled building about 210 feet in extent. The total population of the amsam is 3,517 of whom no less than 2,883 are Hindus. Of the remainder, 556 are Muhammadans and the rest Christians.

Vadakkancheri—[vadakku + cheri, means the northern village that is on the northern side of the hill-ranges separating the Taluk from the adjoining Cochin State]—is one of the chief Muhammadan villages in the Taluk, situated in the amsam of the same name about 7 miles south-west of Alathur. The amsam is hill-bound on its south and west. There is a travellers' bungalow and a Police station here. There is also a small bazaar which is chiefly inhabited by Muhammadans who have a mosque about 102 feet in extent. The building is tiled. The place contains also a small Roman Catholic church. This and the adjoining Kannanur pattola amsam are noted for the manufacture of coarse cloths of various kinds. Trade in the minor produce of the hills and also in timber is largely carried on here. An important Hindu temple named "*Tirunara*" is situated in the vicinity. This is held to be of great antiquity, and the tank or spring popularly known by the name of *Brahmakundam* attached to the temple is held in great reverence by the people, believing it to be as the name implies, a place where "Brahma" performed *yagam* or sacrifice. A handful of earth taken from the bed of this sacred tank is believed to be essential to the performance of sacrifices by Nambutiri Brahmans. The total population of the amsam is 11,496, classified into 9,141 Hindus, 1,611 Muhammadans and 744 Christians.

Kollangod—is an important village in Padinharathara amsam, situated about 12 miles south of Palghat. Hindus are the predominating race in the amsam, who represent 3,978 or 97 per cent out of a total population of 4,104; of the remaining 125 are Muhammadans and 1 Christian. The place contains a Police station and a travellers' bungalow and was formerly noted as being the seat of a petty chieftain named the *Venganatt Nambidi*, who reigned in these parts of the Taluk before the administration of the district passed into British hands. The present representatives of this ancient family have their residence here. There is an important Hindu temple named the *Kachankurushi Temple* here, dedicated to Vishnu. It is 264 feet in length and 180 in breadth. The *Srikovil* and the *Nalambalam* are both tiled, and the *mandupam* and the surrounding wall of the *Srikovil* painted all over with figures representing the various incarnations of *Vishnu*. As a preliminary step to the performance of a *yagam* or sacrifice by any Nambutiri Brahman in the district, it is said that the intended sacrificer ought to come first to this temple and receive from the hands of the *Venganatt Nambidi*, the moon-plant (*cynanchum acidum*), the black wood (*mimosa catechu*) and the skin of a black antelope all of which are required for the purpose. Six and three miles respectively from this temple on the hills (*Tenmala*), separating the Taluk from the neighbouring Cochin State, there are two natural springs called the *Govindathirdham* and the *Sithakundu*. Both of these are held in veneration and resorted to by the people. The origin of the former sacred spring is popularly ascribed to *Devendra* while in respect of the latter the tradition current is that it was created by *Sita*, wife of Rama, the hero of *Ramayana*,

for the purpose of her bathing in *Ganga*, the water of the Ganges, during the time of their sojourn in those parts in the days of their retirement to the jungle for holy purposes.

Pudunagaram—[Pudu+nagaram, means new town]—is the most important and thickly inhabited Muhammadan village in the Taluk. It is situated in Koduvayur amsam about 6 miles south of Palghat. In respect of total population this amsam stands next to only the Palghat municipality while in that of Muhammadan population alone it ranks first in the Taluk. The total population is 14,030, classified as follows :—Hindus 8,855, Muhammadans 5,149 and Christians 26. The place contains a Police station and also a *Jamath mosque* (Jama musjed). It is a tiled building 240 feet in length and 180 in breadth. The Koduvayur Sub-Registrar's office is located here. He is invested with magisterial powers to try petty cases of nuisance occurring in the village.

Palathulli—is a village in the amsam of the same name, situated about 8 miles south-east of Palghat. It is chiefly inhabited by Chettis. The place is one of the chief centres of cattle trade in the District. The cattle are exported from the adjoining Coimbatore District, especially from the Pollachi weekly market. The amsam contains a total of 5,861 inhabitants, of whom 5,293 are Hindus, 561 Muhammadans and 7 Christians.

Hindu temples.—The most important Hindu temples in the Taluk are—

1. *Kallekkulam* alias *Emur Bhagavathi temple*.—In Akathethara amsam. Dedicated to *Jaladurgha*. The roof of the Srikovil is covered with copper sheeting. The other portions are tiled. The temple is 132 × 114 feet in extent.

2. *Kalpathi*.—In Puthur amsam. Dedicated to *Siva*. The Srikovil is covered with copper sheeting. The other buildings are tiled. The temple is 288 × 120 feet in extent.

3. *Madappallikavu*.—In Yakkara amsam. Dedicated to *Vana-durga*. Tiled. 156 × 138 feet in extent.

4. *Kachamkurussi*.—In Padinharathara amsam. Dedicated to *Vishnu*. Tiled. 264 × 180 feet in extent.

5. *Pallavur* or *Tripallavur*.—In Pallavur amsam. Dedicated to *Siva*. Tiled. 500 feet in extent.

6. *Tripalur*.—In Vateketara amsam. Dedicated to *Siva*. Tiled. 532 feet in extent.

7. *Kongad*.—In Kongad amsam. Dedicated to *Bhagavathi*. Tiled. 192 × 150 feet in extent.

8. *Tirunara*.—In Vadakkancheri amsam. Dedicated to *Siva* and *Vishnu*. Partly tiled and partly thatched. 250 feet in extent.

9. *Tiruvalathur*.—In Tiruvalathur amsam. Dedicated to *Durgha*. The Srikovil is covered with copper sheeting. The other buildings are tiled. 366 × 330 feet in extent.

10. *Kotamba*.—In Tiruvalathur amsam. Dedicated to *Subraman-yan*. Terraced roof. 132 × 126 feet in extent.

Fairs and Festivals.—Some of the most important festivals celebrated and the fairs held on such occasions in the Taluk are shown below :—

Names of fairs and festivals.	Month held.	Number of days lasting.	Number of persons attending.
1 Kalpathi car festival	November ..	3	
2 Tiruvalathur utsavam	November and December.	9	
3 Kotamba car festival	January and February.	3	
4 Kongad puram festival	March and April.	8	
5 Thachamkurushi utsavam	April and May.	10	
6 Koduvayur car festival	December and January.	2	
7 Pudukulangara kavu vela	March and April.	1	About 7,000
8 Parakkatt kavu <i>alias</i> Kavasseri puram.	Do.	1	About 12,000
9 Tripalur navarathri utsavam ..	September and October.	9	

Travellers' Bungalows.—There are four travellers' bungalows in the Taluk which are named below :—

1. Palghat, 3 miles from the Olavakod Railway Station.
2. Alathur, 13 miles from Palghat.
3. Vadakkancheri, 20 miles from Palghat.
4. Kollanged, 12 miles from Palghat.

Weekly Markets.—The trade of the Taluk is carried on by means of permanent markets in the Palghat town and a few other places and of weekly markets, the most important of which are as follow :—

1. Palathulli in Palathulli amsam held on Sundays.
2. Kongad in Kongad do. „ Mondays.
3. Alathur in Kattisseri do. „ Wednesdays.
4. Vadakkancheri in Vaddakkancheri } „ Thursdays.
5. Para } „
6. Palghat „ Fridays.

The chief articles of export are the various kinds of foodgrains, tobacco, Palghat mats and various kinds of coarse cloths manufactured in Vadakkancheri and certain other parts of the Taluk, while the chief articles of import are tobacco and various kinds of cloths, spices and cattle. The Palathulli market may be said to be the chief centre of cattle trade in the District, while the Kongad market is also noted for the same.

Trigonometrical Survey Stations.—There are two Trigonometrical Survey stations in the taluk. They are—

	Name.	Latitude.	Longitude.
1	Kurachimala S. ..	10° 47' 10.15"	76° 39' 29.61"
2	Alathur H. S. ..	10° 37' 30.07"	76° 34' 26.80"

PALGHAT FORESTS.

By Rhodes Morgan, Esq., District Forest Officer.

There are four tracts of forests which have been under the management of the Forest Department in the Palghat Range since 1883. The most important of these is the Chenat Nayar forest, which escheated in the early years of the century to Government. The area of this forest is 15,205 acres, of which 12,253 acres are forest, and the balance, 2,952 acres, grass land and sheet-rock. These forests are situated in a rocky range of hills connected with the Western Ghats, which rise to a height of 5,000 feet (Elival peak). On the lower slopes, *i.e.*, up to 1,000 feet elevation, the forests are deciduous, above that, evergreen. The principal trees in the lower zone of deciduous forest are teak (almost exterminated), rose-wood, venghay, venteak, irul, *etc.* The evergreen forests contain white and red cedar, iynee, poonspar, ironwood, *etc.*

The lower slopes are very malarious, but the open grass lands higher up are above fever range.

There is a forest rest-house on Karimala, at an elevation of about 4,000 feet and another, at the base, near Dhoni. The forests are worked on the "Jardinage" or selection-felling system, the only one feasible in a forest where any felling of blocks might result in serious landslips, and would end in the ruin of the forest. There is very little soil on these hills, which are composed of solid gnoiss.

A small quantity of timber is now removed annually, not exceeding 15,000 cubic feet, the forest having been very recklessly worked in former years, and the more valuable trees almost exterminated. This forest has been surveyed and demarcated with cairns of stones and posts.

The second forest is situated at Walayar on the line of rail. The area of this forest is 3,017 acres, of which 2,600 acres is productive, the rest being barren rock. The forest has been divided into two blocks and ten compartments, and each compartment further sub-divided into sub-compartments. It is worked for fuel for the supply of the railway, and teak poles. The "coupes" are worked on a rotation of ten years, the produce being sold to contractors. A working scheme of this forest has been prepared. It is fenced in, and fire protected annually, and cattle are rigidly excluded. There is a special forest pound for stray cattle.

The remaining two forests are situated in the Walluvanad taluk. They are known as the Panakadan forest in the Tiruvalam de-am and the Silent valley. The first of these is situated on a small rocky hill of about 1,000 acres in extent. The trees in it are deciduous and the growth average, the villagers in the neighbourhood having been in the habit of pollarding the trees for manure for their paddy fields. In 1883, this was put a stop to and a forest guard appointed to look after this

forest, which is very isolated. These are a few small hills in the neighbourhood and a considerable tract on the slopes of the ghats, the ownership of which has not been determined yet. Panakadan hill is Reserved Land, and is under special fire protection. It is intended shortly to notify it as a reserved forest.

The Silent Valley is an enormous tract of mountain forest and grass land situated on the western slopes of the Khoondahs, and is most inaccessible. It is roughly supposed to cover an area of over 70 square miles. The forest on it is all evergreen, and the principal trees the same as those usually found in such forests in Malabar, viz., ponspar, ynee, ironwood, red and white cedar, wild jack, etc. These forests yield cardamoms, dammer, rattans, etc. The timber is not worked on account of the inaccessible nature of the locality. This forest will shortly be notified for reservation.

PONNANI TALUK.

By P. Karunakara Menon.

Position and Boundaries.—This is the southernmost taluk of the district proper. It formerly comprised the three taluks of Betatnad, Kutnad, and Chavakkad, which were amalgamated into one in 1861. The boundaries are *north*, Ernad taluk; *east*, Walluvanad taluk and the native State of Cochin; *south*, the native State of Cochin; *west*, the Arabian sea.

Area.—The district not having been surveyed, the exact area is not known. The approximate area, according to the census of 1881, is 258,154 acres or nearly 404 square miles. The extreme length of the taluk from north to south along the coast is 64 miles, while its width ranges from 3 to 20 miles in different parts.

Soils and Topography.—The scenery in comparison with that of the two neighbouring taluks of Ernad and Walluvanad, is flat and uninteresting, especially along the coast, while inland, low hills clothed sometimes with scrub jungle, but generally with grass and flat rice-fields interspersed with groves of coconut, areca-nut, jack and various other trees surrounding the dwelling houses of the inhabitants, constitute the principal varieties of the landscape. The soil along the coast is poor and sandy, the only redeeming feature being that this open seaboard is fringed with groves of coconut trees. There is no granite in these parts, but in the interior parts the formation seems to be gneissic, traversed by granite veins, which generally prevails in the two adjoining taluks referred to.

Inland Water Communication.—The most striking feature of the taluk is perhaps the series of lagoons or backwaters lying in a zigzag direction along the coast and affording, with the connecting artificial canals, an easy inland water communication. It extends southwards from the Tirur Railway station to Ponnani, Chavakkad and Cochin and thence into the Cochin and Travancore States. The total length of this system of inland water navigation from the Tirur Railway station to Cochin is 93 miles (of which 77 lie in the taluk) as detailed below: Tirur to Ponnani section 16 miles; Ponnani to Chavakkad section 17 miles; Chavakkad to Cochin section 60 miles. The boats in general use both for cargo and for passengers are the common country (dug-out) boats and they are manned generally by two men and will hold from 5 to 20 persons. The maximum charge per mile for a boat is 2 annas,

The health of the people, as a rule, is good. The water supply is also good, especially towards the interior parts, but it is unsatisfactory in the towns of Ponnani and Tanur.

The conservancy of the chief towns is looked after by a staff consisting of 1 Sanitary Inspector, 1 maistry, 13 sweepers and 1 totti, paid from Local Funds. The Inspector, with his head-quarters at Ponnani, supervises the work of the whole staff which is distributed as follows:—Ponnani, 4 sweepers and 1 totti; Betat-pudiyangadi, 3 sweepers; Tanur, 1 maistry and 3 sweepers; the remaining 3 sweepers being attached respectively to the three fish curing yards situated at Ponnani, Veliyangod and Tanur.

Population.—In the matter of population this taluk ranks first in the district. The total population (inclusive of the floating population) was, according to the census of 1881, 392,654, of whom 194,150 were males and 198,504 females. Classified according to race, Hindus predominated; next came the Muhammadans and lastly the Christians, the number returned under each class being 231,402, 146,868 and 14,363 respectively, or 59, 37, and 4 per cent. of the total population. The number of persons shown as belonging to other classes was 21.

The percentage of increase in the population as compared with that returned by the previous census of 1871 was 4.77 in respect of males and 4.78 in that of females; the total increase in both the sexes being nearly 4.78. The average density of population to the square mile was nearly 972, and in this matter this taluk ranked second in the district, the first being Cochin. The proportion of males to females was in the ratio of 496.5 to 503.5 in every 1,000.

Houses.—There were 78,148 houses in all. Of these 70,625 were occupied and the remainder 7,523 unoccupied, the average number of persons per house amounted to about 5.6.

General Condition of the People.—The people generally are poor. There are a few rich and many indifferently off. The subjoined statement shows the number of persons following the various occupations as returned by the last census (1881):—

Classified according to occupation.

Professional	..	..	..	..	5,750
Domestic	..	..	..	..	1,306
Commercial	..	..	..	..	8,696
Agricultural	..	..	..	..	88,509
Industrial	..	..	..	..	65,652
Indefinite	..	..	..	..	222,741
Total					392,654

Incidence of the Imperial Licence Tax.—The incidence of the Imperial Licence Tax for the past official year 1885-86 was as follows :—

	Trade Dealing, Industry.	No. of persons charged.	Amount of assessment.
	Money lending	103	1,520
	Cloth bazaar	6	90
	In paddy	5	90
	In coconuts	5	50
	In coconut oil	5	50
	In rice	2	20
	In fish	2	20
	In salt	2	20
	In tobacco	2	20
	In timber	2	20
	Boat rent	1	10
	Miscellaneous	3	30
	Total	138	1,940

Sub-divisions of the Taluk for Administrative Purposes.—For executive purposes this taluk is split up into 73 amsams. As elsewhere, the revenue work of each amsam is carried on by the Adhikari assisted by the Menon and a couple of peons. The Adhikaries likewise exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction, their civil powers extending to suits for money not exceeding Rs. 20 in amount, and the criminal to petty cases of assault and theft arising in their respective amsams. The Tahsildar, whose head-quarters are at Ponnani, has the general revenue charge of the taluk. He is assisted in his work by two Deputy Tahsildars stationed at Betatpudiyangadi and Kuttingal, to whom are assigned 21 and 28 amsams respectively.

Over these amsams they also exercise criminal jurisdiction, while the Tahsildar has the special magisterial charge of the remaining portion of the taluk. The taluk forms a separate revenue charge, designated the "Southern Division" under a General Duty Deputy Collector exercising also magisterial powers who has his head-quarters at Ponnani.

Agriculture.—The staple produce of the taluk is coconuts, though paddy is also largely cultivated. The subjoined statement gives the acreage under each head in fasli 1295 :—

	Government.	Ipam.
Wet lands—	ACRES.	ACRES.
Nanja	71,137	3,025
Punja	13,782	21
Garden	57,872	1,881
Total	142,791	5,527

Thus the total area under cultivation is 148,318 or 232 square miles, or a little more than 57 per cent of the total area of the taluk (taking it to be about 404 square miles)—the extent under garden being 40 per cent of the total area under cultivation.

Demand roll of
assessment.

The following table shows the demand roll of
assessment for the same fasli :—

	Amount of Patta.	No. of holdings.	Assessment.	
			RS. A. P.	
Under Rs 10	31,076	82,263	8 2	
Rs. 10 under Rs. 50 ..	5,240	1,07,195	10 7	
Rs. 50 under Rs. 100 ..	684	47,105	5 0	
Rs. 100 under Rs. 250 ..	316	45,461	14 2	
Rs. 250 under Rs. 500 ..	52	16,553	14 1	
Rs. 500 and more ..	15	12,236	2 11	
Total ..	37,383	3,10,816	6 11	

Revenue.—The subjoined statement shows the revenue of the taluk
derived from different sources for a series of the 8 Fasli years, 1288-95 :—

Year.	Land Revenue.	Local Fund.	Village Service Fund.	Abkari.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
1288 ..	3,06,549 15 8	40,382 5 6	19,729 12 9	7,540 8 0
1289 ..	3,08,525 5 0	40,100 14 3	19,470 15 7	7,177 4 0
1290 ..	3,08,042 5 0	40,016 3 11	19,367 12 11	8,045 9 4
1291 ..	3,09,254 6 4	40,165 15 2	19,445 4 2	5,513 14 8
1292 ..	3,09,195 11 9	40,219 6 8	19,459 10 9	7,492 0 0
1293 ..	3,09,240 5 7	40,229 1 3	19,353 2 10	8,900 0 0
1294 ..	3,10,543 3 7	40,384 12 8	19,466 5 1	8,100 0 0
1295 ..	3,10,816 6 11	40,372 1 4	19,472 4 11	10,350 0 0

Year.	Stamp.	Special Fund.	Licence Tax.	Land Revenue Miscellane- ous.
(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	
	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
1288 ..	59,344 0 0	278 5 6	3,577 0 0	7,926 10 7
1289 ..	91,537 0 0	248 9 6	1,250 0 0	2,627 5 11
1290 ..	88,863 5 0	232 4 0	1,940 0 0	2,677 8 8
1291 ..	86,396 7 0	357 14 6	1,730 0 0	4,184 0 11
1292 ..	81,146 9 0	300 12 8	1,645 0 0	3,388 0 2
1293 ..	86,431 3 0	324 13 6	1,910 0 0	5,204 0 4
1294 ..	95,909 6 0	399 3 0	1,955 0 0	4,802 10 7
1295 ..	1,02,142 0 0	339 4 6	1,949 0 0	4,532 10 7

Note.—The amount shown under the heads Abkari, Stamp, Licence Tax refers
to official years.

IMPORTANT TOWNS OR VILLAGES WITH SHORT NOTICES OF TEMPLES,
MOSQUES, CHURCHES, ETC., SITUATED IN OR ABOUT SUCH PLACES.

Tannur—(a corrupted form of Thanniyur or Thanni + ur, meaning the
village of Thanni trees, *Terminalia bellerica*, which are still very common

here)—is a small town largely inhabited by Mappillas in Rayirimangalam amsam, situated about a mile west of the Tannur Railway station. The streets and the lanes are narrow and generally in a dirty state. It is a seaport, and contains a Travellers' bungalow, a Sea Customs office, a Police station, a Sub-Registrar's office, a Post office and a chattram or mussaferkhana, the last three being situated close to one another, a quarter of a mile west of the Railway station, while all the rest lie in different parts of the town. There are four mosques here, of which one is a jamath mosque (*jama masjid*). It is a tiled building, 186 feet in length and 93 in breadth, having the gate or *gopuram* covered with copper sheeting. In the same (Rayirimangalam) amsam, about two miles to the south of the town, there is a famous Hindu temple known by the name of *Keleswaram* or *Keraladhiswaram* temple dedicated to *Vishnu*. As its name (Kerala + adhiswaran, the governing deity of Keralam or Malabar) implies, it is one of the most ancient Hindu temples in the district. It is about 50 feet in length and 35 in breadth, the *Srikovil* or shrine and the *Valilmadam* or hall being tiled, and the nalambalam or the four wings of the temple thatched. The total number of inhabitants in the amsam is 11,344, no less than 7,037 or 62 per cent of whom are Muhammadans, while Hindus and Christians number 4,305 and 2 respectively. In the matter of population this amsam stands next to Ponnani. In the adjoining Pariyapuram amsam, about 2 miles to the north of Tannur, there is another temple deserving notice. This is called the *Trikkayikkatt* temple. The deities worshipped here are, Siva, Bhagavati and Ayyappan. It is a tiled building and is about 33 feet in length and 28 in breadth. The figures of *Siva*, *Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Narusimhamurthi* are painted on the wall of the *Srikovil* and two sculptures, representing the figures of *Dowasthans* (or door-keepers), are placed in front of the *Srikovil*.

Bettatpudiyangadi.—[Bettat + Pudiya + Angadi, means the New Town in Vettam, which name was given to the place in former days, for, here was the seat of the Raja of Betatnad. This family became extinct and the estate escheated in 1793.] The head-quarters of the Bettatpudiyangadi Deputy Tahsildar is a village in Talakkad amsam, situated about 3 miles from the Tirur Railway station along the road from there to Ponnani. Muhammadans are the most numerous in the village, the Hindu and Muhammadan population being respectively, 3,156 and 3,179, total 6,335. Besides the Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters, the place contains a Sub-Registrar's office, a Police station and a chattram or mussaferkhana (now used as a Travellers' bungalow). There is a Post office near the Railway station and a District Munsif's Court and a Local Fund second class middle school about two miles from there on the road to Ponnani. There are two jamath mosques (or *jama masjid*) and a minor mosque in the village, the most important of these being the *Pudiyangadi* jamath mosque, situated in the vicinity of the Deputy Tahsildar's office. This is a grand building about 116 feet in length and 70 in breadth, the roof being tiled and the *gopuram* (the main entrance) being covered with copper sheeting. A granite slab on one of the steps of the northern gate bears an inscription. The writing has not yet been read. At the *Vellamasser*i desam in the amsam there is a Hindu temple called the *Garudan Kavu* chiefly dedicated to Garudan (Vishnu's Bird) and such dedications being rare, the temple is regarded with considerable reverence and is also largely resorted to by Hindu population for protection from any *surpapida* (visitations of serpentine displeasure in the form it is believed of various diseases), the deity being believed according to Hindu puranas to be the

natural onomy of serpents. In the adjoining Trikkandiyur amsam there is another ancient and famous temple called Trikkandiyur temple. It is dedicated to *Siva*, and is believed to have been founded by Parasu Rama. This temple is about 95 feet square. The Srikovil is a tiled building, the *nalumbalam* being only thatched. There is a big tank attached to the temple lying close to it.

Paronna.—[a corrupted form of Paravannur, so called as being the place of residence in former days of Paravanur Panikkar, a *desavali*— is a small Mappilla village lying by the side of the sea in Pachattri amsam about 3 miles to the west of Bettatpudiyangadi. There is a janath mosque (*jama musjid*) here. This is a tiled building, 140 feet in length and 58 in breadth. The total number of inhabitants in the amsam is 4,243, of whom 1,764 are Hindus, the remainder 2,479 being Muham-madans.

Kodakkul.—[Koda + kal or kallu, meaning umbrella-stone. The place seems probably to have been so called because of the existence of several umbrella-stones in the neighbourhood.] It is a Basel Mission station situated in Triprangod amsam about 2 miles to the south-east of Bettatpudiyangadi. There is a church, a combined industrial and girls' school and a weaving establishment here. The total population of the amsam numbers 5,393 divided into 2,724 Hindus, 2,398 Muham-madans and 271 Christians. In the neighbourhood of this place are situated some of the most ancient Hindu temples in the district, viz., (1) the *Triprangod Siva temple*; (2) the *Hanuman Kavu*; (3) the *Thirunavayi Vishnu temple* and (4) the *Chamravattal Ayyappan Kavu*. Of these the first two are situated in Triprangod amsam, while the last two lie in the neighbouring Atavanad and Pallipuram amsams, respectively. All the temples are considered to be of great antiquity. (1) The Triprangod (called in Sanscrit Sri + vara + crod) temple is dedicated to Siva and lies about 2 miles to the south of Bettatpudiyangadi. The *Srikovil* is a tiled building about 105 feet in length and 75 in breadth. The raised stone foundation of a pillar of the building consecrated to Krishna here bears a long inscription. The writing cannot be deciphered locally. The ceremony of *Sanghabhishekam* (pouring water on the head of the idol by means of a conch shell, is supposed to be the most acceptable offering to the presiding deity (*Siva*), and this is performed largely by the people under the honest belief that thereby their life will be prolonged. (2) The *Hanuman Kavu*, as its name indicates, is dedicated to Hanuman (the monkey chief, deified). The rareness, comparatively, of dedications of temples to this deity, seems to enhance the value of this temple in the estimation of the people. The *Srikovil* and the *mandapam* are small tiled buildings, the surrounding wall of the former all over containing paintings of the *devas* and of *vyalam*, and it has also two statues of *Dwas-thanmur* (door-keepers), placed one on each side of the entrance. (3) The *Thirunavayi* (or Shri + naa + yogi + puram) Siva temple seems to have been so called on account of its having been, it is believed, founded by the 9 famous saints. The temple is situated on the northern bank of the Ponnani river on the road from Bettatpudiyangadi to Trittala. The place was in former days noted as being the locality where the *Mahamakha Vela* or ceremony was celebrated every 12th year. During the 28 days the festival lasted, the throne of the Zamorin was declared vacant, when a selected number out of the followers of this potentate, and also of the Walluvanad Rajah, being the rival claimant for the throne (all being

well trained for the purpose), fought¹ against each other for it in the interests of their respective masters. The ceremony is said to have been last performed in 1743. The Srikovil is a massive tiled building and has two big statues of *Dvasthanmar* as in the case of the Hanuman Kavu, one on each side of the entrance into it. This place is further famous as containing an institution founded and amply endowed by the Zamorin, where Hindu theology is extensively taught to the Nambutiri Brahman students. This instruction is imparted in a spacious building, called the *Oththanmar madham*, situated on the opposite side of the river, under the supervision of Tirunavayi Vadhyar, the Zamorin's hereditary family priest. Another point deserving notice in connection with this place is the existence of a small temple dedicated to *Brahma*, which is of very rare occurrence. (4) The Chamravattam Ayyappan kavu, dedicated to *Ayyappan*, is situated on a small island near the Chamravattam ferry on the road from Tirur to Ponnani. The Srikovil is a small tiled building, but badly in want of repairs. This deity is supposed to possess a specially controlling power over rain, and people hence frequently make small offerings on behalf of this temple for rain when it is wanted and also to stop it when it is not required.

Kuttayi.—[Kutt + ali, meaning a junction and a bar, respectively.] It is said that there was here formerly a bar, where the backwaters lying along the coast from Tirur and Ponnani united and communicated with the sea. Hence the designation of the place as Kuttayi. It is a large Muhammadan village, situated by the side of the sea in Mangalam amsam about 4 miles to the south-west of Bettapudiyangadi. Of the inhabitants, Muhammadans are the most numerous numbering 3,186 out of a population of 5,069, the remainder, viz., 1,883 being Hindus. There is a famous jamath mosque (or jama masjid) in the village which is a tiled building, being 105 feet in length and 48 in breadth. There is also a *Jaram* or mausoleum attached to it called the *Nechchikkut Jaram*, so named on account of its being surrounded by *nechchi* bushes. It is not known whose remains lie buried here, but it is held in considerable reverence, and is largely resorted to by Muhammadans, especially on the occasion of the annual *Nercha* festival, when the approximate attendance of pilgrims is estimated to be no less than 2,000.

Ponnani.—[The place is said to have been designated Ponnani, which is a corrupted form of "Ponnani" "Ponnanayam," meaning gold coin, as being the place where the gold coin, called the *Arabikasu* was first circulated in these parts of the district by the Arab and Persian merchants who possessed the trade between India and the west before the discovery of the sea route to India round the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese.] This town, the divisional and taluk headquarters, is large and populous, situated on the Ponnani river at its entrance into the sea. It contains also, the Kutnad District Munsif's Court, the Ponnani Sub-Registrar's office, a combined Post and Telegraph office, a Local Fund third-class middle school and a hospital and dispensary.

The amsam of Ponnani of which the town forms a part, contains 12,421 inhabitants, of whom no less than 86 per cent are Mappillas. The spiritual head, called the *Makkadam* of the Muhammadan population throughout the district, resides here. There are 27 mosques in the town, of which one is a *jamath mosque* (or jama masjid), deserving special notice as being also a place where Muhammadan theology is largely taught. The average

¹ See pp. 162-69, Vol. I.

daily attendance of students, belonging not only to all parts of the district but also to the native states of Cochin and Travancore and even South Canara, who receive instruction in the mosque, is about 400. The mosque is a spacious four-storeyed building, 90 feet in length and 60 in breadth, said to have been built in Hejira 925 (A.D. 1510), by Said-ud-din Makkadum, and stands close to the *jaram* or mausoleum, which contains his own and his successors' remains. Such of the students as attain proficiency in the Muhammadan religion here are called *Musaligars*, the Makkadum alone having the privilege to confer that title. This *jaram* is held in great reverence and largely resorted to by the Muhammadan population all over the district. Ponnani is also a seaport. The principal articles of export are timber, bamboos, coconuts and coir, and the chief imports are salt and rice. Half a mile to the south of the bazaar there is a travellers' bungalow, while a mile and a half to the east of the town there is a chattram or musaferkhana. The hospital and dispensary is under the charge of a civil apothecary and has accommodation for 10 in-patients (6 males and 4 females).

About half a mile to the south-east of the town, at Trikkavu in the adjoining Pallapram amsam, there is an ancient Hindu temple of considerable historical importance. It is dedicated to "*Durga Bhagavathi*," and is believed to have been founded by Parasu Rama, the demi-god and hero, and made over by him to the Brahman colony at this place, being a sub-division of Sukapuram gramam, one of his 64 colonies. Tippu is said to have plundered the temple during his invasion of the country, broken the idol into pieces, and used the Srikovil as his powder magazine while halting at this place. On the restoration of peace and order in the country, a few of the former owners of the temple who had taken refuge in Travancore on Tippu's approach, returned and discovering in the temple well the broken pieces of the original idol, repaired and repurified it; but later on, being unable to repair all the damages caused to the temple by Tippu, made it over to the Zamorin of Calicut, who seems to have carried out all the necessary repairs in M.E. 1037 (1861 A.D.). Within the precincts of this temple there is another Srikovil, consecrated to Vishnu. The history of its foundation is interesting. Tradition has it that in olden days, while a Chetti and a Muhammadan were sailing in their ship laden with merchandize, a violent storm occurred, that they being apprehensive of the loss of their lives, took vows to build a temple and a mosque respectively, in the event of their being able to land safely and that they having so landed at this place, in fulfilment of their vows, founded this Vishnu temple and the present jamath mosque in the town. The temple is 112 feet in length and 72 in breadth. Both the *Srikovil* and the *Nalambalam* of Dhurga Bhagavathi have tiled roofs. The temple has also a high double-storeyed and tiled gopuram. There is a large public tank here about 400 feet in length and 300 in breadth. It was in a ruined state formerly, but has now laterite steps all round, these improvements having been carried out by Rama Kini, a late Tahsildar of this taluk.

Edappal, five miles east of Ponnani, is a large village situated in the amsam of the same name on the main road from Ponnani to Palghat via Trittala. It is chiefly inhabited by Mappillas. The total population of the amsam is 6,595. Of this, 4,874 are Hindus, and the remainder Muhammadans. In the neighbouring Vattamkulam amsam, there is an important Hindu temple called the *Sukapuram* temple. It is believed to be of

¹ Conf. pp. 120-21, Vol. I.

great antiquity and also to have been founded by the hero and demi-god *Parasu Rama*. It is dedicated to *Dakshinamurti* or *Siva*, and is said originally to have been attached specially to the Nambutiri Brahmans of *Sukapuram*, which was one of the 64 *gramams* or settlements founded by *Parasu Rama*. Even to this day offerings are invariably made by the Nambutiris belonging to this gramam on occasions of marriage or other ceremonies among them, and none who have performed *yagams* or sacrifices are recognized as such until they are registered at this pagoda. This registration takes place once in 12 years. The *Srikovil* or *Garbhagraham* (shrine) of the temple, is a massive laterite structure, 50 feet in length, 45 in breadth and 40 in height, the roof being covered with copper sheeting.

About 6 miles to the north-east of Edappal village and about the same distance in the same direction from the *Sukapuram* temple, there is another famous ancient Hindu temple. It is situated in Chekod amsam. This also is believed to have been founded by the same hero and demi-god, *Parasu Rama*, being specially attached to the Nambutiri Brahman colony of *Panniyur*¹ (another of the 64 settlements referred to). This temple is a small tiled building, the presiding deity being *Varahamurthi* (according to the Hindu puranas the 3rd incarnation of Vishnu). This is the chief temple of the Nambutiris, designated the *Panniyur Gramakkar* of the present day. They are said not to possess the prerogative of studying the Vedas, having, it is said, been deprived of the same owing to some of their ancestors in ancient days having placed a red hot vessel on the head of the idol of the presiding deity of the temple. In front of the temple there are some granite sculptures and also a slab of the same material bearing an inscription in *Vattezhuthu* characters, some of which having now become indistinct, the writing has not been deciphered.

Trittala.—It is a small village in Kodanad amsam, situated by the side of the Ponnani river on the road from Ponnani to Palghat about 17 miles to the east of Ponnani. The total population of Kodanad amsam is 5,840, of whom 4,877 are Hindus and the remainder Muhammadans. There is a traveller's bungalow and a *chattram* or *musaferkhana* here. It is also the station of a Sub-Registrar. A weekly market is held here. About four miles south of this place are the ruins of a mud fort, 200 yards in length and 176 in breadth. This fort appears to have been at one time the principal place in this tract of country for it has given a name—Kutnad—to the nad lying south of the Ponnani river, which prior to the reorganisation of taluks in 1861 formed the Kutnad taluk. About three miles to the north-east of these ruins and by the side of the road from Padinharangadi to Shoranore, is a small building called *Kattilmadam* or *Kautilimadam*, built entirely of granite slabs, and in the form of the Hindu shrine. It is ten feet square and of the same height, having a round dome formed of a single slab. Tradition ascribes its construction to supernatural agency. One popularly received account is that it was intended as the second storey to a pagoda about 4 miles off in Netirimangalam amsam of Walluvanad taluk on the other side of the river, and a comparison of the shape and size of the existing shrine at the pagoda with those of this curious structure certainly favours this theory.

There is another place in the neighbourhood of Trittala deserving notice. It is called *Velliyamkallu* and is situated about a mile down the river from there and on the opposite side of it. It is considered by Hindus as a sacred place as being the spot where the Nambutiri Brahmin named the Melathur *Akkithripad* is believed to have performed a number of

¹ Conf. pp. 120-21, Vol. I.

yagams or sacrifices and is hence largely resorted to by them for the performance of the anniversaries of their ancestors on Vavu (new moon) days occurring in the Malayalam months of Tulam and Karkitagam.

Chalisseri is a small village and a bazaar situated on the borders of Kappur and Kottachira amsams about 6 miles to the south of Trittala. It is chiefly inhabited by Syrian Christians. This community has a small church here. The place is noted for trade in arecanuts.

Veliyangod is a village chiefly inhabited by Mappillas, situated in the amsam of the same name, about 4 miles to the south of Ponnani. There is a Police station here and also a Sub-Registrar's office at Andathod in the adjoining Ayrur amsam. The total population of Veliyangod amsam is 6,826 of whom the majority are Muhammadans, numbering 3,771, the remainder being Hindus.

Kottapadi.—[Kotta or fort and padi or gate. The place seems to have been so designated on account of its being situated close to the seat, named the *Punnathur Kotta* of one of the feudatory chieftains of the Zamorin in ancient days, known by the name of the Punathur Raja.] It is a small village about 3 miles to the north-east of Kuttingal. It is chiefly inhabited by Syrian Christians who have a church here. The place is noted for trade in coconut oil and the rearing of country pigs by the Christians. These animals are generally transported to the Nilgiri hills and other distant places for sale. The present representatives of the above-mentioned chieftain's family still reside here.

Kuttingal, the Chavakkad Deputy Tahsildar's headquarters, is a village in Palayur amsam lying by the side of the canal from Ponnani to Cochin, about 17 miles to the south of the former place. The total population of the amsam is 6,296 of whom 3,482 are Hindus, 2,456 Muhammadans and the rest 308 Christians (Syrian). The village also contains a District Munsif's Court, a Sub-Registrar's office, and a Post office. Half a mile north of the place there is a Local Fund 2nd-class middle school, and half a mile east of Kuttingal, there is a Syro-Roman Catholic church, called the *Palayur church*, which is noted as being one of the seven original churches of Malabar. The congregation believe that St. Thomas the Apostle preached at the place, and it is noteworthy in connection with the suggestion made at p. 202 of Volume I, that in immediate proximity to the existing modern church there is a mound with small debris strewn about it, which is still known as the site of the "Jews' church," and which was evidently occupied by a building of some kind in former times. The only relics of any age about the place now are some carved stones, including part of a Siva lingam stone and a wornout Vatteluttu inscription, the spoils of a Siva shrine also in the neighbourhood. The modern church is a tiled building, 86 feet in length and 34 in breadth. It is under the See of the Patriarch of Babylon.

In the Palayur and the adjoining Chavakkad amsams there are also two mosques called after the respective amsams. The former is about quarter of a mile to the east of Kuttingal, while the latter is about a mile to the west of it. They are tiled buildings, 40 and 50 feet in length and 21 and 15 in breadth, respectively. There is also a *jaram* or mausoleum in Palayur amsam of some importance containing the remains of one Hydros Kutti¹ who was, it is said, the Commissioner appointed by Hyder Ali, on his conquest of the district, to collect the revenue in these parts of

¹ See Vol. I, p. 662.

the taluk, but who having subsequently espoused the cause of the people against his masters' tyrannies, seems to have incurred that tyrant's displeasure and fallen in battle with the forces sent against him, on the spot where the building now stands. It is held in reverence, and is also resorted to by the Muhammadan population in these parts of the taluk.

Guruvayur.—[So designated after the famous temple of Krishna located there, which is believed to have been founded, as its name indicates, by *Guru* and *Vayu*, being, according to the Hindu Puranas, the preceptor of the *Devas* and the god of wind, respectively.] It is an important Hindu village, situated in the amsam of the same name, about 2 miles to the north-east of Kuttingal. The amsam has a total population of 6,686 inhabitants, of whom Hindus are the most numerous, amounting to 4,946, the remainder being divided into 527 Muhammadans and 1,206 Christians. The residents about the Guruvayur temple are chiefly the higher classes of Hindus, viz., Brahmans and Nayars. It is one of the most important Hindu temples in the district, and is held in great reverence, and also largely resorted to by the Hindu population (especially by the sick) throughout the district, as well as of the neighbouring native States of Cochin and Travancore. It is surrounded by a high laterite wall and has two lofty *gopurams* or entrances, one in the east and the other in the west. On the granite door-frame of the western one there is an inscription which indicates that it was built in 922 M.E. by one Panikkavittil Ittiraricha Menon Kariyakkar. A granite slab in the front part of the eastern

ഭൂപാലൈശ്വരനാമം: കലിമലാഹി
തൈരാജ്ഞിതാൻ പുണ്യലാകാൻ ഞ്ഞ
വ നിഷ്പ്രയാസം നിജസുതരജിതാൻ
ദിവ്യസാധനമാഗ്നം തുഗ്ഗംഗനൈ
രൂപം ശുഭപവനപുരശാഗ്രതൊ ഗൊപ
രാഗ്രവൃക്ഷ ദാധാക്ഷം ജാഗ്രത
മതിരകരരൈശ്വരാവാസാഗ്നിധീശഃ

entrance, too, contains an inscription in Sanskrit verse as noted in the margin. Both the *srikovil* (shrine) and the *mandapam* have roofs covered with copper sheetings, while the *nalambalam* has tiled roofs. The temple flagstaff deserves special notice. It is 110 feet in height, having a bell metal covering through-

out, save about 9 feet from the top, which has a gold covering. The surrounding wall of the shrine is elaborately painted all over, in illustration of the various adventures of Vishnu as recorded in the *Bhagavathapurana*.

Chittatkara—is a small village chiefly inhabited by Syrian Christians, situated in Brahmakulam amsam about 4 miles to the south-east of Kuttingal. There is a small church belonging to this community here. The total population of the amsam is 4,179, of whom 2,256 are Hindus. Of the remainder, 1,582 are Christians and the rest Muhammadans. The chief articles of trade here, are coconut and coconut oil.

Enamakkal—is another village mainly inhabited by Syrian Christians in Venkitanga amsam, about 8 miles to the south-east of Kuttingal and 4 in the same direction from Chittatkara. Here, there is an important ancient Syro Roman Catholic church. It is a tiled building, about 93 feet in length and 35 in breadth. The total population of the amsam is 6,416, of whom 1,770 are Syrian Christians, the rest being divided into 3,686 Hindus and 960 Muhammadans. The chief articles of trade here, too, are coconut and coconut oil.

Valappad—is a village chiefly inhabited by Syrian Christians, situated in Pallipuram amsam about 17 miles to the south-west of Kuttingal. It contains a Police station and a Sub-Registrar's office. About a mile to the

north of the place at Triprayar, in Nattika amsam, there is a famous ancient Hindu temple. It lies by the side of the inland water communication to Cochin and belongs to the Cochin State. The presiding deity here is Sri Rama. The temple is 342 feet square, and the roof of the shrine is covered with copper sheeting, the *nalambalam* being tiled. On a granite slab of the wall of the srikovil there is an inscription, but it is very

പഴയതെരിവനടന്നായതും - തൃപ്പുറയാന difficult to decipher the writing. A
ദേശത്തും - പെരിഞ്ഞാട്ടുദേശത്തും - തൃശ്ശൂരി granite slab by the side of the
യപൊന്നിദേശത്തും ഉൾക്കൂടായ കാരാളതം eastern entrance, also, bears an
നെട്ടംകൊണ്ടുവരും കടിയുരിമ്പടരിരി. inscription in Malayalam. The total
number of inhabitants in Pallip-
puram amsam is 4,563, of whom 3,513 are Hindus; of the remainder, 655
are Muhammadans and 395 Christians.

Edathiruthi—is another Syrian Christian settlement situated in the amsam of the same name about 4 miles south of Valappad. The amsam has a population of 8,886 inhabitants, classified into 6,548 Hindus, 1,293 Muhammadans and 748 Syrian Christians. There is a small church belonging to Syrian Christians here.

Madilagam.—[The place is so called after the name of the temple, called the *Trikkanna* or Trikkata Madilagam temple, which existed there in ancient days and is believed to have been founded by Parasu Rama for the use of Trikkannapuram gramam, being one of the 64 Nambutiri Brahman settlements founded by him. It is said that it was subsequently destroyed by the Dutch who had formerly a settlement at Chetwai. Traces of the foundations of an old temple are still visible.] It is another Syrian Christian settlement in Pappinivattam amsam. There is an ancient church belonging to this community here. The total number of inhabitants in the amsam is 5,739, of whom 3,610 are Hindus; of the rest, 1,737 Muhammadans and 392 Christians. The place contains also a mosque, and is situated about 9 miles south of Edathiruthi.

Police.—For purposes of Police administration, the taluk is divided between 3 Inspectors, who have their head-quarters at the Tahsildar's and Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters respectively. There are 17 Police stations in all, distributed in the three divisions as follows:—

Ponnani Division.

(1) Veliyangod: In Eramangalam amsam, 5 miles from Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(2) Ponnani: In Ponnani amsam, Tahsildar's head-quarters,

(3) Edappal: In the amsam of the same name 6 miles from Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(4) Chiyyanur: In Othalur amsam, 10 miles from Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(5) Padinharangadi: In Kumaranallur amsam, 11 miles from Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(6) Kutnad: In Kodnad amsam, 16 miles from Tahsildar's head-quarters.

Chavakkad Division.

(1) Madilagam : In Pappinavattam amsam, 28 miles from Chavakkad Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(2) Valappad : In Pallipuram amsam, 17 miles from Chavakkad Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(3) Chavakkad : In Palayur amsam, Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(4) Vylathur : In Vylathur amsam, 4 miles from Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(5) Audathod : In Ayrur amsam, 8 miles from Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters.

Bettatpudiyangadi Division.

(1) Kuttayi : In Mangalam amsam, 4 miles from Bettatpudiyangadi Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(2) Putiyangadi : In Talakkad amsam, Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(3) Tanur : In Rayirimangalam amsam, 6 miles from Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(4) Kalpagancheri : In the amsam of the name, 6 miles from Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(5) Vatakkumpuram : In Kattiparutti amsam, 16 miles from Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters.

(6) Kuttipuram : In Atavanad amsam, 8 miles from Deputy Tahsildar's head-quarters.

Festivals and fairs.—The chief annual festivals celebrated in the taluk are shown below. On these occasions fairs are also held ; the most important being the one held on the occasion of the Guruvayur Ekadesi festival, and for a week or so after it is over. The chief articles changing hands are lasting copper and bell metal vessels of various kinds :—

No.	Name of festival.	Number of days lasts.	In what month.		Approximate number of persons attending.
			Malayalam month.	English month.	
1	Guruvayur Ekadesi festival ..	3 days ..	Vrischigam ..	Nov.-Dec. ..	5,000
2	Guruvayur Arat utsavam ..	8 " ..	Kumbham ..	Feb.-March ..	3,000
3	Triprayar Arat utsavam ..	8 " ..	Meenum ..	March-April ..	2,000
4	Trittala Sivaratri festival ..	1 day ..	Kumbham ..	Feb.-March ..	2,500
5	Trittala Arat utsavam ..	7 days ..	Dhanu ..	Dec.-January ..	2,000
6	Triprangod Sivaratri utsavam ..	1 day ..	Kumbham ..	Feb.-March ..	4,000
7	Tirunavaya Arat utsavam ..	7 days ..	Medam ..	Apr.-May ..	4,000
8	Tirunavaya Karkataka Vavu festival.	1 day ..	Karkatakam ..	July-August ..	5,000
9	Tirunavaya Thula Vavu festival.	1 " ..	Thulam ..	Oct.-Nov. ..	5,000
10	Garudan Kavu Mandala Vela ..	5 Sundays ..	1st Vrischigam to 10th Dhanu.	Nov.-Dec. ..	1,000 each day.
11	Trikandiur Thula Vavu festival.	1 day ..	Thulam ..	Oct.-Nov. ..	2,000
12	Kelaewaram Arat utsavam ..	7 days ..	Vrischigam ..	Nov.-Dec. ..	1,000

List of Charitable Institutions in Ponnani taluk.

Amsam.	Name of Institution.	Number of persons fed annually at the institution.		Amount of Land Revenue granted as Inam from Government for the institution.	Amount of private donation.	
		Brahmins.	Travellers (Byragies).		In land.	In mouss.
				RS. A. P.	RS.	RS.
Vettam Pallipram ..	1 Chamravattam Sattram ..	402	41	124 11 1	714	..
Trikkandiyur ..	2 Vettakaramakan Kavu Sattram.	30,000	3,600	1,399 14 2	3,100	..
Do. ..	3 Triprangod Samuham ..	10,125	..	235 2 1	2,000	..
Rayirimangalam ..	4 Keraladhiswarapuram Sattram.	61,200	12,240	2,704 13 4	3,819	..
Talakkad ..	5 Vellikulangara Ayyappan Kavu Sattram.	5,250	750	..	575	..
Pariyapuram ..	6 Ganapathiyankavu Sattram.	1,260	..	..	55	..
Nullasserri ..	7 Peringatt. Uttu Sattram.	4,380	1,095	..	60	..
Guruvayur ..	8 Guruvayur Sattram ..	20,200	1,095	..	..	..
Do. ..	9 Tamarayur Sattram ..	4,380	..	..	300	..
Vylattur ..	10 Alakkal Brahmarakshasan Sattram.	3,650	720	321 0 1	3,270	..
Nattika ..	11 Triprayur Sattram ..	27,375	3,650	..	..	3,878
Vadanappalli ..	12 Panayamkulangara Sattram of Ullanatt house.	7,300	3,650	..	5,502	..
Do. ..	13 Panayamkulangara Sattram of Manhallavil house.	2,020	305	..	1,000	..
Kayppamangalam ..	14 Mullikkal Sattram ..	..	1,825	..	..	228
Atavanad ..	15 Tirunavhyu Sattram ..	7,200	720	..	..	660
Unmattur ..	16 Kurumbikavu Sattram ..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. ..	17 Parakulangara Sattram.	900	00	..	300	..
Do. ..	18 Kodalil Sattram ..	900	..	..	120	1,200
Kodanad ..	19 Trittala Sattram ..	9,000	1,080	..	..	..
Parutur ..	20 Chembalangatt Samuham Kottkunil Sattram.	900	..	48 10 0	300	125
Irumblam ..	21 Perashannur Sattram ..	900	..	..	..	..
Aylrur ..	22 Kattupinath Vettekorumakan Sattram.	2,555	2,160	..	470	225
Iswaramangalam ..	23 Tirumalassiri Kottayil Chavati Sattram.	..	1,800	..	..	1,000
Trikkandiyur ..	24 Komaramangalam Subramaniya temple Sattram.	9,150	2,440	..	..	140
Koktanad ..	25 Asuramahakalan temple Sattram.	720	..	..	..	..
Total ..		225,757	37,291	4,834 2 9	21,585	7,516

List of Hindu Religious Institutions in Ponnani taluk in connection with which Government have remitted Land Revenue as Inam.

No.	Name of Institution.	Amount of Inam granted.	Date of grant.	Remarks.
		RS. A. P.		
1	Trikkavu Temple in Pallapram amsam.	334 1 0	..	Temples Nos. 3 and 4 originally belonged to the Bettat Rajah, but were afterwards made over to the Zamorin, when the Rajah's estate lapsed to Government.
2	Guruvayur temple in Guruvayur amsam.	1,428 9 0	..	
3	Triprangod temple in Triprangod amsam.	1,127 0 6	..	
4	Trikkandiyur temple in Trikkandiyur amsam.	2,292 13 0	..	

Weekly markets.—The subjoined statement shows the weekly markets held in the taluk. There are nine such markets. The majority of the traders being Muhammadans, and Friday being a holy day with them, no markets are held on that day. In all the markets, salted fish seems to be the chief article of trade, while vegetable and other articles are also largely sold :—

Day held.	Where held.	Number of persons attending.
Sunday ..	Trittala. Close to the travellers' bungalow ..	2,000
Monday ..	Madilagam. Half a mile south of the bungalow.	2,000
	Andathod. In the neighbourhood of the Veliyan-god Police station.	1,000
Tuesday	Valancheri. In the vicinity of the Vatakkumbam Police station.	1,500
Wednesday ..	Kuttingal. Close to the Chevakkad Deputy Tahsildar's office.	2,500
	Kalpagancheri. In the vicinity of the Police station there.	1,500
Thursday ..	Chalisher. In the vicinity of the village of the same name.	1,500
Saturday	Valappad. Close to the Police station ..	1,800
	Kuttiapuram. Close to the Police station ..	1,500

Travellers' Bungalows and Chattrams.—There are five travellers' bungalows and four chattrams or musapherkhanas in the taluk as shown in the following statement :—

Name of bungalow and chattram.	Situation.
<i>Travellers' Bungalows.</i>	
Tanur	A mile and a half to the west of the Tanur Railway Station.
Ponnani	In the town of the same name.
Trittala	By the side of the Ponnani river at the village of the same name about 4 miles to the west of the Pattambi Railway Station on the road from Palghat to Ponnani.
Chetwai	Four miles south of Kuttingal by the side of the Chetwai river (or backwater) on the road from Ponnani to Cochin.
Madilagam	By the side of the inland water communication referred. About 23 miles south of Chetwai.
<i>Chattrams.</i>	
Tanur	Two furlongs west of the Tanur Railway Station.
Bettatputiyangadi ..	Close to the Deputy Tahsildar's office of the place about 2½ miles south-west of the Tanur Railway Station.
Ponnani	A mile and a half east of Ponnani by the side of the road from there to Palghat.
Trittala	Close to the travellers' bungalow.

G. Trigonometrical Survey Stations.—There is only one such station in the taluk. This is called the Kutnad or Kurungut hill station situated

about a mile to the south of Trittala in N. Lat. $10^{\circ} 47' 32.64''$ and Long. $76^{\circ} 08' 36.50''$. It is in good condition.

European Tombs and Burial Grounds.—There is only one isolated tomb and no European burial grounds exist in this taluk. The former is situated near Trittala and is in fair condition. It bears the following inscription: "Here rest the remains of Henreitta, the beloved wife of Captain James Falconer, H.M.'s 74th Highlanders. She died at Trittala on 24th February 1855, aged 35 years. This stone has been placed here by her bereaved husband as a small token of affection."

A tombstone recording the death of the first Dutch commandant of the Dutch fort at Chetwai who died at that place in 1729 also exists, and has already been referred to in Vol. I, p. 349. The site of this grave is unknown.

Statement showing old tombs or Pandu Kulis existing in Ponnani Taluk.

Pandur Kulis groups of stones.		Single stones.	
Amsam.	No.	Amsam.	No.
1 Nagulasseri	1	1 Kappur	1
2 Ozhur	1	2 Kumaranalore	1
3 Klari	2	3 Tavanur	4
4 Vadakumbram	18	4 Alancode	1
5 Mullasseri	3	5 Nagulasseri	10
6 Annakara	1	6 Triprangode	1
		7 Kanmanam	5
		8 Melmuri	10
		9 Olur	1
		10 Klari	6
		11 Ponnundam	1
		12 Kattiparuthi	2
		13 Paratur	1
Total ..	62	Total ..	44

COCHIN TALUK.

By C. Kunhi Kannan.

Cochin was formerly a small place on the bank of a river, but in the year 1341 A.D., certain changes took place in the large backwater between the sea and the Western Ghats, and whether from cyclone winds, or earthquake, or other cause not now traceable, the island of Vypeen was formed—a circumstance commemorated by an era of its own known as Putuvaippu or Putuveppu, meaning "new deposit." The traditions of Cochin show that violent and uncertain changes have always been experienced in this neighbourhood in exceptional south-west monsoons. All along this portion of the coast important changes are quoted. Islands and lakes have been formed; towns and harbours have risen and had their day of prosperity, but have now so completely retired that, after the comparatively small interval of five centuries their former sites and names are not recognizable. Cochin itself was built in the tenth year after Vasco da Gama arrived on the coast, and its advantages

being very apparent, the large colonies of white and black Jews and other important portions of the community quitted Cranganore, which from time immemorial had been the headquarters of trade and the most convenient harbour north of Quilon.

Cochin, which lies between Lat. $9^{\circ} 58' 7''$ N., Long. $76^{\circ} 17'$ E., is bounded on the *north* by the Native State of Cochin and by the backwater, on the *south* by the Cochin State, on the *east* by the river and the Cochin State, and on the *west* by the sea. In extent Cochin taluk, with its outlying pattams, is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. The population of the town of Cochin in 1881 was 15,698 (8,374 males and 7,324 females) against 13,588 in 1871. The population of 1881 was classified as follows:—

Hindus	..	..	..	..	..	4,383
Muhammadans	..	..	..	..	..	2,942
Christians	..	..	..	..	..	8,360
Others	..	..	..	..	..	13
Total ..						15,698

of whom 1,262 were “under instruction,” 3,240 “instructed,” and 11,196 “illiterate, including not stated.” In the census of 1881, there were 2,411 occupied and 467 unoccupied houses, giving an average of 6.5 persons per occupied house. The population of Cochin, with its outlying pattams, was 17,161 in the census of 1881.

The revenue of the Cochin taluk in fasli 1295 (1885–86) was Rs. 14,467.

The Municipal Act was introduced into Cochin in 1866. The receipts of the Municipality during the official year 1885–86 amounted to Rs. 20,479, whilst the charges were Rs. 18,914. The Municipal receipts were chiefly derived from rates on houses and lands, taxes on arts, taxes on vehicles and animals and carts, licences, income from markets, fees, fines, etc.

The expenditure incurred was for public works, education, sanitation and medical service, supervision and management, and miscellaneous.

There are nine Christian churches in the town of Cochin, two Protestant, six Roman Catholic and one Syrian.

And there are two Hindu temples, Ammankovil dedicated to Bhagavati and Janardana Devaswam in Amaravati, belonging to Chetties.

On 31st March 1886 there were 16 schools, middle, primary, aided and unaided, with an attendance of 996 pupils.

The town of Cochin is sub-divided into the following pattams:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 Kotta. | 8 Tirumala Devaswam. |
| 2 Kottavadu. | 9 Vania Teruvu pattam. |
| 3 Vernede garden or Jatika Valappu. | 10 Valiya Pattayatodu pattam. |
| 4 Mackenzie Valappu. | 11 Cheriya Pattayatodu pattam. |
| 5 Tamaraparamba pattam. | 12 Veliparamba pattam. |
| 6 Odattakal. | 13 Chulikkal pattam. |
| 7 St. John pattam. | 14 Kalvetti. |
| | 15 Vypeen. |

The outlying pattams subject to Cochin with particulars of their population, etc., are noted below :—

Names.	Number of houses.	Population.		Number of churches.	Remarks.
		MALES.	FEMALES.		
1 Tumboji pattam	15	30	34	..	Near Alleppy, about 30 miles south of Cochin.
2 Attalakkad pattam	2	3	2	..	About 6 miles north of No. 1.
3 Kattur pattam	7	19	10	..	About 12 miles east of No. 2.
4 Munakkodatt pattam	21	37	47	1	About 8 miles north of No. 2.
5 Tekkeparampunkara pattam	4	13	10	..	Close to No. 6 in the south.
6 Antony Fernandez pattam	1	4	2	..	About 4 miles south-west of No. 7.
7 Mundamvell pattam	54	110	155	1	About a mile east of No. 8.
8 Domingo Fernandez Palakkal pattam.	11	23	26	..	About half a mile east of Nos. 9 and 10.
9 Teliveppu pattam	35	77	79	1	South of No. 11 and adjacent to it.
10 Santiyava pattam	40	90	94	2	Do. do.
11 St. Louis pattam	5	15	17	..	About half a mile south of No. 12.
12 Belleho Rodrigues pattam	1	2	3	..	About 2 miles south of No. 13.
13 Duvadatt Louis pattam	47	116	120	1	South of Nos. 14 and 15, and contiguous to them.
14 Sondikkal Guvankur Silva pattam.	1	2	2	..	West of No. 15 and adjacent to it.
15 Hendrick Silva pattam	42	161	108	..	About 3 miles south of Cochin.
16 Raman Turutta pattam	10	24	20	..	About 3 miles north-east.
17 Pallipot hospital paramba	7	28	21	..	About 15 miles north of Cochin.

The town of Cochin, which is situated on the southern side of the entrance of the most considerable river in Malabar, is a place of consequence as a naval depot. The place was noted formerly for ship building and several ships were built here for merchants of Bombay, measuring from 600 to 1,000 tons. The land in the back of Cochin is all low. Facing Cochin to the north lies the island of Vypeen formed, as already noted, in A.D. 1341. The many old granite Dutch buildings give a picturesque appearance to the town.

Tradition asserts that St. Thomas, the apostle, extended his labours to Cochin in A.D. 52 leaving behind him the colony of Christians now called Nassaranis. It is further said that in the first year of the Christian era the Jews settled on the site of their present colony. Afterwards they established their headquarters at Cranganore (Kodungallur), where they remained until driven away in the sixteenth century by the Zamorin's Mappillas. From copper plates still extant it is put beyond doubt that the Jewish and Syrian churches were firmly established in Cochin State by the eighth and ninth centuries.

In 1530, St. Francis Xavier preached here and made many converts. In 1557, the society of Jesus published at Cochin the first book printed in India. In 1585 Cochin appears to have been visited by the English traveller, Ralph Fitch, who with a band of adventurers came by the way of Aleppo, Bagdad and the Persian Gulf to India.

In 1663 the town and fort were captured from the Portuguese by the Dutch, and the English retired to Ponnani. The Dutch greatly improved the place and its trade, building substantial houses after the European fashion, and erecting quays, etc. In 1778, Adrian Van Moens completely altered the fort providing it with new ditches and building seven strong bastions.

In 1806 the English blew up the cathedral, destroying at the same time some of the quays, the best houses in the place and the fort. In 1814 Cochin was formally ceded to the English by treaty.

The Protestant church (formerly the principal chapel of the Franciscan monastery, which escaped the general destruction above referred to) is a plain massive building with a nave 142 feet long by 51 feet broad. Its exact age is uncertain; but from inscriptions on the floor it certainly existed before 1546, and is therefore the oldest European church in India, except perhaps the Calicut church. It contains some curious old Portuguese and Dutch tombstones. The facade of the church was surmounted by an ornamental bronze cross and a weather-cock, 6 feet high, which could be perceived some 10 miles off at sea; but in 1865 these were pulled down. The building occupied as the Deputy Collector's office was formerly the Roman Catholic convent.

The Custom house is situated on the boundary limits of British and native Cochin. The chief native quarters are Calvetti bazaar, peopled by Mappillas, and Amaravati, inhabited by chettis and goldsmiths.

In 1796 a fiscal (Dutch Superintendent of Police, Justice of the Peace and Attorney-General in criminal cases), a criminal and civil court and a court of appeal were constituted at Cochin. The college for the guardianship of orphans and minors (a Dutch institution answering to the Court of Wards), a separate orphan-house, an hospital for lepers at Palliport, and a matrimonial college were also continued. In 1800, Cochin was placed under the Malabar Commissioners; in 1801, the Cochin Commission was abolished and it was placed under the principal Collector of Malabar.

The establishment at Cochin was afterwards reduced to that of a Principal Sadr Amin and Joint-Magistrate and of a Tahsildar-Magistrate. The hospital at Palliport, 15 miles north of Cochin, is still maintained.

The present officers of Cochin are a Deputy Collector with the powers of a 1st-class Magistrate and Sub-Judge, a Sheristadar-Magistrate with 2nd-class powers under the Deputy Collector, a Civil Surgeon, a Port officer, an Assistant Superintendent of Sea Customs, and an adhikari with a menon and two peons. There are a Telegraph office, a Post office, a Police station, a jail, and also a travellers' bungalow maintained by the municipality.

The Cochin light-house is on a small mound which formed the bastion of the old fort to the south of the harbour. It is a white laterite column, on which a fixed white catadioptric fourth order light is exhibited 100 feet above the sea level and seen 15 miles off.

This new light-house is 800 yards to the south-west by west of the port flagstaff, where the old light used to be hoisted on the top of the cathedral tower. The best anchorage in the Cochin roads is from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms soft ground, 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles off shore.

The stream of tide is very strong and its times of change are very irregular, influenced by the evaporation from, or the fall of rain upon, the immense area of backwater, of which the Cochin river-mouth is the outlet. At the anchorage abreast the bar, the ebb sets west north-west, but the tendency of that tide is to the north-west; its racing over the sand-banks on the northern side of the river entrance always produces heavy breakers there, which a ship's boats should avoid. The bar at the river's mouth is a narrow strip of land having 13 feet on it at low water, but the rise and fall being only 3 feet at spring tides, pilots will only take in vessels drawing less than $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The bar is marked by two buoys. The best channel does not always remain at the same spot. There is at times a surf on the bar occasioned by the strong ebb running out against the sea breezes when there is any swell outside.

The river inside is deep 7 to 9 fathoms. Repairs to sailing vessels are executed at Cochin.

The parade ground of Cochin occupies the heart of the town beyond the Protestant church. Near the church is the old Dutch cemetery, a small square spot enclosed within high walls. The new burial ground is a mile and half from the town.

There are several jetties erected on coconut piles along the bank of the river, and the number of Chinese fishing nets, especially in Vypeen, is surprising. There is an interesting Roman Catholic church in the island of Vypeen.

The malady most prominently brought under one's notice at Cochin is elephantiasis.

About a mile and a half from the fort, upon the island of Bolghatti, (Ponhikare) is the British Residency, a good type of a modern bungalow. The rooms, spacious and well furnished, open into a large and airy verandah, whence the view between the trees and over the wide sheets of water in all directions is most agreeable. The grounds are planted with a variety of trees, and covered with turf.

The Raja of Cochin has a palace at Mottancheri near Cochin. It is used on State occasions. Immediately adjoining the palace is the synagogue of the Jews, which has a belfry at one end in which a rude clock, said to be more than 200 years old, regulates their time. The floor of the synagogue is paved with very neat procelain tiles.

Three miles north-west of the town of Cochin is Narakkal, which owes its importance to a mud bank, which stretches about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles seaward and is 4 miles long. Within this, vessels can run in the worst part of the south-west monsoon when all other ports on the coast are closed.

Two weekly English newspapers, the Western Star and the Cochin Argus, are published at Cochin, in addition to a Malayalam paper designated the Kerala Mittram.

Roads, Canals, etc.—The roads in Cochin lie within the town which is connected with Mattancheri, in native Cochin State, by a road running almost parallel to the river bank leading to Jews' town.

The Calvetti canal is about 6 miles long. Starting from Calvetti it joins the river up at Kallancheri. Owing to silting, through navigation is possible only during monsoons.

The water supply of Cochin is bad and the supply of drinking water is brought by boats from Alwayi, 20 miles from Cochin.

Industry and Manufactures.—The industry of Cochin is now confined to the manufacture of coir mats and cordage and of coconut oil. A peculiar kind of coir-screen, intertwined with cuscus, is largely exported.

Dams and Anicuts.—Extensive protective works were carried on at Cruz Milagre where an opening from the backwater into the sea threatened by diminishing the scour on the Cochin bar to impair the value of the harbour.

Archæology.—There are the ruins of an old church in the Municipal garden. In the backwater near the Master Attendant's jetty are to be seen fragments of stone-pillars, archways, etc.

The ruins of the foundation of the Portuguese fort, first built by Albuquerque are traceable along the sea face.

One of the elders of the Jewish synagogue has in his possession the original copper plate deed by which in the eighth century at latest (according to Dr. Burnell) the Jews obtained lands at Cranganore.

On the west side of the Deputy Collector's office at Cochin within the compound are to be seen two broken stones with inscriptions. Many slabs bearing inscriptions are utilized in the town for crossing the side drains into private houses.

Tangasseri and Anjengo are administratively subject to Cochin.

TANGASSERI.

By C. Kunhi Kannan.

Tangasseri is situated in Lat. $8^{\circ}54'$ N. and Long. $76^{\circ}38'15''$ E., and is bounded on the north and north-east by the Travancore territory, and on the west, south and south-east by the sea. In extent it is only 96 acres. In 1871 its population was 1,562, whilst in 1881 it was 1,665 (784 males and 881 females). The inhabitants are almost exclusively Christians, there being 4 Hindus, 2 Muhammadans, 1,658 Christians and 1 other caste.

Tangasseri adjoins Quilon. It was a Portuguese possession from 1519 to 1661 when it was captured by the Dutch. The fort is built on a headland of laterite jutting into the sea. The length is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs east and west, and the mean breadth 1 furlong. Portions of the old walls are still visible, as are also the ruins of an old Portuguese tower and belfry. The English Government came into possession of Tangasseri on the capture of Cochin in 1795. It has been leased to the Travancore Government for an annual rent of Rs. 2,447, which will be referred to hereafter.

In civil judicial matters the people are subject to the District Munsif's Court at Anjengo, which is again subordinate to the District Court of South Malabar. For criminal matters there is a resident Subordinate Magistrate under the immediate orders of the Deputy Magistrate of Cochin. The Sub-Magistrate also exercises the functions of a Sub-Registrar of Assurances.

A bank of hard ground called the Tangasseri reef extends $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south-west and 3 miles to the west of the Tangasseri point, and 6 miles along the coast to the northward. The bank should not be approached by vessels under 13 fathoms of water by day or 17 fathoms at night.

The origin of the word Tangasseri or Changacherry is involved in doubt. Changacherry was the former ruler of Kollam (Quilon), who was dispossessed in 1740 by Travancore. The place might have taken its name from this ruler; "Changa" means conch and the name might imply conch-village. It is also conjectured that the name Tangasseri or gold village (tangam = gold) owes its origin to the circumstance of a large quantity of gold coins having been put in circulation by the Portuguese who settled there at first and who exchanged them for the goods purchased by them.

Tangasseri is level, crowded with houses, and very thickly planted with coconut, bread-fruit and other trees. There is no room for the cultivation of paddy or other grains.

Religious Institutions.—There are two sections of Roman Catholics at Tangasseri, the one owing allegiance to the Goa Mission, and the other to

the Propaganda Mission of Verapoly. The church of the latter is very old, having been built, it is said, in 1789. It is 96 feet long by 36 feet broad.

The Propaganda Mission has since 1840 started an English and Vernacular boys' school. A convent was added to the church in 1845 and a girls' school was opened in 1885. Within the church at the foot of the altar lies a tombstone with an epitaph over the grave of the first Vicar Apostolic Bishop.

The church under the Goa Mission was founded in 1841 by the Archbishop elect of Cranganore, Don Manual De Sam Joquim Neves. It was, it appears, originally intended as a chapel for his burial, and built in a garden of his own. He died in 1849, and his body was interred in the centre of the church which is marked by a tombstone bearing an epitaph. This church is now being enlarged. It is 122 feet by 52 feet.

There are two cemeteries in Tangasseri enclosed within walls. They are separated by the road leading to the flagstaff. One of them is a Protestant graveyard, which is looked after by a gardener on Rs. 5 per mensem.

Tangasseri is, as already observed, leased to the Travancore State for Rs. 2,447 per annum. The conditions of the lease are the following :—

That “all rents, customs, or jenkums, profits and produce, accruing from the said rented premises of all denominations, whatsoever, are hereby declared to become the sole property of the Travancore Sirkar during the full and entire period of three years.

“That the inhabitants, residing within the limits of the said village of Tangasseri, of all castes and descriptions, whatsoever, shall continue to be under the protection of the British Government in all cases of a civil or Police nature.

“That with the exception of the introduction of the monopoly of the sales of tobacco and spirits, the Travancore Sirkar or its Agents are prohibited from imposing new taxes, levying unusual duties or arbitrary exactions of any kind on the inhabitants of Tangasseri, and that an attempt to do so by the Travancore Sirkar, will forfeit all claim to a continuance of the Farm.

“The Police establishment at Tangasseri are to afford every aid and support to the servants of the Farm in the detection of frauds or attempts to introduce into Tangasseri any of the articles under Government monopoly.

“The Police will give all aid in securing peaceable execution of revenue processes as far as required and authorized by law so to do.”

The lease was last renewed for three years on 10th July 1883.

ANJENGO.

By C. Kunhi Kannan.

Anjengo¹ lies between Lat. 8° 40' N., Long. 76° 47' 50" E. It is bounded on the north and south by the Travancore State, on the east by the Anjengo backwater, and on the west by the Arabian sea.

¹The name is said to be derived from Anchutenga or five coconut trees. The origin of the word continues to be a matter of speculation.

It is only 211 acres in extent. Its population in 1871 was 2,410, whilst in 1881 it was 2,534 (1,240 males and 1,294 females) classified as follows : —

Hindus	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,054
Muhammadans	..	..	..	..	..	..	165
Christians	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,315

Of this number 167 were returned as “under instruction”, 216 “instructed”, and 2,151 “illiterate, including not stated”. In 1871 there were 436 houses, whilst in 1881 there were 517 houses, of which 70 were unoccupied.

Anjengo is divided into two desams—the Kottadilli farm called in Malayalam Kodutala, and Vadikkakam or Anjengo proper, including Puttura.

Kottadilli is farmed to the Travancore Government for a sum of Rs. 1,450 per annum. The terms of the lease will be adverted to hereafter.

There is a Subordinate Magistrate at Anjengo who has his office in Vadikkakam or Anjengo proper. He exercises magisterial, civil, revenue, and registration powers. He has a small establishment. He is immediately subordinate to the Deputy Collector of Cochin. In civil matters, Tangasseri is subject to Anjengo.

There is an old European cemetery looked after by a gardener on a salary of Rs. 5 per mensem. It is enclosed within walls. There was a hospital in Anjengo which was abolished in 1880.

Vadikkakam and Puttura are free from land-tax and duties of customs.

Physical aspects.—Anjengo has a level surface. The soil is sandy and congenial to coconut trees with which it is planted up. There is very little of paddy cultivation and the outturn is poor. The water supply for drinking is indifferent and scarce.

Churches and temples.—There are two Roman Catholic churches and two small Hindu temples. One of the churches, St. Peter's is an ancient one, having very old paintings. It is 116 by 36 feet. It is under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa; but when there were disputes between the Propagandists and Pedroists, some of the Christians seceded from the latter party and built a small church 42 by 20 feet, dedicated to St. Philomena. In 1850, a reconciliation took place between the two antagonistic sections who submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Quilon.

Of the two temples one Sivan kovil belongs to the Iluvars, in which Siva is worshipped, the other Amman kovil belongs to Vellalas and is dedicated to Sakti. Festivals are celebrated here in Kumbam (February-March) and Minam (March-April).

The Fort of Anjengo.—The fort of Anjengo is in Vadikkakam or Anjengo proper. Like Tellicherry it was of use to protect the Hon'ble E. I. Company's trade at their factory established here in the end of the 17th century. And from this place was spread the English influence on native affairs in Travancore and Cochin, which has already in Volume I been fully described. The fort is 86 yards square. It was built in 1695, the East India Company having obtained permission from the Rani of Attingal, a village 10 miles north-east of Anjengo, to occupy the site in 1684. A portion of the lower mast of the old flagstaff still stands on the north-western angle of the fort. The fort is now quite deserted.

Though the defects of the situation were from the first apparent, it was hoped that the facilities afforded for the collection of pepper, coir, and calico would compensate for the disadvantages. During the wars of the Carnatic, Anjengo was found of use as a depot for military stores and as the point from which the first news of outward-bound ships reached Madras. The anchorage off Anjengo under 10 fathoms is foul rocky ground, and outside of that depth the bottom is sand and shells. Ships cannot therefore anchor under 10 or 11 fathoms, and the prevalence of considerable surf on the coast particularly to the southward, renders it unsafe for ships' boats to land. In 1792 Anjengo was reported to be in hopeless decline. In 1809 during the hostilities with Travancore its roadstead was blockaded, and in the following year the post of Commercial Resident was abolished and the station made subordinate to the Political Resident at Trivandrum. Robert Orme, the historian, was born here in 1728. He was the son of a physician attached to the Anjengo factory who became afterwards chief of the factory; and here lived Eliza Draper, to whom some of Sterne's letters were addressed.

It has already been stated that Vadikkakam or Anjengo proper was acquired from the Rani of Attingal. Kottadilli was ceded to the English on 10th January 1731 under the following circumstances:—

When hostilities commenced between the Kariyakkar of Attingal and the English at Anjengo, Mr. Walter Brown of the Bombay Council arrived at Anjengo, and it was agreed that as soon as the customary annual allowance to the Rani was paid all disputes should be laid in oblivion.

Accordingly, the Chief of Anjengo, Mr. Gyfford, with a party of ten persons marched to Attingal to offer presents to the Rani on 15th April 1721. A few invalids alone were left for the defence of the fort. Though Mr. Gyfford and his party met with a good reception at Attingal, they were all later on treacherously murdered, including Messrs. Gyfford, Burton, Fleming, Cowes and others. After this the murderers made for the fort of Anjengo which was most valiantly defended by Gunner Ince, who repulsed every attempt of the besiegers to scale the walls. He kept the besiegers at bay until succoured by men sent out by Mr. Adams, Chief of Tellicherry. In satisfaction for this outrage, the Raja of Travancore and the Rani of Attingal granted the gardens of Palatadi and Kottadilli to the Honorable Company on 10th January 1731. The grant is given below:—

“Towards Chorreungne are the garden of Palatadi and Kottadilli which were formerly bought by the Commander of Anjengo, but when on 15th April 1721, he and ten other persons went to Atenga to make presents to the Queen, they were killed by the treachery of Pullays and Karikars who seized the money of the Honorable Company. Seeing the loss and damage thus done to the Honorable Company, we have ceded the same gardens to them giving up their revenues and the right of cutting trees and all other privileges which the Company may take and they and heirs may enjoy these gardens without any obstacle or having any obstruction; but we are obliged to ask for a free passage and protection on the part of the Honorable Company. Thus in truth we confirm (the grants) with our signatures to the Commander on the 10th January 1731.”

The terms of the lease of the Kottadilli farm to the Travancore Government are given below.

That "all rents and taxes with revenue arising from the sale of tobacco, salt and spirits, as well as all other profits and produce whatever accruing from the said rented premises are hereby declared to become the sole property of His Highness the Maharaja's Government.

"That the inhabitants of the farm of Kottadilli of all castes and descriptions whatsoever shall continue to be under the protection of the British Government and amenable to its authorities in all cases of a police or civil nature and that the British Resident is empowered by the second paragraph of the Minutes of Consultation of the Government of Fort St. George, No. 90, under date the 25th February 1847, to interfere summarily in all complaints made by the ryots against the Sirkar officers.

"The Police establishment of Anjengo shall afford every aid and support to the Sirkar servants in the detection of frauds, or attempts to introduce into the Kottadilli farm, any of the articles under Sirkar monopoly and in the collection of the revenue of the village."

Products and Industry.—Coconut is the staple produce. The majority of the people engage themselves in catching fish. They use drag nets. They go out to sea in the height of the monsoon in catamarans to catch fish. The owner of each net has to pay one-third of the price of fish caught every Friday to the church. This rate is called Friday contribution or Velliyalcha Kuru.

Lemon-grass oil and coir yarn are manufactured at Anjengo. The former is distilled on the Travancore hills and exported from Anjengo. The trade in this oil was once great, a dozen bottles of oil fetching as much as Rs. 100. But the trade is now on the wane.

The coir yarn turned out in Anjengo is superior to that made elsewhere on the coast.

Dried fish and hides are occasionally exported to Ceylon, where the majority of Anjengo Christians go to work on the coffee estates.

Anjengo is still noted for its paintings.

Archæology.—There are several old tombstones in Anjengo. The earliest inscription is that raised over the grave of the wife of the Commander of the Fort, John Brabon, in A.D. 1704.

There is uninterrupted inland water communication from Anjengo to Tirur, a Railway station in Ponnani taluk, a distance of nearly 200 miles.



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